Glimpses of Kenya’s Nationalist Struggle
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DECEMBER 12, 1963 marks the end of 68 years of British colonial rule and the emergence of Kenya as an independent nation. In these 68 years, the struggle for national independence has been conducted on many fronts.

It is impossible in an article to do justice to the heroic efforts of individuals and organisations who participated in the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism. All that can be done is to afford the reader a brief insight of the intensive struggle waged by various organisations against imperialist domination abetted by white settlerism.

“Fit For Whites”

In 1902, Commissioner Elliot declared Kenya a fit place for European settlement. The construction of the railway linking the seaport of Mombasa to Kampala had been completed, and arguments were not lacking to suggest that the only way to make the railway pay for itself was to encourage the settlement of Europeans by every conceivable means.

What followed has been aptly referred to as the “Great Land Grab”. Adventurers and speculators displayed considerable enterprise in acquiring huge areas of land for little or nothing, and then parcelling it out to their fellow countrymen at considerable profit to themselves.

The whole process was accompanied by astute jingoism, with demands for “responsible Government” under European hegemony alternating with demands for the introduction of laws existing in South Africa which were found eminently suitable to ensure an abundant supply of cheap labour.

The Kikuyu, and to an extent the Wakamba and Masai, were the first to suffer the full consequences of these depredations. It was natural that the Kikuyu, effectively sandwiched between the farms alienated to Europeans, or reserved for their “exclusive use and ownership”, should be the first to revolt against these obnoxious measures.

Towards the end of 1919, an organisation called the East Africa Association was formed under the Presidency of Harry Thuku and the Treasurership of Ismael Ithongo.

After touring the Central Province, Harry Thuku was able in 1921 to
convene a meeting at Dagoretti, near Nairobi, of Chiefs and Headmen.

The meeting authorised Harry Thuku to draw up what is probably the first African petition to the British Government protesting against forced labour, the inequitable hut and poll taxes, the alienation of their lands to Europeans, and the enactment of the registration ordinance.

The Petition ended by enquiring of the British Government whether the oppressive measures enacted against Africans was the Government’s way of acknowledging the faithful service rendered by the Carrier Corps, consisting largely of Africans, in the war effort against the Germans in Tanganyika.

The Kenya Government’s response was to launch an attack on Harry Thuku and his associates which culminated in the arrest of Harry Thuku on March 14, 1922. Thuku was held in custody at a Police Station close to the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi.

On learning of the arrest of their leader, thousands of Africans began assembling near the Police Station where he was detained and demanded his release. Exasperated by the refusal of Chief Secretary Sir Charles Bowring to release their leader, the unarmed crowd of several thousands, led by a woman called Mary Muthoni, attempted to pull down the wall, which consisted of aluminium sheets.

**Opened Fire**

The police opened fire and killed over 30 persons.

The Government banned the East African Association and deported Thuku to Kismayu, a remote area in the Northern Province, from where he was released in 1931. Two other persons, Waiganjo Ndoto and George Mugekenyi, were deported and restricted to Lamu and Kwale Districts.

The methods employed by the Colonial Government in Kenya in dealing with the genuine grievances of Africans on this occasion was to form the pattern for dealing with similar occasions in future.

In 1923, the Government allowed the formation of a political body provided it confined its membership to a single tribe.
This policy was again to be adopted by the British Government during the State of Emergency, when political organisations were allowed to function provided they were confined to districts. In this way the British Government hoped to foster tribal divisions within the country.

The Motive

In allowing Africans to form political organisations at this time, the Colonial Government was not motivated by the desire to promote the interests of the people. At this time the Settler leaders imagined that they could use the Africans in their fight against the Indians who began to demand equality of treatment.

Accordingly, in 1923 the Kikuyu Central Association was formed with Joseph Kangethe as President, Jesse Kariuki as Vice-president, Job Muchuchu as Treasurer, and H. Gichuire as Secretary.

The Kikuyu Central Association conducted a vigorous campaign against the many oppressive laws enacted to transform Kenya into a feudal state. Leading members of the KCA joined the Local Native Councils in an effort to use them as platforms to carry out their attacks against the exploitation of their people.

In 1926, Jomo Kenyatta was elected Secretary of the KCA and shortly after founded the first African weekly, *Muigwithania*. In 1928, Jomo Kenyatta was chosen to represent African grievances to the British authorities in England. He was recalled in 1931, but in view of publicity he had secured for Kenya during his stay in London, Kenyatta was asked to return to London in 1932, accompanied by Parmenas Githendu, to continue the fight for African rights.

During Kenyatta’s absence from Kenya, his place was filled by George Kiringothi Ndegwa, who acted as Secretary and Editor.

Independent Schools

In the meantime, Protestant Missionaries decided to launch their campaign against female circumcision.

On October 15, 1929, resolutions were passed in Church Council requiring parents of African children seeking admission to schools to give a written undertaking that they
were against the custom of female circumcision.

Anyone refusing to give this undertaking was required to remove his child from school and was excommunicated. Government officials supported the stand taken by the Missionaries, and it appeared to the Africans that yet again the Missionaries had allied themselves to the Colonialists to suppress them.

The time and manner in which the Missionaries decided to enforce their views on female circumcision led to the formation of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association, the Karinga Independence Schools Association, Githunguri Teachers’ College, and the African Independent Orthodox Church.

For not only were the children of such parents denied schooling in Mission schools, but they were not allowed to be baptised – a proper illustration of the sins of the fathers descending on their children, only that in this instance the parents were not prepared to allow their children to become victims of Missionary folly.

At the time of the declaration of the State of Emergency in October 1952, over 175,000 children were receiving their education at these Independent Schools, and many of the best fighters and nationalists graduated from them.

KCA leaders took an active part in supporting the Independent Schools and the Orthodox Church, and in raising funds for their maintenance.

Every possible obstruction was placed in the way of the KCA leaders. But the influence of the KCA began to grow, particularly when the Kenya Land Commission, under the Chairmanship of Justice Carter, felt that their terms of reference precluded them from redressing the land grievances of Africans and went on to recommend the legalisation of an inequitable system whereby 16,000 square miles of land was reserved for the exclusive use of 3,000 Europeans and their descendants.

KCA leaders, despite the restrictions placed on their activities, made common cause with the Wakamba Association and the Taita Association.

