



UCBMUN XXI



# The Mau Mau Uprising: The Beginning of the End of British Kenya

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**Letter from the Chair**

I am delighted to welcome you to The Mau Mau Uprising: The Beginning of the End of British Kenya at UCBMUN XXI. Both Crisis Director Nuh Bahemia and I are very excited to be delivering this challenging committee and it will definitely push you to the limits of your debating and scheming abilities. As Head Chair, I foresee fervent, passionate debate; scheming directives aimed at infiltrating and bringing down the British resistance to your rebellion; and crisis ideas that will make us question whether you should be exposed to the rest of the world.

The committee will kick off in 1952 at the outbreak of the uprising and will see you, leaders of the uprising, seek to gain an upper hand on your British counterparts. The committee will focus on a range of issues detailed in the background guide but delegates will have the ability to instigate their own crises. Once handed your individual position, it will be your responsibility to build your own networks of warriors and work with others to conduct plots to fight British forces. The background guide and character dossiers you will receive in due course will provide a vast understanding of the nature of the Uprising itself and your own powers to equip you for your time in committee.

A couple of things about myself: I am a senior majoring in Political Economy with a concentration in African Politics and Development and this is my fourth UCBMUN Conference, serving as a Head Chair of last year's Obama's 2012-2016 Cabinet, Vice Chair of the Ad Hoc Committee in 2015 and ACD for the UN Security Council in 2014. I was born in London, England but have lived in Moscow, Russia and Mombasa, Kenya so I think of myself as quite a seasoned traveller. Outside of MUN, I am usually watching or playing any and all sports whether live, highlights or even analysis! I am a devout fan of Manchester United, Roger Federer and all Bay Area sports teams (Warriors, A's, Raiders). I enjoy spending time with friends and family while eating assortments of pastries and watching Game of Thrones (Hold the Door), House of Cards (In politics, you either eat the baby or you are the baby).

I eagerly anticipate meeting all of you during the course of the conference, which promises to be a memorable four days. Please do not hesitate to contact Nuh or me with any questions or concerns you may have.

Cheers!

Rahim Daya

**Letter from the Crisis Director**

The time for scheming, decision-making and persuading is quickly approaching! The next three days will be filled with fast-paced debate, charismatic rhetoric and, most importantly, imaginative crisis arcs. My name is Nuh Bahemia and I will be your Crisis Director for UCBMUN XXI. But, before we go any further, both Rahim and myself would like to welcome you to this year's Mau Mau Uprising: The Beginning of the End of British Kenya.

The committee will mainly focus on the conflict that existed between the Mau Mau rebels and the British Army, beginning in 1952. The path the committee will take will heavily depend on the crises generated by your arcs, with some twists and turns from our side along the way! I think something very important worth mentioning is that this committee does not have to follow the course of history, as the committee will decide how the crises evolve. Each of your characters will be assigned specific portfolio powers which you must use to reach your own personal goals as well as those of the committee. Your key tool here really is the background guide as it will provide you with most, if not all, the information you require to succeed in your endeavors.

Finally, a little about myself: I'm a sophomore at UC Berkeley with an intended major in Economics. This will be my second year at UCBMUN, serving as an ACD for the Rhodesian Government and CD for BayMun (Spring 16). I was born in the island Mark Twain once rivaled with Heaven: Mauritius. However, I grew up in the Middle East, Qatar to be specific, where I attended and organized multiple MUN conferences. Outside of conference, I am a fan of both Liverpool FC and Real Madrid FC, as well as watching the Warriors win the championship!

I'm really looking forward to meeting all of you for what is to be a riveting conference. Please do not hesitate to contact either Rahim or myself if you have any questions concerning the committee or any of the procedures.

See you soon!

Nuh Bahemia

### **Committee Background**

The Mau Mau Uprising constitutes a historic conflict between predominantly Kikuyu rebel groups that challenged the authority of British rule in Kenya. Beginning in 1952, it is considered one of the bloodiest and most aggressive conflicts in modern history and to this day the Kenyan population decries the harsh British suppression of the rebellion. Sparked by inequality, unemployment, and African nationalism, the efforts of Dedan Kimathi and others served as a model for independence movements across the continent.

This committee will reenact the meetings between Mau Mau leaders, including Dedan Kimathi, Musa Mwariama, and more, as well as their most trusted advisers and generals. These meetings and the committee will serve as a platform upon which the rebels will craft their plans in order to defeat the British and attain their own secondary personal objectives. As a crisis committee, each delegate will have access to specific portfolio powers as well as the ability to set forth crisis arcs and plans. The crisis aspect of this committee will be essential in keeping it fast-paced and animated. Delegates will need to be able to react to news from crisis concerning the state of the rebellion and demonstrate an

ability to operate and negotiate under time constraints. It is crucial for each delegate to keep cognizant of the state and movement of their forces and monitor the efficacy of their tactics in fighting the British, as they will be tasked with maintaining their men.

The hour of change is looming in British Kenya as increasingly the population is growing disillusioned with strict British rule. Growing African nationalism, rising inequality, and unemployment all support an increasing independence sentiment. Will the rebels be successful in freeing their people and achieving their objectives or will they succumb to the greed and power of the British?

### **Historical Brief**

To properly understand the emergence of British colonialism in Kenya, it is important to provide a brief overview of the Scramble for Africa. The Scramble for Africa refers to the invasion and colonization of almost the entire African continent by European imperialist powers. The process of imperialism accelerated in the late 1800s and Dr. Saul David (2011) conveys that just 10% of the African continent was under European control in the 1870s, yet, by 1900, European powers controlled over 90% of Africa. The scramble took place as a result of three main factors: the process of industrialization in Europe, rhetoric

concerning the need to civilize the “dark continent,” and the accumulation of influence.