In 1938, the Wakamba, under the leadership of Samuel Muinde, organised a mammoth protest march to Government House against the confiscation of over 2,000 cattle.
Muinde was arrested and deported to Baringo District.

The Second World War provided the Government, at the instigation of Settlers, with the opportunity it needed. In May 1940, the KCA was proscribed on the grounds that its leaders were in touch with the Italian enemies. Twelve Kikuyu, eight Wakamba, and two Taita were arrested and detained in remote parts of the country until the end of the war.

James Beauttah’s Arrest

Among those arrested was James Beauttah, who, on the day of his arrest, was actually organising the collection of funds for the purchase of an aeroplane as a contribution of Fort Hall District to the war effort!!

The persons arrested were tried in camera by a former judge, Sir Charles Belcher, who also owned a farm in Kenya. Among those who played a prominent role in securing the conviction of the accused was the son of a highly respected clergyman, the well-known archaeologist, Louis Leakey. Apparently, Leakey used his position as interpreter in a way which was later, during the Kapenguria trial, found to be highly questionable and resulted in his removal from the job of interpreter.

The banning of Kikuyu Central Association and the arrest of Kikuyu, Wakamba, and Taita leaders in 1940 represents one phase of the nationalist struggle in Kenya.

The intervening period between the proscription of the KCA and the formation of the Kenya African Union in 1946 was fully exploited by the Settlers’ representatives to entrench their position in the policy-
making bodies and use their political power to make the position of Africans, whether on the farms or in towns, unbearable.

Africans had by now come to an understanding that non-violent, constitutional agitation had serious limitations and that new methods must be evolved to avoid the collapse in political organisation which characterised the banning of the political association and the arrest of its leaders.

The disabilities from which Africans suffered might be listed as the wholesale alienation of their lands, highly discriminatory scales of pay in the Civil Service, the ban on the growth of cash crops, the transformation of Reserves or “Native Land Units” into reservoirs of cheap labour, the imposition of a tax structure which compelled Africans to seek work on terms and conditions dictated by their employers, an educational and economic system which discriminated in favour of the rich and powerful and against the poor, a change from a subsistence economy and shifting cultivation to a money economy and static farming without the provision or acquisition of new techniques, resulting in a considerably lower standard of living and the disintegration of tribal society without the benefit of new values, and the absence of any voice in the Legislature or any of the policy-making institutions.

The overcrowded, poverty-stricken reserves were expected to provide social security for the disabled or retired urban worker.

**Humiliation**

Finally, the laws of the country were designed to subject the African to humiliation through the Registration of Persons and Liquor Laws, while the strong colour bar practised in hotels was an affront to his dignity as a man.

The aftermath of World War II brought even greater suffering to the mass of Africans. Prior to the War, the world economy experienced a series of depressions and recessions. The prices of agricultural commodities on the world market were low. There was little incentive for the farmer to grow more or to invest in machinery.

As a result, the European settler adapted the situation to his needs by
practising what is known as “kaffir farming”. Under this system, a labourer is allowed to grow as much as he can cultivate, or to graze a large number of cattle, in return for nominal wages.

The scarcities caused by the war and the resultant demand for agricultural produce changed the situation. “Kaffir farming” was described as dangerous. Laws were enacted to limit the area of cultivation and the number of sheep or cattle a “squatter” could retain on the farm.

The provision of large sums of money in the shape of loans enabled the Settler to introduce mechanisation.

He, therefore, set about devising ways and means to “evict” as many labourers and “squatters” from his farm – labourers and “squatters” who had been enticed, and often compelled, to leave their traditional homes in the reserves.

Desperate

By leaving his traditional home over many years, the African had lost his traditional land. The end of the War found him in a desperate situation with nowhere to go. The position in the towns was similar. Wages had increased, but the increase was hardly commensurate with the increased cost of food or the scarce bed-space housing. Unemployment was rife and the “spiv law” forced him to be on the run. Victory over fascism and the victory for democracy at the end of World War II in 1945 had no meaning for him.

On the termination of hostilities, a group of Africans living in Nairobi formed an association for the purpose of discussing the problems confronting the country. Their activities were given further impetus when the British Government, claiming that African interests were adequately represented through the sole European Missionary appointed to the Legislative Council, grudgingly conceded the necessity of replacing the European Missionary with an African.

In 1906, when the Kenya Legislative Council was constituted, European settlers had been given four seats. By 1919 they had increased their representation to 11 and secured the right of election on racial rolls. Asians were given two seats, and African interests were represented by a European Missionary.
In 1944, African District Councils were invited to submit a list of names for the consideration of the Governor, and he appointed Mr. Eluid W. Mathu to the Kenya Legislative Council.

Prominent in the group of Africans, who decided to call the Association the Kenya African Study Union (KASU), were Peter Mbiyu Koinange, James Gichuru, Albert Awino, Joseph Kathithi, Tom Mbotela, James Beauttah, Harry Nangurai, Fred Kubai, Jesse Kariuki, Francis Khamisi, and Ambrose Ofafa.

Harry Thuku of KCA fame also associated with the group in its early stages, but the Harry Thuku who was exiled in 1922 and the Harry Thuku who was released in 1931 were two different persons. Before being released, Thuku was compelled to give all kinds of assurances that he would not indulge in politics or in anti-Government activities. He lost his old fire and contented himself with becoming a prosperous farmer.

KASU soon discovered that sweet reasonableness weighted with all the logic in the world did not have the slightest effect in removing the racial disabilities from which Africans suffered. “Paramountcy” of African interests, as contained in the Devonshire Paper of 1923, was a myth. The guardian discovered that the interests of her own children conflicted with that of her African ward, and in the process the ward suffered badly.

**KAU Formed**

In the elections held towards the end of 1945, the Union (KASU) felt that it had studied enough, and decided to form a political union. It was called the Kenya African Union (KAU), and its first office bearers were James Gichuru, W. W. W. Awori, Francis Khamisi, Fred Nganga, and Joseph Kathithi.

Branches were established throughout the country. The Union started a weekly newspaper, which was appropriately called *Sauti Ya Mwafrika*, with Mr. Khamisi as its first Editor.