Rapid technological growth across the European continent was driving a surge in industrialization and led to the growth of huge manufacturing processes. Countries like Britain, France, and Germany were at the forefront of the industrialization process. In order to continue to fuel further industrialization, European nations needed access to raw materials, markets, and cheap labor (Cleary 2014). Britain in particular was drawn to raw materials such as cotton, palm oil, and tea. East Africa was home to all of these resources and boisterous ports in Zanzibar and Mombasa to ship resources from Africa and goods to Africa. In addition, exploration and conquest of the African continent meant that there were new markets for European nations to export their goods. As industrialization intensified, there was a danger of overproduction of goods that would surpass the domestic demand. A way to circumvent this was to export these goods to new African markets to “trade” for the raw materials. Of course, this trade was forced onto the African peoples as European colonial powers were keen to accumulate raw materials and dump goods and there was little to be done to stop them. Furthermore, the technological process that

fueled industrialization was also key in that it provided the arms with which to launch invasions of large swathes of the African continent. Renowned English poet Hilaire Belloc remarks, “Whatever happens we have got the maxim gun and they have not,” and this gun was crucial in colonizing large areas of land in a short period (Gann & Duignan 1981). The only access that the African population had to such technology was from the European goods that were being traded for raw material demands in Europe.

The notion of civilizing the “dark continent” can be traced back to British explorer David Livingstone’s insistence on ending slave trade in Africa (Dr. David 2011). The term “dark continent” was used among European powers to convey the sense of mystery and lack of knowledge about the African continent. Livingstone was one of the first to scout the African continent in the 19th century to evaluate its suitability for colonization. It was explorers like Livingstone and Henry Morton Stanley who were eager to convey that the continent had a wealth of raw materials that European powers could exploit. Livingstone also believed that in order to bring about an end to slave trade, it was important to civilize African populations. This meant that African populations ought to be molded to replicate European civilizations. This entailed a move

towards employing new technologies to replace traditional methods of livelihood that had been in existence for centuries prior to European contact with Africa. This notion of civilizing Africa ignores the established African tribes, kingdoms, and sultanates with their rich histories and cultures (University of Cambridge n.d.). The “dark continent” became the “Darkest Africa,” a place where the inhabitants were savage, brutal, and uncivilized because they did not have the same access to technology as Europeans (University of Cambridge n.d.). Civilizing the African continent also meant in Livingstone’s eyes that populations ought to be converted to Christianity. As a result, several Christian missionaries went about setting up schools and parishes to bring literacy and the Christian faith to Africans (Walker & Gallagher 1990). While missionaries seemed to serve the purpose of educating locals and converting them to Christianity, often times missionaries colluded to secure land for Britain, France, and Germany.

To financiers who had lost a major source of income following the end of the slave trade, not only were these newly identified population centers a new market for European goods but also an abundant source of raw materials with which to make them. Now, what better way to establish a monopoly than to actually colonize the area

and bring it under foreign control for exploitation without negotiation? The seeds had been sown for what was to be called the Scramble for Africa. The impetus for this scramble was further spurred by the Imperial German Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, effectively ending expansion within Europe and creating two new powers who were keen to get in on the Africa “act” whilst they still could and leaving powers like France in need of new lands after ceding territory to Germany during its unification process.

The final major factor in the Scramble for Africa concerns the need among European nations to accumulate influence outside of their borders. The British Empire and France were established colonial powers before the scramble but the state of Germany had only been established after the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and just as Italian unification was confirmed. These two new European powers were keen to assert influence outside of their borders and gaining colonies in Africa was an ideal way to do so. Britain and France were wary that the growing influence of both Germany and Italy could impede the formers’ influence in Europe and globally and as a result did not want to be left behind in the hunt for African colonies. France, after losing the war in 1871, had grown further alienated from Germany after the

Triple Alliance formed with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy as members. Otto von Bismarck sought to calm tensions by organizing the Berlin Conference from 1884-1885 in order to facilitate the dividing up of Africa and set the rules for “the game” that was imperialism in Africa.

By the end of the First World War, the major powers had invaded and divided the entire African continent into European colonies. Only two countries, Liberia and Ethiopia, remained independent. In many cases, foreign involvement led to the loss of millions more Africans. In Congo, for instance, early colonial rule by Belgium is thought to have caused the deaths of 10 million, halving the population.

### **Berlin Conference**

The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, convened by Otto von Bismarck to discuss the future of Africa, had stamping out slavery high on the agenda. The Berlin Act of 1885, signed by the 13 European powers attending the conference, included a resolution to “help in suppressing slavery.”

In truth, the strategic and economic objectives of the colonial powers, such as protecting old markets and exploiting new ones, were far more important.

The Berlin Conference began the process of carving up Africa, paying no attention to local culture or ethnic groups, and leaving people from the same tribe on separate sides of European-imposed borders

### **British East Africa Company**

Brewing conflict between rival factions ultimately prevented the company from investing the necessary time and money into this venture. The four groups involved in Uganda, the Kabaka, French Catholics, Protestants, and the Company, could not resolve their squabble amicably and with tensions continuing to rise, civil war broke out in January 1892. With the aid of Frederick Lugard, the individual given the task of building the company a fortified location on Kampala Hill, the IBEAC earned itself a fruitless victory.

This conflict proved to be the company's final undoing. The IBEAC was already struggling financially due to customs issues but the money spent funding this skirmish all but bankrupted it. This also made clear that the company would be unable to continue its poorly executed attempt at colonizing eastern Africa. The British East Africa commission was most interested in exploiting the fertile lands in Kenya to “export” crops back to England. The British East Africa Company proved to be an ineffective attempt at allowing commercial



businesses local administrative rights. Inevitably, in 1894, the British government declared a protectorate over Uganda effectively dissolving IBEAC and assuming full responsibility.