In 1946, the Union decided to send a two-man delegation, consisting of Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Awori, to London with a memorandum covering the grievances of the people. In the event, only Mr. Awori could make the trip, and as soon as he arrived he established close contact with Jomo
Kenyatta, who, in between the work of keeping the British informed on the Kenya problem, was taking a leading part in organising the Pan-African Movement in association with leading figures such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, Professor W. E. B. Du Bois, and George Padmore.

Jomo Kenyatta returned to Kenya in September 1946, and early in 1947 he was elected President of KAU.

**Jomo Takes Over**

Kenyatta’s assumption of the Presidentship of the Union gave it vigour and direction. All the old KCA leaders and members who were doubtful about the effectiveness of the new organisation joined KAU, and meetings were held throughout the country in an effort to impress the Government with the necessity of finding a solution to African grievances.

The Government, encouraged by the Settlers, turned a deaf ear to African demands. They were completely oblivious of the existence of tens of thousands of Africans who had gained a lot of experience during the War. It was significant that leaders of KAU, at national and party level, had seen service in the Middle East, Burma, and other theatres of the War.

Instead of understanding the nature of the transformation taking place, Settler leaders were even more vociferous than ever in their demands for “self-government” under European hegemony.

In 1949, the Electors’ Union, which represented European political interests, produced the “Kenya Plan”, which was treated as a blueprint for substituting Colonial Government rule with European Settler rule.

**Trade Union Struggle**

The machinery of oppression was further strengthened, and the answer to all African demands was “no compromise”.

The memorable Dockworkers Strike of 1948, led by Chege Kibachia, and the 1950 Nairobi General Strike, following upon the arrest of Fred Kubai and Makhan Singh, were used as opportunities to press for the enactment of the type of legislation prevalent in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.
The most minor concessions granted to African demands were more than offset by the grant of increased representation to European Settlers in the Executive Council, the Legislative Council, and complete control of local government authorities through the County Council Ordinance. The circumstances which led to the Nairobi General Strike in 1950 illustrate the attitude of the Government.

TUC Banned

At the instigation of European settlers, the Government banned the newly formed East African Trade Union Congress and arrested Fred Kubai and Makhan Singh, the President and Secretary of the organisation.

The workers retaliated by observing a General Strike, which was only broken after ten days of Government-sponsored terror, involving the use of firearms and extensive beating.

Makhan Singh was charged with sedition and deported to Lokitaung, Lodwar, and Maralal, where he was to remain for over ten years.

Fred Kubai was charged with “attempted murder”, but his case was dismissed and he returned to become the Vice-President of KAU. Earlier, Chege Kibachia, who had led the Mombasa Dock Workers strike in 1948, was tried in secret, and deported to Baringo where he was to remain for nine years.

It had become increasingly obvious that “constitutional”, “non-violent” methods of fighting for one’s
rights were absolutely futile in dealing with the Settler-Colonial combination which was charged with the administration of the country. Organised violence was the only answer to such a situation.

Despite this belief, which was held by a large number of African nationalists, it was nevertheless decided to do everything possible to bring the British Government to its senses by demonstrating the strength of the national movement by peaceful means. Meetings were held by Jomo Kenyatta throughout the country and KAU branches were established everywhere.

The earliest convert in Nyanza to the new nationalist crusade was Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who was then battling against odds trying to organise a vast co-operative venture of which he was the Managing Director, with Achieng Oneko as its Secretary.

After a meeting between Oginga Odinga and Jomo Kenyatta, it was decided that Achieng Oneko should relinquish his appointment as Secretary of the Luo Thrift Corporation and as Editor of Ramogi to take up the job of Secretary-General of KAU, and to join Peter Mbiyu Koinange in a KAU delegation with the responsibility of presenting a mammoth petition signed by two million people to the British Parliament.

Oginga Odinga

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga also agreed to serve on the Central Committee and Governing Council of KAU, and at the last meeting of the Governing Council of KAU held in 1952, he was deputed by Jomo Kenyatta to act as its chairman.

Instead of appreciating the strength of the nationalist forces and the need for radical reforms, the Government launched a counter-offensive in the shape of trumped up charges against prominent nationalists. The first victims were the veteran politician James Beauttah and the Rev. Peter Kigongdu, who were charged with inciting crowds to destroy cattle crushes.

Rev. Kigondu was one of the first African priests to be ordained and was over 70 years of age when the Government decided to prosecute him. Mr. James Beauttah was one of the founders of KCA and was then Vice-President of KAU.
Both of them were given stiff prison sentences, and on the expiry of their sentences were detained for eight years in special Detention Camps, located in the most inhospitable parts of the country, under the Emergency Regulations.

The next victim was Jesse Kariuki, one of the founders of KCA, who had acquired the title “macho ya KAU”, meaning “the eyes of KAU”. Kariuki was found guilty under the Deportation Act and was restricted at Marsabit for 11 years.

Finally, towards the end of September 1952, the Government decided to arrest and charge a man who was second only to Jomo Kenyatta in terms of mass popularity: ex-Senior Chief Koinange Mbiyu, for the murder of Senior Chief Waruhiu. Senior Chief Koinange was over 80 years of age at the time of his arrest, and although he was found innocent together with his son John Mbiyu Koinange, he was detained and restricted to a remote part of the country, only to be allowed to return to his beloved home in Kiambaa when he was on his deathbed.

In spite of repression launched against KAU, it continued to grow from strength to strength. Public meetings were being attended by 20,000 to 30,000 people, and the money collected at these meetings was sometimes in excess of £1,000 at each rally. At all these meetings, Jomo Kenyatta called upon the people not to be provoked into violence and appealed to the colonialists to change their negative and destructive approach.

European leaders successfully forced the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. James Griffiths, who was then visiting the country, to accede to their demand for parity of representation in the Legislative Council with all the other races. In the Constitutional changes which were introduced, African representation was increased to 6, Asians to 6, Arabs to 2, and Europeans to 14. Africans, however, continued to be indirectly nominated by the Governor, while Europeans were given the right of electing their representatives.

Kenyatta Arrested

Jomo Kenyatta’s appeal to the British Government was spurned. Instead, on the night of October 20, 1952, the Government arrested him and
charged him with the management of Mau Mau.