### **Foundation Behind the Mau Mau Uprising**

The Mau Mau Uprising was not the first instance of violence in Kenya in which the British were involved. Time and again, the British committed various atrocities against the native Kenyan population in order to make space for white settlement. Such was the terror inflicted by the British army that figures in British politics including Winston Churchill voiced their concern that this may infringe on ideas for the east African protectorate in the future. Violence also came in the form of rebellion against the British. Rebellions that took place before the Mau Mau Uprising include Nandi and Giriama resistances that did not draw on the might of the Kikuyu people as the Mau Mau did. Nandi resistance was a 16-year conflict that was effective in prompting the British to recognize the determination of Kenyans for independence but also allowed for the British to understand the nature of Kenyan geography in dealing with rebellion. The Kikuyu made up the largest tribe in Kenya

and thus a rebellion driven by them had the potential to initiate change in Kenya.

Mau Mau members were primarily from the Kikuyu, but others came from the Meru, Embu, Maasai, and other smaller groups of Africans. The reasons they joined vary between individuals within the ethnically diverse Kenya. Initially, people joined because they had land grievances or were unsettled because of the educational and political system in place. Some were militarized urban dwellers who, for example, because of the dire situations in which many of them lived around Nairobi, sought some outlet for their anger and resentment. Some had been displaced when the British restricted the lands in which the Kikuyu could live. By 1948, 1.25 million Kikuyu were restricted to live in 2,000 square miles worth of land, while the 30,000 white settlers occupied a vast 12,000 square miles (Colman 2012).

European settlers and Kenyans had differing views of how best to divide and use the land. Settlers' sights were set on turning thousands of acres of land into profitable farms. They did this by attracting a large number of African squatters who lived on the farms, worked for the settlers, and were allowed to farm for themselves. Some squatters lived on their ancestral lands. Others moved outside of what became

known as the White Highlands, where some were able to own land, but others lived collectively on Reserves, set aside by the colonial government. This was a gradual process and evolved because settlers who were unhappy with their tenant labor wanted more land and thus pressured the government to take action on their behalf. In the years between the World Wars, government policy focused on creating a suitable and stable environment for the cultivation of cash crops (Lewis 2008). This impinged on Africans' autonomy to grow crops as they saw fit and to raise and graze as many cattle as they could. Africans, primarily the majority Kikuyu, activated politically and demanded land rights. Later they rose to violent protests. The land issue is central to the reason so many African Kenyans fought and died during the Mau Mau Uprising. Kenya's fight for land ultimately resulted in the declaration of the State of Emergency. British actions to secure land for the development of cash crops created disproportionate ownership that caused many black Kenyans to begin political actions to secure their ability to produce a sustainable lifestyle. Since the Kikuyu had such a tenuous claim to land, they had to define their territory. Therefore, when Europeans settled in Kenya and moved into the Highlands, they imposed their idea of what an African community was

like, and the Kikuyu gradually lost the freedom to farm as they did formerly.

Many Mau Mau were members of Kenyan political organizations such as the Kikuyu Central Association or the Kenya African Union, who used these organizations as a base for mobilization or were outright unhappy with the lack of action, they believed, in which these organizations were engaged. The uprising began to take shape when more radical Kikuyu militants were invited into the nationalist KAU (Kenya African Union). Called Muhimu, these activists replaced a more moderate, constitutional agenda with a militant one where the Muhimu began widespread Kikuyu oathing, often through intimidation and threats (Bilow nd). Traditional oathing ceremonies were believed to bind people to the cause, with dire consequences like death resulting from the breaking of such oaths, yet the British responded with de-oathing ceremonies (Bilow nd). Additionally, the Muhimu attacked loyalists and white settlers. In 1950, Nairobi was declared a city and the hope of the Europeans was that it would be an important imperial city (Lewis 2008), with all the modern infrastructures, buildings, and amenities. They enforced pass laws, preventing Africans from living in most parts of the city and allowing them to only go there for work (Lewis 2008). This resulted in

more Mau Mau oaths gradually working their way through the Nairobi slums as increasing numbers of Africans joined the ranks of those who feared British takeover of more lands surrounding Nairobi (Lewis 2008). The increased number of squatters who resented the white settlers created a drastic rise in violence. In order to curb this, the British set up detention camps. These detention camps were the antithesis of the agricultural system in which the government originally wanted Africans to participate. The squatters were removed from the farms and from their own land. Africans who were able to retain their land were Loyalists. This created a social division between Loyalists and Mau Mau based upon land: the haves and the have-nots.

J. M. Kariuki (1960- Mau Mau Detainee), a member of the Mau Mau Uprising, recalls that the term *Mau Mau* has no meaning and its origin is unclear. He writes that the Kenyan Land and Freedom Army was what the leaders of the rebellion preferred to call the movement. He also wrote that the term *Mau Mau* was adopted by the rebellion in order to counter what they regarded as colonial propaganda.

Mau Mau motives for revolution developed out of the increasing agitation over the loss of land, livestock, and autonomy. Groups began to emerge and,

eventually, a small group of radicals became known as Mau Mau and rapidly grew in numbers. Mau Mau was more radical than other groups in its tactics and agenda. It began by slaughtering cattle and goats belonging to settlers and Loyalist Kikuyu. Mau Mau equated Loyalist Kikuyu with European settlers who opposed it and treated them with the same contempt, but nevertheless, it fought for all Kenyans to regain all of Kenya. It attacked and killed settlers and Loyalists. Loyalists were those who did not take the oath to pledge themselves to the subversion of British colonialism and ultimately to independence. Those who did not take the oath gained economic and social power under the British rule and were more afraid to take an oath than not.

The rebellion fits into the Eastern/anti-colonial pattern, where the old regime (for Mau Mau, the foreign British government) “cuts its losses” and grants independence. Mau Mau members were predominantly the peasants displaced by settlers in the White Highlands and those living as squatters on white farms. The revolutionaries began at the rural level and were able to raise an army strong enough to resist the colonial military in the cities because the focus of recruiting shifted to the cities where large populations of poor and often unemployed people were

concentrated. Settlers depended on the Kikuyu as the primary labor source. When the latter were no longer working in that capacity, economic breakdown occurred. These former workers became the driving force behind the Mau Mau Uprising.

**This committee begins on the 17th of November, 1952**, when the Mau Mau declares open rebellion against British rule in Kenya. Note that this is before the Kapenguria 6 were arrested (Bildad Kaggia, Kung'u Karumba, Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei, and Achieng' Oneko, pioneers of the movement against the British who were arrested in 1952 and tried in Kapenguria, a town in northern Kenya). The context in which the committee begins is that the British troops promised to be sent to Kenya to fight the Mau Mau rebels, which they have deemed terrorists, have just landed on the coast. The rebellion in its infancy takes place on two key fronts (further explored in tactics section of background guide). The first is the rebel armies of the Mau Mau located in the Rift Valley, the Aberdares, and Mount Kenya whilst urban supporters of the rebellion are in cities including Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu, and Mombasa. The Mau Mau are actively recruiting members to join their fight to drive out "the white man" from their borders to take back control of their lands. Crucially, this recruitment now extends beyond the

Kikuyu tribe with those refusing to take oaths to join the Mau Mau considered as hostile as the British.

### **Key Tactics**

#### **Military Might**

One particular striking aspect of the Mau Mau Uprising was how the Mau Mau orchestrated their attacks in a way to maximize their chances of success. Indeed, the lack of heavy weaponry and foot soldiers caused the rebels to adopt more creative fighting strategies such as quick and brutal nighttime attacks. Unlike British propaganda, these attacks were actually strategically planned and not just the result of impulse decisions. Many of the Mau Mau leaders and generals had been well-educated and respected members of their community before the rise of the rebellion and therefore were more skilled than the British claimed. General China for example enlisted in the British army and served in the King's African Rifles throughout Asia, more specifically Burma.

#### **Swynnerton Plan**

The British not only used military strategies to appease the rebellion but also more socioeconomic ones. One program that

stands out is the Swynnerton Plan, a colonial agricultural policy, which aimed to increase the Kenyan colony's cash crop production. From an economic standpoint, the presence of the British in Kenya was due to the presence of extremely fertile land and conditions conducive to European settlements. Roger Swynnerton, an official in the Department of Agriculture, had a twenty-year plan to economically empower Kenyan families by having each family relocate to a predetermined parcel of land.