A State of Emergency was declared, the Lancashire Fusiliers were flown into Kenya from Egypt, and the 4th Uganda Battalion of the King’s African Rifles drafted into the country. Over 2,000 Europeans joined the Kenya Police Reserve, and all European reservists were under orders to rejoin the notorious Kenya Regiment.

Other KAU leaders to be arrested and charged jointly with Kenyatta were Achieng Oneko, the General Secretary, Paul Ngei, the Asst. General Secretary, Fred Kubai, the Vice-President, Bildad Kaggia, President of the Labour Trade Union of East Africa and Secretary of the Nairobi Branch of KAU, and Kungu Karumba, Chairman of the Divisional KAU Sub-Branch in Kiambu.

“Jock Scott”

Simultaneously, the Government launched what they called “Operation Jock Scott”, aimed at taking into custody all KAU leaders and leaders of the African Independent Orthodox Church, the Kikuyu and Karinga Independent Schools Association, Githunguri Teachers’ Training College, and the proscribed KCA.

Mr. Kiringothi Ndegwa, after suffering restriction during the War, had then been sentenced to one and a half years’ rigorous imprisonment for continuing to work for KCA despite its proscription.

All these persons were served with the Governor’s detention orders, and most of them were detained or restricted without trial till the end of the Emergency.

On October 21, 1952, the Government introduced into Nairobi a large number of “askaris” from the Northern Frontier Province, who were charged with the task of terrorising the population. Africans in Nairobi were indiscriminately beaten without any rhyme or reason.

Papers Banned

This Special Force from NFP was then taken to Kiambu, Fort Hall, Embu, and Nyeri to repeat their performance. In the Reserves, they excelled not only by beating people but also raping women, destroying property, and pillaging the homes of the detained or arrested leaders.
On October 24, 1952, the Government banned 9 newspapers and 43 “broadsheets”. A curfew was imposed from 7 p.m., and the organ of imperialist interests in Kenya, the East African Standard, announced that “the situation was under control”. By October 31, arrests in Nairobi totalled 2,309, in the Rift Valley 700, in Central Province 561, and in Nyanza 36.

The East African Standard eulogised the efforts and the “wonderful response” of European women in working at the Police Stations. Praise was showered on those who rallied to the defence of “law and order”, and not a word was mentioned either of the ban on newspapers, nor the draconic measures imposed to control the nationalist press.

The Exodus

On October 27, however, a Standard report drew the attention of the public to a “most disturbing element”. Apparently, information was being received of an “exodus into the Aberdares”, and it was stated that “large quantities of food were being bought and goats and cattle” were being driven there.

Within four days of the Declaration of the State of Emergency, government officers were seen relaxing over their gin and tonics fully confident that the “show of force” had done the trick. They were soon to suffer the shock of their lives.

Study Circle

Sometime in August 1952, a Study Circle consisting of members of the KAU Central Executive Committee and others had been established for the purpose of preparing papers which could be considered by the KAU Executive. Among other things, this Study Circle organised a meeting of leaders from Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, which was held under the Chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta. Representatives from Uganda included Ignatius Musazi and Abubakar Mayanja, the President and Secretary of the Uganda National Congress.

The Chairman of the Study Circle, Walter Odede, was a Representative Member of the Legislative Council, and the Secretary was Joseph Murumbi. Other regular members were Bildad Kaggia, Peter Wright, Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei, John Miller, J. D. Kali, and the author.
It was therefore natural that immediately following the arrest of the complete KAU Executive and the majority of the Governing Council, the vacuum created by the removal of the main office bearers should be filled by Messrs. Walter Odede, Joseph Murumbi, and W. W. W. Awori, who was also a Representative Member.

At a Press Conference held on October 28, 1952, the three new office bearers denied that KAU was a purely Kikuyu organisation, expressed their full confidence in the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta and other arrested persons, and demanded the repeal of Emergency Regulations and the appointment of a Royal Commission to go into the question of African grievances.

The Defence

The new office bearers of KAU immediately set about organising the defence in the trial of Kenyatta and his colleagues at Kapenguria. In spite of the fact that no meetings could be held, KAU branches throughout the country began collecting money for the defence of their leaders.

A team of lawyers was engaged, headed by the redoubtable D. N. Pritt QC and including H. O. Davies from Nigeria, Diwan Chamanlal from India, and A. R. Kapila from Kenya, later to be joined by F. R. S. de Souza and Jaswant Singh.

The Government, alarmed by the amount of attention which the trial was drawing throughout the world, banned the entry of other lawyers from Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, and India who had offered their services in the defence of justice and truth.
Crooked Evidence

Everyone is aware of the chicanery and subterfuge to which the Government resorted in their efforts to secure a conviction. The judge appointed to hear the historic case was a man of strong prejudices and deep vengeance, and disdained to hide his feelings.

Years later, the main witness in the case against Kenyatta, an unprincipled scoundrel by the name of Rawson Macharia, admitted that he had committed perjury in his evidence. Yet it was on Macharia’s evidence, and the evidence of other professionally coached witnesses, that Kenyatta and his colleagues were convicted.

In a statement made in November 1958, Rawson Macharia admitted that the evidence he gave at the trial “was false” and that he had been “promised certain conditions” if he gave this false evidence. He revealed that the inducements consisted of “(a) an air passage to the United Kingdom at £278, (b) a two years’ course in local government at a university at £1,000, and (c) subsistence for two years at £250”.

Macharia alleged that similar offers were made to other government-sponsored witnesses in the case. Macharia was tried for perjury, found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment.

What Thacker Said

The attention of readers is now drawn to the following extracts from the Judgement delivered by Justice R. H. Thacker at Kapenguria on the April 8, 1953:

“The second and equally important matter in this trial is the question of the credibility to be attached to the many witnesses. If the prosecution witnesses are not believed, that must be an end to the prosecution; alternatively, if there is a reasonable doubt whether they are telling the truth, then again there must be an end to the prosecution. If the accused and their witnesses are believed, the prosecution, of course, must fail. The question, therefore, of credibility is of the utmost importance in this case, and I have endeavoured to observe the demeanour of such of all the witnesses, including that of the accused, who have appeared before me.”
“Although my finding of fact means that I disbelieve ten witnesses for the defence and believe one witness for the prosecution, I have no hesitation whatever in doing so. The prosecution witness, Rawson Macharia, gave his evidence well and in my opinion truthfully; and except on one minor point, already mentioned, which I do not regard as important, was not shaken under cross-examination. All the defence witnesses were evasive, and I am satisfied were not telling the truth. I therefore find as a fact that Kenyatta was present at a ceremony of oath-taking, that he administered the oath to which I have referred to two people and endeavoured to administer it to Rawson Macharia.”