### Photos of the Uprising



Figure 1. Mau Mau Squadron



Figure 2. British soldiers sending guard over arrested rebels

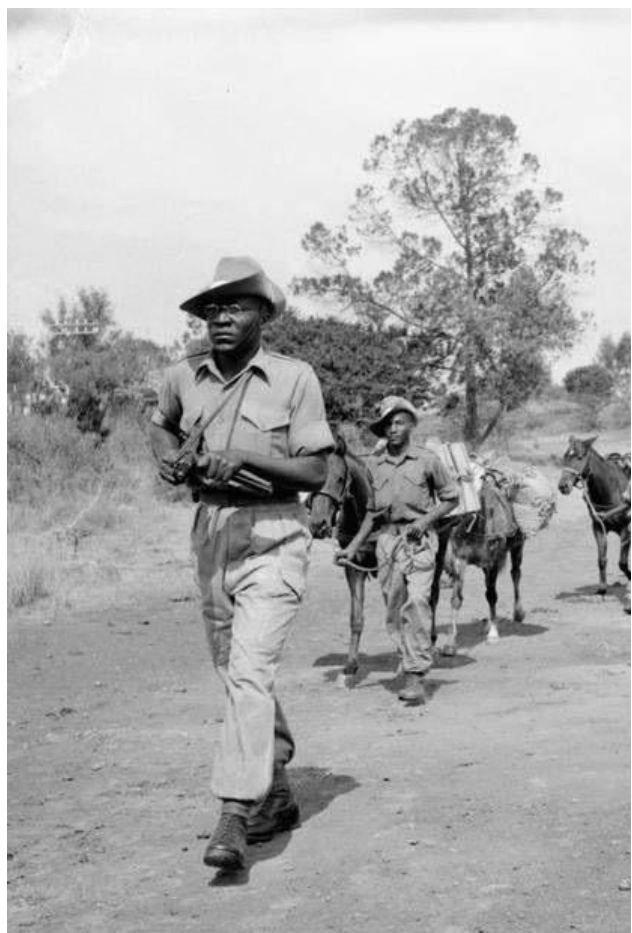


Figure 3. Mau Mau rebels transporting supplies



Figure 4. British soldiers navigating Rift Valley terrain





Figure 5. British soldiers searching for Mau Mau suspects

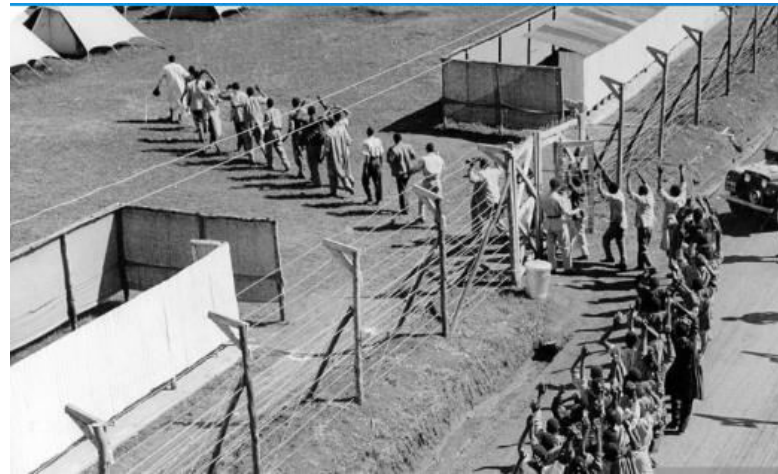


Figure 7. Accused Mau Mau rebels being marched to prison

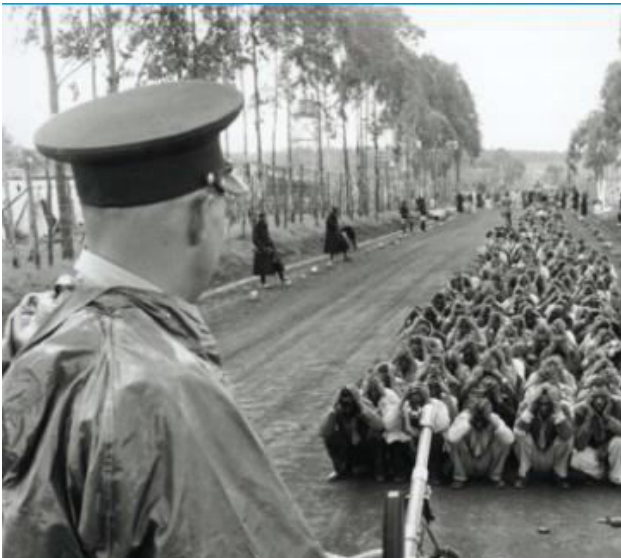


Figure 6. British soldier standing guard over arrested rebels



Figure 8. Map of British East Africa



Figure 9. A poster for the Land and Freedom Movement featuring leader Dedan Kimathi.

### **Character List.**

#### **1. Dedan Kimathi**

Dedan Kimathi is the leader of the Mau Mau. He was born in the Nyeri district. He went to a local primary school in Karuna-Ini, perfecting his English, cultivating skills in poetry and demonstrating his verbal fluency in the debate club. For secondary (high school) he went to Tumutumu CMS School. From an early age, he showed signs of resistance to authority and was often in trouble with his teachers, dropping in and out of school. His resistance to authority was further demonstrated when he enlisted in the British army and was dismissed after a month for violent acts against recruits and drunken behavior. He was often dismissed from other jobs due to accusations of violence.

In 1947, he was exposed to members of the Kenyan African Union where he would eventually meet militant Mau Mau supporters. He became secretary of the branch at Ol Kalou which was run by militant supporters of the Mau Mau Cause. He joined the 40 group also known as Kiama Kia 40, a group with the aim of using militant means to achieve their ends. They were part of the former Kikuyu Central Association.

Today Dedan Kimathi presides over oath-taking, as it is something in which he deeply believes to establish solidarity, therefore often going to brutal lengths to ensure oaths are taken and upheld. He was captured by the colonial government but was able to escape and this has fueled the uprising. He raids settler farms and partakes in the guerilla warfare taking place in the forest. He leads brutal attacks on anything that represents the colonial regime as well as those who betray their Kikuyu brethren and are loyal to the colonial regime. He uses his verbal fluency to communicate through many methods during the war and is a heavy believer in biblical structures and Kikuyu proverbs as a way to get the message across. As the leader of the army he is knowledgeable in battlefield tactics, familiar with the forest terrain, and has access to ammunition and soldiers as well



as the ability to bring in recruits and carry out orders.

## 2. Waruhiu Itote

Waruhiu Itote, also known as General China, was born to a farming family in the Nyeri district. Like Dedan Kimathi, he was educated at the local Church of Scotland mission but his education was minimal. He enlisted in the British army and served in the King's African Rifles throughout Asia, firstly in Ceylon and then in the Burma Campaign. He was promoted to the rank of corporal. On his return to Kenya, the lack of opportunities disappointed him and sparked his involvement in urban politics, through which he joined the Kenyan African Union. He was originally part of Nairobi's 40 group and participated in the "Criminal Underground" to supplement his wages as a fireman. He took the Mau Mau oath in 1950.

Today, China is the leader of the Mt. Kenya forces of about 5,000 men and women. He is responsible for carrying out oaths and executing traitors. At the earliest stages of planning, he has been heavily involved in the Civilian War Council. He has trained some of the very first rebels on the Mt. Kenya slopes and is quite crafty in battle. He moved to Mt. Kenya with his

followers to begin his insurgency. Itote carries out attacks on white settler farms. He is recognized as a skilled commander with an ability to organize. He deals in armaments, training and recruiting, guerilla tactics, and uncovering traitors. His useful networks include networks of organized crime, his followers, his soldiers, and ex-comrades.

## 3. Stanley Mathenge

Stanley Mathenge is one of the Mau Mau leaders. He was born in Mahiga, Nyeri district. He fought in Burma for the British and became a leading member of the 40 group, a militant organisation that comprised of members in Kenyan African Union (Alam 2007). In 1955 after leading over 300 men over the Northern frontier district and crossing the border over Ileret, he vanished. An account by a Kenyan who supposedly tracked him down in Ethiopia said that he had split with Kimathi on moral grounds and knew they would fall into the hands of the enemy (Alam 2007). He and Dedan Kimathi had an interesting relationship, as some consider him to be Dedan Kimathi's right hand whereas others describe him as his rival.

Today, this Mau Mau military leader has founded the Kenya Rigii, opposed to

Kimathi's Kenyan parliament. From his bases in Northern Nyandarua, he plans strategies and leads attacks. Mathenge is considered brave and is skilled with his 303 rifle. He also tries to gain support for the Mau Mau cause and gain more soldiers behind it. He has the loyalty of many fighters. As a leader, he is skilled in guerilla warfare, coordinating and planning attacks, and has a supply of military arms.

#### 4. Bildad Kaggia

Bildad Kaggia was born into a peasant family and their inability to pay for his education led to his serving the colonial administration as a clerk. He fought in the Second World War due to his inability to continue his education and served in the King's African Rifles in Asia and on a posting in Britain. On doing so, the casualties of the war instilled an egalitarian point of view in him, making him even more critical of a rule often justified by a racial superiority complex (Adenekan 2005).

On his return to Kenya, he was dismayed at the conditions prevalent in the country, specifically the appropriation of land for British farmers. He became a trade union activist campaigning for higher wages and better working conditions for Kenyans. He originally was going to join the KAU but

was disappointed due to its lack of militancy. He climbed up the ranks and led the Labour Trade Union of East Africa, which was able to take over the KAU branch in Nairobi, militarizing it and causing disunity within the movement.

His new view on the conditions of his homeland were accompanied with a new view on spirituality. Inspired by a visit to Jerusalem, he rejected missionary Christianity on the understanding that it was a form of European control and thus vital to British rule. Therefore, he denounced the church and founded the African Independent Church with the aim of creating a religion detached from European Christian doctrine and inclusive of African customs and traditions.

Today, holding on to his liberating religion, he helps organize the Mau Mau Uprising. He has started vernacular newspapers, including Afrika Mpya, that report on KAU activities and are instrumental in spreading the message of militant Mau Mau leaders and advocating for independence (Adenekan 2005). He is the leading member of the KAU study circle which drafts memoranda, resolutions, and discussion papers. He campaigns actively against the Municipal Council apartheid by-laws and he sits on the Mau Mau Central Committee along with the Kapenguria Six –

Bildad Kaggia, Kung'u Karumba, Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei, and Achieng' Oneko.

### 5. Jomo Kenyatta

Jomo Kenyatta played a prominent role in independence as an outspoken nationalist and as the leader of the Kenyan African Union. He was born to the chief of a small agricultural village in the central highlands, but his father died when he was young and he was adopted by his uncle who also took over the chieftdom (Rowe 2007). However, when his mother died, he moved to live with his grandfather, who was a medicine man. He ran away from home to be educated at the Church of Scotland mission, where he studied numerous subjects including English, mathematics, the Bible, and carpentry.

After his education, he took on numerous professions and lived with Maasai to avoid forced labor imposed by the British. He became involved in independent protest movements and joined the East African Association Movement, the first anti-settler protest movement. After it was banned in 1925, he joined the Kikuyu Central Association, which was a reunification of the EAA (Rowe 2007). It dealt with specific grievances of the Kikuyu especially the expropriation of land. He

became the general secretary for the KCA and editor of their newspaper, Muigwithania, intended to maintain unity amongst the Kikuyu. He was responsible for going to England and presenting KCA demands, and eventually stayed there, attending schools and universities, traveling extensively, and publishing works on the plight of Kenyans under colonial rule (Rowe 2007).

Today, back in Kenya, his activism has intensified and he has emerged as an outspoken nationalist, demanding independence and working with a network of other Pan-African nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Dr. Hastings Banda of Malawi, and Isaac Wallace-Johnson, a journalist from Sierra Leone. This cooperation has occurred not only across the African continent but globally as well within the African diaspora. Together they are part of the Pan-African Federation and attended the Pan-African Congress established by black nationalists like W. E. B. Du Bois to discuss plans for national movements amidst the African diaspora. He has been intensely campaigning with the aim to destroy colonial rule.

### 6. Fred Kubai

Despite several setbacks, including his arrest on a murder charge, Kubai persisted in mobilizing young trade unionists and members of the working class in Nairobi area to join the only black political party, KAU, to show that workers had political strength and will. As chairman of the Mau Mau War Council, based in Nairobi, he worked closely with other freedom fighters who had been sent to Mt. Kenya Forest, the Aberdare Mountains, and the Rift Valley to fight the colonial soldiers. In 1952, the struggle reached a turning point: Jomo Kenyatta and the rest of the Kapenguria Six, including Fred Kubai, were arrested under the famous “Operation Jack Scott” of October 20, 1952. Officials declared a State of Emergency. Now famously called the Kapenguria Six, they were taken to Lokitaung Prison, Kapenguria, where they were forced to dig their own personal graves in solid rock. In 1962, he was set free and was immediately welcomed by the trade unions. Soon after, Kubai was appointed the director of the Kenya Federation of Labour and he immediately participated in drafting the first industrial relations charter of 1962.

### 7. Achieng' Oneko

Oneko was one of the six freedom fighters arrested by the British colonial

government in Kapenguria in 1952. Other members of the group, known as the “Kapenguria Six,” were Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, Bildad Kaggia, Kung'u Karumba, and Fred Kubai. Please note that this occurred after the committee begins. They were arrested for allegedly being linked with the Mau Mau rebellion movement. They were released nine years later, in 1961, two years before Kenya gained independence. The first parliamentary elections were held after independence in 1963 and Achieng Oneko won the Nakuru Town Constituency seat. Jomo Kenyatta became the first president of Kenya and soon appointed Achieng Oneko as Minister for Information, Broadcasting, and Tourism. However, in 1966, Oneko quit the government and joined the newly created Kenya People's Union, a socialist party led by his comrade, Oginga Odinga. As a part of the Mau Mau movement, Oneko is seen as a key advisor to the leaders of the rebellion and operates from Nakuru, where his constituents are loyal to his call to arms.

### 8. Muthoni wa Kirima

Known for her “air of authority and rebellious streak” (Gisesa 2011), as well as her courage, Muthoni wa Kirima was one of the first women to obtain the status of field marshal and become an active fighter in the

liberation movement, the position she holds at this point in time. She was given the nickname “Weaver Bird,” coined by Dedan Kimathi, due to her ability to integrate or “weave” new strategies in the Mau Mau fight for freedom (Gisesa 2011). Her experiences growing up on a farm controlled by colonial settlers is known to have funneled her vigor to defy the British and gain independence (Lihamba 2007). She was amidst the fighters who were never caught and only came out of the forest after independence. She sustained morale throughout the conflict and even as soldiers lay down their weapons, she persisted as she wanted to see the the first Kenyan flag raised (Gisesa 2011).