In his Affidavit made in November 1958, Rawson Macharia alleged that several days before the Kapenguria trial, he, together with other Government witnesses, were thoroughly coached in the evidence they were required to give.

Mr. Dingle Foot, MP, QC, after interviewing Macharia at this time, declared that he “was satisfied that his extremely circumstantial narrative called for the closest investigation”.

Needless to say, there was neither an investigation nor a judicial inquiry.

The criminal complicity of many senior civil servants in every department of the Colonial Government in thwarting the course of justice and acting as the official rubber stamp of reactionary, racial-minded politicians and administrators has been a characteristic feature of the Government of Kenya.

Admittedly, in the course of nine years of the Emergency, individual Europeans like Colonel Young, Peter Bossock, D. G. Macpherson, and others who had the misfortune to work in so-called “rehabilitation camps” exposed injustices that were being committed. They invariably suffered for their candour at the hands of those at the helm of affairs in this country.

A New Inquiry?

There is nothing to prevent the independent Government of Kenya from instituting a fresh Commission of Inquiry into the allegations made by Rawson Macharia. This is not proposed merely with the intention of raking up the past.
This is proposed in the knowledge that there are in Kenya today people occupying important positions in the Government and in other walks of life who have not eschewed their diabolical methods of revenging themselves on Mzee Kenyatta and many of his colleagues.

They cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that things have changed beyond repair. Hence their attempts to build up inter-tribal fear and hatred, their attempts to support, finance, and direct pseudo-gangsters to indulge in so-called Land Freedom Army (LFA) activities. These elements have proved over a period of many years that they will stop at nothing in order to sabotage the Government of this country. They constitute the biggest threat to the security of the state and must be brought under the closest control and surveillance from December 12, 1963.

In June 1959, Mrs. Barbara Castle MP quoted ex-Superintendent D. G. Macpherson, who was head of the CID from 1954 to 1956, as saying: “I had to investigate the deaths by violence of several unfortunate inmates of Detention Camps. I was told by the Commissioner to stop investigations into such things. I refused. It was the main reason I left Kenya a disgusted man.” Mr. Richard Catling, the present Inspector-General, who was then Commissioner of Police since 1954, denied the allegation.

The consequences of the Kapenguria trial, which resulted in the imprisonment of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and his colleagues, had the widest repercussions.

The proscription of the only African political organisation, KAU, followed soon after, and the Government embarked on a determined course which sought to erase the names of their beloved leaders from the minds of the people.

The heroic struggle of Dedan Kimathi and his warriors for the freedom of Kenya and the release of their leaders cannot be compressed in a few paragraphs.

Suffice it to say that Dedan Kimathi’s courageous leadership against the might of a dwindling empire fired the imagination of freedom fighters throughout the length and breadth of Africa.
Kimathi and his lieutenants proved to the Colonialists in Africa that colonialism was unprofitable and that once a people had determined to be free there was no obstacle they would shirk in the pursuit of their goal of freedom. The mistakes they made are the mistakes which belong to their age.

Griffiths’ Case

The brutality of the forces which sought to destroy them has been well described during the trial of Captain Griffiths of “five bob a man” fame, or in the press reports of “people shot while trying to escape”. There is no need to recapitulate here the sadistic tortures and inhuman treatment meted out indiscriminately to the local population.

Perhaps the worst action taken by the Government was the mass eviction of tens of thousands of innocent men, women, and children from the Rift Valley Province. The vast majority of these people had been in the Rift Valley for two or three decades; they had lost their customary right in the reserves, where land consolidation and the provision of title deeds replaced the old system of communal tenure.

The desperate position of these uprooted people can well be imagined. Side by side with the terrorisation of the African people in the Reserves and the towns went the policy of arresting and detaining anyone who exhibited the slightest degree of political consciousness.

Following the fiasco which attended the Government’s efforts to convey a façade of judicial sanction to the arrest and imprisonment of Jomo Kenyatta and his five colleagues, the Government resolved to use the simpler expedient of detaining citizens without the necessity of bringing them before a Court of Law. As a sop to world opinion, the Government appointed an Advisory Committee with a quasi-judicial status, for the alleged purpose of investigating the allegations on which a person was detained. From personal experience, the author can vouch for the fact that this tribunal was a ludicrous farce.

How It Worked

In June 1954, the author was served with a Detention Order and, shortly after appearing before the Advisory Committee, was detained at Takwa
Special Detention Camp on Manda Island. Among the allegations contained in the charge sheet were: (a) that I had knowledge of illegal arms traffic; (b) that I assisted Mau Mau in drafting documents and arranged for the printing of membership cards of the “African Liberation Army”; and (c) that I had given assistance to the non-militant wing of the Mau Mau in planning “its subversive campaign”.

The onus of proving the contrary rested with the author, and I was informed that the only way I could do it was to prove (a) my loyalty to the British Government and its policies; (b) the steps I took to abet the criminal activities of the authorities; and (c) my sympathy for European settlers and South Africa!

The only reason for recounting this sordid episode, which casts a poor reflection on British methods of securing justice, is to draw attention to the fact that the 80,000 Africans who were detained were accorded similar “justice”.

From October 1952 to early in 1956, African political opinion was silenced. Messrs. Blundell, Havelock, and Harris, representing the so-called “moderate” wing of European settlers, and Messrs. Culwick and Briggs, representing the “hardcore” section, thought the occasion presented a wonderful opportunity to press to a successful conclusion the fight for “freedom from Colonial Office rule”, with transfer of power to those “who know the African”.

Meetings were organised by European settlers to pass votes of “no confidence” against Sir George Erskine, the British local Commander-
in-Chief, who with soldier-like candour told a Press Conference that he did not see the war against Africans reaching a successful conclusion unless the Africans were given greater political concessions.

When surrender terms were offered to African freedom fighters, a section of the Settlers put up notices on their farms reading “No Surrender Here”, while others called upon Europeans to resign from the Kenya Police Reserve. The first surrender talks were sabotaged by units of the Kenya Regiment, consisting exclusively of European Settlers.

The author was himself engaged in arranging a scheme which would have avoided further massacres of untrained, badly equipped, and starving freedom fighters when he was arrested and detained. The British Government, which apparently had given its consent to the scheme, pleaded its ignorance of my activities at that stage.

The trade union movement did not escape the attention of the authorities. In a series of successive sweeps, trade union leaders who protested against various Emergency Regulations which curbed the freedom of workers were arrested and detained. But shortly, Mr. Tom Mboya, who made his entry into the trade union movement, secured the support of British and American trade union leaders to prevent further arrests.

The Fight Back

Mr. Mboya used the trade union movement effectively as a platform to draw attention to the despotic measures enacted by the Government, and it was only the support he enjoyed abroad which prevented his arrest. Another person who played a leading part at this time in frustrating the Settler-inspired policies of the Government was Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. As President of the Luo Union, he toured the country tirelessly warning Africans not to allow themselves to be drawn into the imperialist strategy which sought to exploit tribalism.

Like the struggle of the freedom fighters in the forests and towns, the struggle in Detention Camps against the attempts of the Authorities to demoralise and destroy the political faith of detainees requires a book to itself.
Camp Conditions

Yet a brief mention is called for of the circumstances which led to the brutal murder of detainees at Hola, in compliance with a diabolical plan evolved by a sadist called Cowan, who was shortly to be rewarded with an MBE for his distinguished services.

The conditions at Manyani and Mackinon Road Camps, especially when the Detainees’ spokesmen consisted of James Njoroge Koinange and George Githunguri, are indescribable. Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, in his book *Mau Mau Detainee*, has given details of conditions in these and other camps.

Despite the considered views of Sir George Erskine and other prominent people, the British Government’s colonial policy with respect to Kenya remained static. In 1954, Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttleton introduced the Lyttleton Plan, which did little more than increase European representation in the Executive Council and add a Government stooge by the name of Ohanga to adorn the Council, as a concession to African interests.

In 1956, eight Africans were elected on the basis of a restricted franchise. The eight African Representative Members played a leading part in securing the abrogation of the Lyttleton Plan. They elected Jaramogi Oginga Odinga as their chairman and their first action was to declare the Lyttleton Plan “null and void”.

These eight Africans, who included Tom Mboya, Ronald Ngala, and Daniel Moi, had been elected on the basis of recommendations contained in the Coutts Report, which, although falling short of universal franchise, was a great advance on previous methods evolved for selecting Africans.

African Voice

These eight African members spoke with knowledge and confidence, born out of the realisation that they had the backing of their people, and for the first time the imperialist-controlled Legislative Council resounded with a voice expressing the aspirations and hopes of the eight million African people.

The eight African elected members, under the Chairmanship of Jaramogi
Oginga Odinga, worked as a united team and demanded the restoration of civil liberties and the right to form a political organisation as a condition of support for any Government policy.

As a result, Mr. Lennox Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, was compelled to introduce a new Constitution which, among other things, provided for an increase in African Representative Members to 14 and the election of 4 Specially Elected Members from each of the 3 racial groups, on the basis of an electoral college composed of the Elected and Official Members of the Legislative Council.

The Constitution also provided for the establishment of a Council of State, which was supposed to ensure that the laws passed in the Legislative Council did not contain provisions that discriminated between races.

The African elected members staged a positive boycott of the elections of the 12 Specially Elected Members, as their choice rested with the European Official and Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council. Not unexpectedly, when the 14 African Representative Members refused to co-operate with the Government or in its formation, the four African Specially Elected Members offered to adorn the Government benches and become the apologists of official policy.

From 1957 onwards, the hardcore section among the Europeans realised that they must abandon their claims to European leadership and abandon the prospect of responsible Government under European hegemony. Ably abetted by the so-called “moderates”, they contented themselves by fighting a rearguard action aimed at delaying independence, opposing the release of Jomo Kenyatta, and sowing the seeds of division among the African leaders.

Parity of representation with all the other races represented their anchor-sheet, and once that had been lost, they realised that it was only a question of time before their influence would shrink into insignificance.

In 1958, the African Representative Members, in association with their Asian and Arab colleagues, sent a delegation to London under the Chairmanship of Ronald Ngala to press for the drastic revision of the Constitution. Tanganyika, under the brilliant leadership of President Julius Nyerere, was already firmly on the
road to Responsible Government, and African leaders in Kenya were in no mood to lag behind.

**Tribal System**

In 1956, the demand of the African Members to be allowed to form a political organisation was met by the British Government, allowing the formation of political bodies on a district basis. As most of the districts coincide with tribal areas, the British Government set out to implant tribalism in its most virulent form into the body politic of Kenya. This move was to have the most dangerous consequences for Kenya, and the country is still suffering from the effects of this policy.

Political organisations such as the Nairobi African District Congress, the Nairobi Peoples’ Convention Party, Baringo Independence Party, Central Nyanza District Congress, and Mombasa African Democratic Union mushroomed overnight.

Except for Central Nyanza, all the other political organisations elected their Legco Member as their respective President, and observers of the political scene foresaw difficulties which would arise at a meeting of so many “Presidents” when the time came to form a single political organisation.

**Divisions**

The African Representative Members, in association with their Asian and Arab colleagues, formed an organisation called the Central Elected Members Organisation (CEMO). It had one rather eccentric European Representative, Mr. S. V. Cooke, as a member. CEMO was hardly born when an unfortunate split occurred in the ranks of the African Representative Members. It was based more on personality differences than any differences in policy.

When permission was granted for the formation of nationwide parties, African Representative Members were divided into the Kenya National Party and the Kenya Independence Movement. Differences which cropped up between supporters of KNP and KIM at public meetings were given a tribal twist.

The imperialist press in Kenya and European politicians were quick to seize the opportunity to excite tribal animosities to the maximum, and
every report which helped to inflame tribal feelings found a suitable place in the European-controlled press.

The differences which arose between the KNP and KIM created unnecessary bitterness within the ranks of the African Representative Members, and placed national leaders who were either in detention or being released in a very difficult position in view of the overriding necessity to bring about unity. Neither the KNP nor KIM were mass political organisations. Both represented a union of district political organisations which had still to merge their identity with the parent bodies.