Muthoni was exposed to the fight for freedom at a young age as she took part in fundraisers for Jomo Kenyatta (Lihamba 2007). She was also involved in resistance activities, often as the designated treasurer for these efforts, a position that reaffirmed the importance of keeping these activities secret from the white settlers as she was at times asked to keep the money. She was exposed to spotter airplanes and bombers due to the fighting taking place in the forest. She describes her first bombing as “memorable” and talks of how they were told to lay low and count to five as it exploded, trees flew, and the earth shook (Lihamba 2007). She describes the machine

guns that the British used, which they called “Bebeta,” and her relief and appreciation of having survived them (Lihamba 2007).

She started off by supplying and carrying information to the Mau Mau (Lihamba 2007), as many women did. In her narratives, she describes frequent journeys from Nyeri to Aberdares, describing it as dangerous (Lihamba 2007). It was these journeys that forced her to learn how to cover her tracks and equip and defend herself if needed.

She faced severe abuse from home guards due to her husband's actions to fight in the Mau Mau army along with her support of the Mau Mau. She describes numerous incidents of abuse she faced. “On my way home I met with the Johnnies. They roughed me up but later let me go. At the edge of the forest I put on a heavy coat I had in order to disguise my looks and hide my bruises,” and she further described how she crawled on her stomach because of the pain she felt and that she had to use salt and liniment to treat her bruises (Lihamba 2007). These were regular instances and she speaks of continual harassment she endured by British soldiers. In her periods of recovery, she would begin to plot ways in which she could go into the forest searching for Kimathi and eventually join his army (Lihamba 2007).

Today, in Dedan Kimathi's army, she is a field marshal. She leads the hunt for elephants to find ivory that could be profitable and arms the soldiers (Gisesa, 2011). She raids European settler farms. In her narratives, she describes launching a raid from Rugotti Bush in Karumurio Farm which was guarded by colonial soldiers (Lihamba 2007). She fights in battle, killing both white soldiers and African scouts on the raids they attempt. She has vast supply networks due to where she started and deals in armaments. She is responsible for keeping the army informed of the threats that lie ahead. She uses the experiences and exposure from her childhood to “weave” new battlefield strategies, guerilla tactics, warning systems, defense mechanisms and build their tolerance for torture.

#### 9. Jane Muthoni Mara

Jane Muthoni Mara is among those taking legal action against the British government. She is a key figure for supplying Mau Mau fighters with food in the Rift Valley Province. She was arrested during the rebellion and taken to Gatithi Screening Camp. Mara and other women faced severe torture and abuse in ways that were sexually assaultive and degrading along with being physically and mentally detrimental. She was tried and sentenced to

three years in prison for Mau Mau membership. Detailing her captivity, she talks of how they were taken to Embu Prison, where a lot of people died of typhoid and “were forced to do work carrying bricks to build a school.” She mentions how they were beaten if they moved too slowly, and how they were flogged and whipped within their cell. Jane Muthoni Mara was finally released in September 1957, but never saw her brother again. She never recovered from the sexual violence. For the purposes of this committee, Jane Muthoni Mara will be the pinnacle in supplying food to Mau Mau fighters across the Rift Valley, which will be key in fueling the rebellion effort, as she seeks to to avoid the keen British eye that seeks to cut food supplies to fighters.

#### 10. Wanjiru Nyamarutu

Wanjiru Nyamarutu is a Kenyan freedom fighter working as treasurer of the Kenyan African Union and has now been responsible for the dispatch of food for the Kenyan fighters in the Mau Mau along with helping to administer oaths. Now known as *Nyina-wa-Anake*, “the sign of the Mother of Senior Warriors,” she is also a judge and manages recruits as well as the legal affairs, crimes, and activities of Mau Mau members within the movement. She has been a prominent figure in organizing other

women in the “collection preparation and dispatch of food to freedom fighters” in the Ndothua, Nassuit, Gichobo and Menengai hill forests in the Njoro and Nakuru areas.

Her role has evolved throughout the rebellion and has come to embody a more established one that deals in numerous tasks. Furthermore, her systems of distribution have become more complex. As of now, she gathers information about food and other needs of freedom fighters in the area designated to her. She passes on the information to those working under her. They then mobilize other women to gather the food in demand. Only those who have taken the oath are qualified to carry out this task. Once gathered, the food is prepared and put into baskets or waterpots to be taken to places that are carefully coordinated by women who must be picked in the same manner.

She has also been given new tasks that include the release of new recruits, supervision of the oath administration, and collecting money to buy supplies for local Mau Mau gangs. She does so through a coordinated team of people that work under her, in a house set aside in Nakuru in which guerillas are treated. She currently holds the title of judge in Nakuru’s Mau Mau court. She deals with, tries, and passes sentences for anti-Mau Mau crimes in accordance with

the Mau Mau Code, including death sentences.

It is important to note that as a Mau Mau woman, she is bound to certain Mau Mau rules and codes of conduct including the inability to accept money from people who have not taken the oath.

### 11. Musa Mwariama

Field Marshal Musa Mwariama was born in 1928 in Muthara in the Tigania division of the Meru District. He had an older brother named Romano Ntabathia, though from a different mother. Their father, M’Muchiri, was a soothsayer and strict traditionalist.

He was a leader of the Mau Mau in Meru and the highest-ranking Mau Mau who survived the war in the forests and jungles of Central Kenya from its inception to independence without being killed or captured. Together with Dedan Kimathi and Waruhiu Itote (General China), they comprised the core Mau Mau leadership. By the time he left his bases in Mt. Kenya and Nyambene Hills on the equator, he had about 2,000 fighters under his command.

12. Kung'u Karumba

Kung'u Karumba was born in 1902 in Tigoni village in Limuru constituency. He was one of the six legendary Mau Mau fighters who were arrested as part of the Kapenguria Six. He was detained by the British government and hastily tried in kangaroo court, where he was convicted and locked up for nearly a decade before the country's independence. He was well-known for having business ties with foreign dignitaries such as Mutesa II of Buganda, later the first President of Uganda. He was one of the only Mau Mau leaders that never really showed any real interest in politics.

13. Paul Ngei

The Honourable Paul Joseph Ngei was born at Kiima Kimwe near Machakos township, Kenya. He was the grandson of paramount chief Masaku, after whom the town and the district were named. The family moved from Kiima Kimwe to a new settlement at Kangundo Division in a small village called Mbilini in 1929, a mountainous area with good rainfall for agriculture. His father had been converted to Christianity by the Africa Inland Mission.

Ngei attended primary school at DEB Kangundo from 1932, middle school at Kwa Mating'i in Machakos town from 1936, and

Alliance High School in Kiambu District. He then joined the army in the King's African Rifles (KAR) for a four-year stint. After that he enrolled at Makerere University in Uganda as a journalism student from 1948–1950.

14. Kurito Ole Kisio

Kisio is part of a group of Maasai fighters that decided to join the battle against the British. The Maasai people are a different ethnic group that throughout different periods in the conflict both helped and fought against the Mau Mau. Kisio was originally one of the men selected to fight to be trained and fight in the world war. He came back with his childhood friends including Turesh Ole Tikani.

Today alongside they fight “whites” in the forest and in doing so suffer from many sleepless nights. Kisio alongside Turesh Ole Tikani (see character below) has vowed not be a spectator as war is being fought in his motherland and he has military expertise. He conducts and raids settler homes while leading an army of 800 fighters in Melili Forest in Nairobi Enkare and moves onward from there.

15. Turesh OleTikani:



Turesh Ole Tikani was another Maasai fighter who fought in the conflict against British rule. He grew up with Kisio, fought in the First World War with Kisio, took the oath with Kisio, and, like Kisio, joined a war with a Mau Mau movement feared by many of the Maasai tribe (see character Kirito Ole Kisio up above). The participation of some Masaai recruits rattled the colonial authorities.

Today many accompany them forming a Battalion. He raids British facilities, gains a hold of various supplies to utilize for the rebellion and distribute. Alarming to the British, the two also spend time attempting to gain more recruits who are Masaai.

#### 16. Eliud Mathu

Eliud Wambu Mathu was born in 1910, he graduated from Fort Harare College, South Africa in 1934 as well as Balliol College, Oxford in 1940. He stands out as being one of the most educated and well-respected members of this committee. He is the first African to have sat on Kenya's Legislative Council, essentially a body with a number of elected as well as appointed members to serve as the legislature of the former colony. He holds good ties with the colonial government as well as the Mau Mau leadership, having previously worked

with Jomo Kenyatta. He also maintains strong ties with Britain, through both his alma mater and his brother, a Harvey Street doctor.

#### 17. Tom Mboya

Thomas Joseph Odhiambo "Tom" Mboya was born in Kilima Mbogo in central Kenya, to Leonardus Ndiege and Marcella Awour, who were low-income sisal farmers. He worked for Nairobi as a sanitary inspector before becoming involved with the local trade unions. His work with the local unions gave him the respect of the people, something the Mau Mau leadership admired about him. He was at the time in a relationship with Pamela Odede, an art graduate from the Makerere University and a strong voice for the opposition of British rule.

#### 18. Oginga Odinga

Oginga Odinga was born in Bondo, Nyanza Province, in 1911. He went to Makerere University in 1940, and returned to Maseno High School as a teacher. In 1948, he joined the KAU. As a member of the Luo ethnic group, his primary aim was to empower his community, which he showcased in 1947 when he founded the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation in an

effort to boost the economic base of his community. His social and economic position earned him the respect of the Luo people throughout Kenya as well as in northern Kenya and Uganda.

#### 19. Esau Khamati Oriedo

Esau Khamati Oriedo (aka “EK”) was born in around 1888 at Ebwali village, at a time when the coastal regions were administered by the Imperial British East Africa Company. He had a difficult upbringing as he was orphaned at a young age and made responsible for his three younger siblings. He was employed as a plantation worker in order to support his three younger siblings. EK was an autodidact wholly self-taught and a multilingual polyglot who also expanded his

knowledge by way of functional learning. His thirst for knowledge and inquisitiveness were exemplary; in his early youth, he obtained unfettered access to the well-stocked family library of his British employer who was impressed with the young employee’s intelligence and eagerness to learn. He became an eloquent writer, as well as a fluent conversant of the English language, in addition to Kiswahili, his mother-tongue. As a polyglot and as a member of the KAU, his role mainly pertained to ensuring cross-tribal relations. His abilities made him a respected conciliator, especially during a time of rising trans-ethnic tensions.

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Figure 1 from <https://www.psywar.org/maumau.php>

Figure 2 from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/mau-mau-uprising-kenyans-still-waiting-for-justice-join-class-action-over-britains-role-in-the-9877808.html>

Figure 3 from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mau\\_Mau\\_Uprising](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mau_Mau_Uprising)

Figure 4 from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mau\\_Mau\\_Uprising](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mau_Mau_Uprising)

Figure 5 from

<http://www.gettyimages.com/event/years-since-kenyan-independence-183961485?#some-of-the-6000-africans-rounded-up-in-kairobangi-nairobi-by-police-picture-id51874815>

Figure 6 from <http://www.gettyimages.com/event/years-since-kenyan-independence-183961485?#war-and-conflict-africa-kenya-pic-1954-armed-guards-for-mau-mau-rebel-picture-id78963916>

Figure 7 from <http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/war-and-conflict-africa-kenya-pic-24th-april-1954-suspects-news-photo/79655434?#war-and-conflict-africa-kenya-pic-24th-april-1954-suspects-are-into-picture-id79655434>

Figure 8 from the National Geographic Society

Figure 9 from <https://sites.google.com/site/maumaurevolution/revolution>