However, the approach of the first Lancaster House Conference, held in January and February 1960 in London, forced the African Members to come together. Mr. Ronald Ngala was elected Chairman and agreement was reached on the demand for the immediate introduction of Responsible Government, the release of Jomo Kenyatta and other restricted leaders, and ending the State of Emergency.

Major Victory

The conclusions of the first Lancaster House Conference represented a major victory for the nationalist forces in Kenya. Kenya was now placed firmly on the road to independence.

Changes in the Constitution included the introduction of adult franchise on a common roll and the appointment of a cabinet headed by a Chief Minister with responsibility for all the Ministries except Legal Affairs, Finance, Internal Security, and Foreign Affairs, which continued to be under the control of the British Government.
Unfortunately, the spirit of unity which existed in London was not reflected in the events which took place on the return of the African Elected Members to Kenya. In London they had agreed to sink their differences, dissolve KIM and KNP, and form a single political organisation.

On March 27, 1960, a meeting was called at Kiambu Township of all political organisations in Kenya, in accordance with a decision of the African representative members in London. Notable absentees were Daniel Moi, Masinde Muliro, and Ronald Ngala. Taita Towett arrived with a delegation of Kalenjin tribesmen, but halfway through the proceedings, he staged a walkout.

**Birth of KANU**

At this historic meeting, which continued for two days, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was unanimously elected President of KANU, despite the fact that he was still under restriction at Lodwar, more than 500 miles from the place they were holding the meeting.

Mr. James Gichuru was elected Acting President, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga as Vice-President, Tom Mboya as General Secretary, Ronald Ngala as Treasurer, and Daniel Moi and Arthur Ochwada as Assistant Treasurer and Assistant Secretary, respectively. It had been decided that all district organisations be dissolved and their assets transferred to KANU.

Within a few days, Messrs. Ngala, Masinde Muliro, Tipis, Towett, and Moi announced the formation of KADU which was to consist of the union of the Kalenjin Political Alliance, the Maasai United Front, the Baluhyia Political Union, and the Coast African Peoples Union. The separate tribal organisations were to retain their identity and so, from the very start, KADU based its political approach on tribalism.

In March 1961, elections were held under the new Constitution. Although KANU polled 604,578 votes, it only secured 22 seats as against KADU, which polled 143,079 votes and secured 11 seats.

The reason for this disparity lay in the fact that the Constituency Delimitation Commission, consisting of two senior officials, Walter Coutts and Eric Griffiths-Jones, gave great weight to the sparsely populated areas
where KADU support was likely to be greater. The Administration and Senior Officials had already decided to work for KADU, and everything was done to assist KADU officials and penalise KANU officials.

Although KANU had a substantial majority over KADU, it was precluded from forming the Government unless the authorities released Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, who had now been moved to Maralal.

KADU’s Betrayal

It is at this stage that KADU, actively abetted by the so-called “moderate” European leaders who had won their seats on the basis of support from KANU, committed a treacherous act which was to force them to become the servile tools of imperialism.

While discussions were proceeding between KANU and the Government (Sir Patrick Renison) on the formation of a KANU Government, provided Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was released unconditionally, the third All African Peoples’ Conference had been convened at Cairo in the United Arab Republic.

At this Conference, Ronald Ngala, who was even elected leader of the Kenya Delegation, gave a categorical assurance on behalf of his Party that he would abide by the resolution passed by the Conference calling for the release of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta as a prerequisite to any co-operation with the British Government, including the formation of a Government. Ngala and his colleagues had repeatedly given this assurance to the Kenyan public.
Within a matter of days, however, Ngala and his colleagues, with the active assistance of Messrs. Blundell, Havelock, R. Macleod, and Porter, succumbed to the tempting offer of Chief Ministership and betrayed his pledges.

A host of nominated Members were created in order to give the minority Government a suitable majority. Although the State of Emergency was ended on January 12, 1960, the Government enacted two Bills, the Preservation of Public Security Bill and the Detained and Restricted Persons (Special Provisions) Bill, in November 1959.

These Bills aimed, in the words of the Governor, to “reinforce the substantive law, to ensure that it provides a fully effective first line of defence against incipient lawlessness” and “to hold those remaining detained and restricted persons whom it has not yet proved possible to release...”

Release Campaign

The formation of an unrepresentative minority Government buttressed by official support only served to make matters worse. The campaign for Mzee Kenyatta’s release was stepped up throughout the country. Hitherto, the main excuse advanced by the Government to deprive Mzee Kenyatta and his colleagues of their freedom was that their return was opposed by people in their areas and, more particularly, by the so-called “loyalists”.

In a series of KANU-sponsored meetings held throughout Central Province and the Rift Valley, which were attended by former Government supporters, resolutions were passed demanding the release of Mzee Kenyatta and his colleagues.

The minority Government, fearing the reaction of the masses, arranged the transfer of Mzee Kenyatta from Lodwar to Maralal on April 4, 1961. The KADU Government, however, followed the Colonial Government’s policy of alternating concessions with repressive measures.

“Operation Milltown” was mounted, in which over 100 persons were arrested and detained without trial at Hola and Lamu on the grounds that they threatened the personal security of Ngala.
Free At Last!

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was moved to his home in Kiambu on August 15, 1961, and became a free man on Tuesday, August 21, 1961, when he was served with the instrument revoking his Restriction Order.

The days that followed must have been among the most happy ones in Mzee Kenyatta’s life. Tens of thousands of people, using every mode of transport, flocked to his home at Gatundu to pay tribute to the man who for nearly 40 years symbolised the aspirations of the nationalist movement in the country.

Mzee Kenyatta rose to the occasion. Both at Maralal and at his home in Gatundu he gave the lie to the vicious propaganda deliberately fostered by imperialists that he was too old and incapable of leadership. At Press Conferences and in personal interviews, he disclosed his firm grasp of local and international affairs.

Unfortunately, despite the fact that it was clear that Mzee Kenyatta enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority in the country, the KADU leaders, power-drunk and completely under the influence of their European advisers, rejected Mzee Kenyatta’s appeal for unity.

KADU leaders prated about democracy but indulged in blatant tribalism. Conveniently forgetting the undemocratic and opportunistic means they had adopted in forming the Government, they joined the imperialist chorus in denigrating the very man who, a short while ago, they claimed as their leader.

On October 28, 1961, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was unanimously elected President of KANU. It should be noted that when KANU originally applied for registration under the Societies Ordinance on June 5, 1960, it was refused registration, which was tantamount to proscribing it, on the grounds that Mzee Kenyatta was named as its President. KANU was registered on June 11, 1960, when Mr. James Gichuru’s name was cited as President.

While KADU leaders must share the blame for the unnecessary delays in the country’s march towards independence, they may be excused for their understandable ignorance of imperialist tactics of divide-and-rule.
All of them fell prey to the subtle flattery and newly found concern for the “rights of minority tribes”, which was the stock-in-trade of senior government officials headed by Sir Patrick Renison.

KADU leaders apparently consigned to oblivion the fact that the so-called backwardness of the tribes they claimed to represent, the relative lack of educational and economic facilities that existed among the Masai, Digo, Giriama, etc., was the responsibility of the Government and its officials, whom they now regarded as their mentors.

**Settler Intrigue**

An even more important factor which contributed to KADU’s errors was the fact that their leaders could not possibly appreciate the extent to which certain Government officials and European settlers would go in order to ensure the political destruction of Mzee Kenyatta and other leaders of the banned KAU.

An awareness of this factor is essential in understanding the attitude of some officials and European Settlers towards KANU even today, and the history of these events may be briefly recapitulated in a separate article. The history of events which followed the release of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta is too well known to require a detailed repetition.

In December 1961, KANU held its first Delegates Conference, where Members of Parliament who had undertaken to vacate their seats on the return of Mzee Kenyatta were to redeem their pledge.

**Elected Unopposed**

Although it was decided that Kariuki Njiri should resign his seat, the initiative was taken by Muinga Chitasi Chokwe, a former detainee who was the Vice-President of the Kenya African Union, to be followed by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Jackson Angaine, and Ngala Mwendwa.

Mzee Kenyatta was elected unopposed to Njiri’s seat. Kenyatta then led the KANU Delegation to the second Lancaster House Conference, held in London from February 14 to April 6, 1962.

Once again the Settler clique, led by Messrs. Blundell and Havelock...
and a number of senior officials, did everything possible to prevent the formation of a National Government.

All kinds of concessions were wrung out of KANU by effectively employing the worst tactics of political blackmail. The choice before KANU was either the acceptance of provisions within the Constitution which could, in certain circumstances, pave the way towards the disintegration of the country, or to accept them for the time being in the hope that the masses of Kenya would return them to power with a big majority.

Not satisfied with imposing conditions under duress, the Colonial Government went so far as to insist that Jaramogi Oginga Odinga should be excluded from the list of Ministers who were to serve in the National Government.

The Colonialists have never been able to forgive Jaramogi Odinga for having initiated the struggle for the release of Mzee Kenyatta, and for his consistent anti-colonial, anti-imperialist policies.

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KANU Victory

Mzee Kenyatta’s faith in the masses of Kenya was not misplaced. In the General Elections held in May 1963, KANU won a sweeping victory, with 72 seats out of a total of 112 seats. The election of National Members, coupled with defections from KADU and the reunion of the African People’s Party, brought KANU’s strength in the House of Representatives to 93, as opposed to KADU’s 31.

On June 1, amidst indescribable scenes of joy, Mzee Kenyatta’s Ministers were sworn in, and in October the Chief Minister led a delegation to London to finalise the arrangements for the country’s independence on December 12, 1963.

Historic Document

Within four days of assuming the Premiership, Mzee Kenyatta, together with President Julius Nyerere and Prime Minister Milton Obote, signed a historic document calling for the formation of a federation embracing the territories of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Kenya, and appointing a Working Committee to draft the necessary
details aimed at giving concrete expression to the resolutions passed at the recent Addis Ababa Conference for Pan-African Unity.

Uhuru

As the Union Jack is lowered at 23.59 hours on December 11, and the Black, Red, and Green flag of independent Kenya rises to take its place at midnight, the thoughts of many thousands in the vast stadium will go back to their comrades in the forests, in detention camps, in the streets of Nairobi, and all over Kenya who gave their most precious possession – their lives – in the bloody struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism, so that those of us witnessing this ceremony may live in a better Kenya – freed from the hated colonial system, with its concomitant of the exploitation of man by man.

Kenya’s Uhuru must not be transformed into freedom to exploit, or freedom to be hungry and live in ignorance. Uhuru must be Uhuru for the masses – Uhuru from exploitation, from ignorance, disease, and poverty.

The sacrifices of the hundreds of thousands of Kenya’s freedom fighters must be honoured by the effective implementation of KANU’s policy – a democratic, African, socialist state in which the people have the right, in the words of the KANU election manifesto, “to be free from economic exploitation and social inequality”.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Pio Gama Pinto, one of Kenya’s major freedom fighters and a national hero, was born in Nairobi on March 31, 1927. In 1938, he was sent to India for studies. He returned in 1949 and plunged into journalism and the freedom struggle. In April 1954, he was arrested by the British government for being part of Mau Mau intelligence and for the supply of arms. He was in detention for the next five years. He was finally released in December 1959. In 1963, he was elected a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly of the East African Community. In 1964, he was elected a Member of Parliament. On February 25, 1965, Pio Gama Pinto was assassinated.

Wangari Maathai, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, said of him, “He is a part of our history, part of what we are. We see in his work the love this man had for his country. We must honour those on whose shoulders we stand.”

FURTHER READING

*Pio Gama Pinto: Independent Kenya’s First Martyr, Socialist and Freedom Fighter* (Nairobi, 1966)

*Pio Gama Pinto: Patriot for Social Justice* by Pheroze Nowrojee
(Nairobi, Sasa Sema/Longhorn, 2007)
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Glimpses of Kenya’s Nationalist Struggle was originally published by Pio Gama Pinto on December 12, 1963 in celebration of Kenya’s independence. Its survey of Kenya’s struggle for freedom and its patriotic concerns for the country’s future continue to be of relevance.

“He is a part of our history, part of what we are. We see in his work the love this man had for his country. We must honour those on whose shoulders we stand.”

—Wangari Maathai, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate