

Education, Leadership and Development,
with reference to Kenya

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Abstracts

The thesis examines the "Tom Mboya Airlifts", a scholarship program which took place in 1959, 1960 and 1961 and sent Kenyans to study in North American universities. The "Airlifts" serve as a case study, and are used to illustrate particular aspects of the relationship between "pre-modern" social structures --known as the "economy of affection"-- and the particular form of capitalism that developed in Kenya after independence.

Cette thèse analyse le "Tom Mboya Airlifts" un système de bourse d'étude qui a envoyé plus de quatre cents Africains de l'est, en 1959, 1960 et 1961, poursuivre des études dans les universités nord-américaines. La majorité de ces étudiants originaient du Kenya. Ils étaient du premier contingent d'étudiants à étudier à l'étranger. Les "Airlifts" nous servent d'étude de cas et servent à illustrer les aspects propres à la relation entre les structures sociales pré-modernes --appelées en anglais "economy of affection"-- et la manière particulière dont le capitalisme a été développé au Kenya après l'indépendance.

Chapter One

This thesis examines the "Tom Mboya Airlifts". This was the first scholarship program to send Kenyans to university abroad, operating in 1959, 1960 and 1961. The Airlifts will serve as a case study, and will be used to illustrate particular aspects of the relationship between "pre-modern" social structures --known as the economy of affection-- and the particular form of capitalism that developed in Kenya after independence.

The Airlifts have been selected as a case study for two reasons. In the first place they highlight a number of critical features in the relationship between the economy of affection and capitalism. Secondly the programme itself took place at a crucial point in the evolution of contemporary Kenya in establishing patterns which have extended into the present day.

The ground breaking work done in the field of development / comparative politics during the sixties and early seventies was deeply flawed by ethno-centrism.¹ This bias was typified by Almond and Powell's Comparative Politics: a developmental approach, and later research supported by the American Social

¹See for example: H. J. Wiarda, ed., New Directions in Comparative Politics, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985).

Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics.

² Under the universalizing impact of the reigning Enlightenment Paradigm it was assumed that western rationalism and concomitant institutions could be established anywhere. While these scholars were able to identify some of the requirements of "development" they failed to understand the cultural impediments to the attainment of development as they perceived it.

The thesis will apply Hyden's concept of the "economy of affection" ³ to an analysis of the Mboya Airlifts, and the subsequent careers of the students upon their return to Kenya. Under the banner of "African Socialism", Kenya opted for a capitalist economy. The airlift students were uniquely placed within the then evolving Kenyan capitalist strata.

The airlift alumni were able to use the positions that their education opened to them to satisfy the demands of the reciprocity arrangements of the economy of affection through simultaneous involvement in the running of the state apparatus and the capitalist sector. It will be argued that this

²Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics: a developmental approach, (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1966). For a complete discussion of the ideological biases of this school of thought one can usefully examine: R. A. Packenham, Liberal America and the Third World: political development ideas in foreign aid and social science, (Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 1973).

³A detailed examination of this concept is presented in chapter two.

contributed to Kenya's successful economic growth and development.

According to historian John Iliffe:

Above all, the Kenyan state succeeded in releasing the ambitions and energies of a very large number of its citizens and guaranteed them a system of law and a structure of society in which the system of free wage labour could be expanded. In a global perspective these are perhaps the utterly indispensable conditions for the growth of capitalism. ⁴

The Kenyan state, through its various ministries and institutions sponsored and supported the development of not only capitalist enterprise but also of a particular form of indigenous capitalism. Kenyan capitalists operated as both high level officials within the state and as entrepreneurs. ⁵ This was seen as a good thing. The question of conflict of interest was never raised. This Kenyan style of "nurture capitalism" ⁶ and the economy of affection form a perfect mesh.

⁴John Iliffe, The Emergence of African Capitalism, (London: MacMillan Press, 1983), p 83.

⁵Take, for example, the case of Njenga Karume --Kenya's Assistant Minister of Commerce and Industry. In 1974 he was a director of 36 firms and held a financial stake in 33 of them. He was also the founder of a shoe making company. Ibid., p 2.

⁶The term "nurture capitalism" comes from: S. Schatz, Nigerian Capitalism, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). A more detailed examination of this type of capitalism and its ramifications appears below.

The main contention of the thesis is that the relationship between the Airlift programme and traditional African social structures led the Airlifts to make a significant contribution to the establishment and the functioning of capitalism in Kenya. The thesis will demonstrate that specific communities⁷ viewed contributing to the education of young individual members of their communities as being in the best interest of the community as a whole. It was clear that university training was a prerequisite for participation in the heart of the then evolving state / capital nexus. The independent variable then is the economy of affection, while the dependent variable is the establishment of a Kenyan type of capitalism. The argument is that one of the most significant factors affecting the particular type of capitalism established in Kenya was the power of the economy of affection.⁸ The Airlifts as well as being a part of this general development acted as a fortuitous mechanism through which this relationship evolved.

The Airlifts were one of the accomplishments of the late Tom Mboya. Using his personal charisma and political skill Mboya was able to secure support for the programme from a wide

⁷The term "community" is being used in the Weberian sense here. These communities were basically ethnically defined, largely during the colonial period. Leo offers a full description of this in: Christopher Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

⁸This argument is in contradistinction to Hyden's belief that the economy of affection must be completely destroyed in order for capitalism and development to proceed.

range of sources. In Kenya massive fund-raising campaigns collected wealth in cash, livestock and services, to support the students while they were abroad. African leaders, subsistence farmers, and African town dwellers united to raise the needed funds. They found some support from sympathetic Asian businessmen, and members of the settler community. In the United States the support of organized labour,⁹ universities, colleges, and a collection of prominent Americans fell into place because of Mboya.¹⁰ Neither the American State Department, nor the colonial administration in Kenya participated in the programme.¹¹

The Airlifts sent more than four hundred students -- drawn from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds-- to study in the United States and Canada.¹² These students were the

⁹At this time the A.F.L. - C.I.O. was co-operating with the American Central Intelligence Agency in its efforts to establish firmly non-communist labour movements throughout the third world. It is easy to surmise that their efforts in support of Mboya were part of this program. Clearly Mboya was particularly astute in the use he made of his connections with the A.F.L. - C.I.O.. See: David Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya: The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget, (London: Heinemann, 1982); and the final chapters of: A. Clayton and D.C. Savage, Government and labour in Kenya 1895 -- 1963, (London: Cass, 1974).

¹⁰The Kennedy family, for example, donated \$100,000 dollars from the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation after Mboya met with John F. Kennedy. The donation became an issue in the 1960 American presidential election.

¹¹In fact the British were, for a variety of reasons, opposed to the programme.

¹²An appendix to this thesis lists the individuals involved, the institutions they attended and in some cases field of study. Information on the current occupations of more than 100 alumni is included. This list reads like a

first large group of African Kenyans to receive university education.¹³ They returned to Kenya shortly after independence --December 1963-- and staffed the civil service, universities, corporate executives, and --later-- high political offices in the new Republic. Moreover the Airlifts and the Airlift students themselves shaped the way in which Kenyans took advantage of foreign education opportunities in the following decades.¹⁴

Nairobi has become the service and administrative centre for the East African region. A small country with a relative paucity of resources, Kenya was never expected to be the great

veritable "who's who" of Kenyan elites. The list is drawn primarily from documents provided by the American embassy in Nairobi.

¹³For a description of the state of African education in Kenya prior to the Airlifts see: Tom Mboya, "African higher education: a challenge to America", The Atlantic, July 1961. Because Kenya had a large settler population --which went there with the support and encouragement of the Imperial government-- there was a built-in bias against the education of Africans. The settlers saw, to use their phrase "detrribalized Africans" as a positive threat. See, for example: J. Murray-Brown, Kenyatta, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), chaps. two and three.

¹⁴Such an assertion would be hard to support empirically had the Airlifts been preceded by other scholarship programmes or educational opportunities. Because the Airlifts were the very first opportunity for African Kenyans to receive university education they could not help but have a profound impact on the programmes which followed. This is demonstrated in a number of works. See, for example: Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya; and, M.I. Smith, "The East African airlifts of 1959, 1960 and 1961", (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1966). These academic arguments are echoed by former Airlift students interviewed for this thesis. While abroad they arranged scholarships for members of their families and secured part-time jobs in order to send money home.

success story of East African independence. Yet this is what she has become.¹⁵ It is widely asserted that a well educated, professional, administrative manpower pool is essential to the development of a "modern" state.¹⁶ Clearly such a group contributed to Kenya's growth and development in the post independence era,¹⁷ as well as to Nairobi's evolution as East Africa's effective capital.

The thesis will show how the economy of affection was crucial to the success of the Airlifts. Pre hoc, the economy of affection was mobilized as a funding network for students participating in the programme. While the most significant costs of the Airlifts were met by groups outside Kenya -- contributions from individuals and groups in America and grants of free tuition / room and board from participating universities-- clearly in the minds of the participants their

¹⁵On any level of comparison Kenya is well ahead of her East African neighbors, Tanzania and Uganda. In economic terms her relative success has been quite remarkable. See: D.K. Fieldhouse, Black Africa 1945 - 1980: Economic Decolonization and Arrested Development, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986). Clearly however there is a dark cloud on Kenya's horizon, as is manifested in the deteriorating human rights situation, and in the rioting which has periodically closed Nairobi University. See: Amnesty International, Kenya: Torture, Political Detention and Unfair Trials, (London, Amnesty International Publications, July 1987).

¹⁶See: Richard Sandbrook, The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹⁷See, among others: Leo, Land and Class in Kenya.

greatest debt was to the people in Kenya who had made considerable personal sacrifices to send them abroad.¹⁸

Post-hoc, the Airlift students returned to Kenya knowing that special positions both within the newly independent state and the economy of affection were virtually guaranteed them by their training abroad. While they were clearly under obligation to the economy of affection, the burden was not an onerous one.

In a general sense they felt obligated to work towards the development of the country.¹⁹ In the early sixties the world and Africa were awash with confidence and enthusiasm about the development of the third world.

In terms of specific obligation, the returning students were expected to prosper. It was fully expected by their extended families --the core of the economy of affection-- that their training would open up to them important positions within the Kenyan state. From such positions they would be able to deliver a number of "goods" to the economy of affection.

¹⁸The scope of these fund-raising efforts should not be under-estimated. See, for example: Smith, "The East African airlifts of 1959, 1960 and 1961". As will be argued in the thesis, the Airlifts set a pattern which continues today. This is reflected in the various Harambees --a word from Swahili which means coming together-- which are still held to help fund students going overseas. The "Harambee movement" today is also involved in the funding of a variety of development projects in Kenya, especially elementary education.

¹⁹This point was stressed by all of the Airlift alumni interviewed.

Because of their salaries --even without resort to corruption-- they were able to amass capital. This in turn made it possible for them to acquire land. According to Christopher Leo:

The significance of land is that it constitutes the single most important political issue in Kenya. That statement is one of those rare ones that can be made without any qualification. It was true when Kenya became a colony dominated by European settlers. It remained true through the Mau Mau war and the transition to independence, both of which revolved around competing demands for land. And it remains true in the 1980s, in a country in which rich and poor alike consider land the most important form of personal wealth and are deeply concerned with its distribution and use.²⁰

Land purchased by Airlift graduates working in Nairobi served to meet both the demands of their extended families and their own security concerns. Many Airlift graduates joined the class known as "telephone farmers". This was important as the various land redistribution schemes around the time of independence were drastically altering systems of land tenure in Kenya. Further, the importance of the Airlift graduates in Nairobi's circles of power gave them the ability to influence the outcome of the land distribution processes.²¹

²⁰Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, p. 6.

²¹In his Land and Class in Kenya, Leo describes how land was acquired and utilized in the period after independence. Clearly the returning Airlift students became a part of the class system described by Leo.

Secondly, the strategic positioning of these individuals made it possible for them to channel or divert resources to their specific sections of the economy of affection. Crudely put, this took two basic forms. Airlift students were able to influence hiring processes to the benefit of members of their specific community. They also influenced state decisions to the benefit of their communities, ensuring that at least a fair share of the fruits of development fell to their home areas. When, as so often happens in the third world, the physical resources of development projects were diverted from their intended purpose, the people doing the channeling were protected by their "big men" in Nairobi.

In the main body of the thesis it will be shown how the Airlifts worked within the economy of affection to develop the type of capitalism now found in Kenya. In order to link the specifics of educational policy to the process of development as a whole, the thesis will demonstrate how attitudes toward foreign education meshed with the formal ideological framework put forward in Kenya.

"African Socialism", in the 1960's, evoked all the political enthusiasm and potential of the newly independent African states. Far from being a distinct ideological framework, African Socialism was a catch-all phrase used by those in power to describe and legitimize the actions of their regimes. In this thesis a broad overview of the Kenyan variant on the theme of African Socialism will be presented.

This will be done through an analysis of the ideological manifesto --Sessional Paper #10-- issued by the Kenyatta regime shortly after independence. One of the classic texts of Kenyan politics Sessional Paper #10 was Tom Mboya's brainchild. ²²

In Kenya, conceptions of how the state should act within the society, the role of the individual, and ways in which decisions of the government should be formed and regulated, were adapted from models of the western industrialized world. This model was forcibly implanted during the colonial period.

The ideology of the Kenyatta regime was tailored to meet a very specific political goal: the creation of a fully functioning nation state capable of meeting the pressing needs of Kenya's citizens. In the literature on East Africa it has been demonstrated that those in power in Kenya sought to operate within the frameworks articulated in Sessional Paper #10. ²³

There has not been a great deal of scholarship devoted to the Airlifts, but the extant work is of excellent quality. The last major work -- a Ph.D. dissertation at Syracuse University-- was completed in 1966 by M.I. Smith. This thesis will attempt to bring the story of the Airlifts up to date.

²²Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya.

²³The thesis draws heavily on a number of texts in regard to the ideology of the Kenyatta regime. In addition to original documents, the analysis closely follows: Ahmed Mohiddin, African Socialism in Two Countries, (London: Croom Helm, 1981).

Smith examined the Airlifts from a distinctly American point of view. He describes the way in which the programme was established virtually without the input or knowledge of the American State Department. Smith's thesis contains a wealth of information about the work that went into the establishment of the programme.²⁴

Because the Airlifts have not been studied in recent years no attempt has been made to place them within the context of Kenya's development. As such, then, the thesis involves a degree of primary research. To collect material for the thesis I travelled to Nairobi during the summer of 1987. Material was secured from the files of the American Embassy, the library of the Kenya Times --a newspaper in Nairobi, the University of Nairobi Library, and interviews were conducted with former Airlift students and people who were involved with the programme. In 1985, the American Embassy had begun plans for elaborate celebrations of the Airlift's 25th anniversary. It was to be a reaffirmation of the long existing ties of friendship between the United States and Kenya. (A budget of \$15,000 was authorized for the festivities in Kenya.) As a result, embassy files had been updated and work had been started on a small history of the

²⁴Smith's manuscript was reviewed briefly by Mboya and in detail by Hagberg who was heavily involved in the Airlifts. They viewed the work as being accurate. This according to the widows of both men, who were interviewed for this thesis.

programme. Materials collected in Nairobi are listed in a separate section of the attached bibliography.

The Airlifts as part of Kenya's intellectual and political history have received little attention over the years.²⁵ This thesis seeks to explore the literature on Kenyan development and place the specific events of the Airlifts in the context of Kenya's intellectual history and relate them to theoretical models which have been developed in the literature particularly as these relate to the evolution of a working capitalist economy.

Chapter two presents a review of the literature concerning African development. This will demonstrate the importance most theorists have placed on the destruction of pre-colonial or African cultural norms and their replacement with "modern" attitudes and institutions in order to achieve

²⁵There is good reason for this. In 1969, Mboya was assassinated. Though it will never be known for certain, the common assumption is that he was murdered at the behest of then President Jomo Kenyatta. Mboya had, over the years, developed a base of support which extended well beyond his own ethnic community. As such he came to be seen as a threat to the existing power structure. One important factor in Mboya's personal popularity was the success of the Airlifts. Those Airlift alumni interviewed clearly viewed Mboya as their patron and mentor. The Airlift graduates occupied increasingly important positions in Kenya prior to Mboya's murder. By furthering the process of Kenya's political modernization, Mboya challenged the very core of Kenyatta's power base which stemmed in large part from the manipulation of competing sectional / ethnic groups. Today Mboya's memory evokes strong emotions and political sensitivity in Kenya. See, for example: Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya; see also, David Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State", in, The Political Economy of Kenya, eds. Gilbert Khadiagala and Michael Schatzberg, (New York: Praeger, 1987).

development.²⁶ In the process the clearly identified need for an educated, Weberian, bureaucratic / administrative class will be drawn out. Having traced developing trends in the literature, the review will culminate in a discussion of the "economy of affection" model and its application to an analysis of the Airlifts. The second part of the chapter will review the literature on the formation of capitalist economies in Africa, focusing on analysis of the Kenyan economy. This will briefly touch on the concept of "nurture capitalism" and its manifestations in Kenya. (This concept will be taken up in greater detail in the fourth chapter.)

The third chapter will introduce the Airlifts themselves. It will place the Airlifts in historical context, relating them to the "Mau Mau Emergency" and the movement toward independence.²⁷ Also included will be a brief description of Mboya's career focusing on his leadership role in pre-independence politics.²⁸

²⁶Obviously colonial strategies designed to force Africans into wage labour were the first manifestations of this. For a description of these, see, among others: Leo, Land and Class in Kenya; and, Gavin Kitching, Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite Bourgeoisie 1905 - 1970, (New Haven Conn., Yale University Press, 1980).

²⁷This section draws on a number of sources including: C.G. Rosberg and J. Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya, (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1966).

²⁸This will be drawn from: D. Thompson and R. Larson, Where Were You Brother? : An Account of Trade Union Imperialism, (London: War on Want, 1978); and Anthony Clayton and Donald Savage, Government and Labour in Kenya 1895 -- 1963, (London: Cass, 1974).

The main body of chapter three will describe how the Airlifts were organized, clearly illustrating their dependence on the mobilization of the economy of affection. The final section of the chapter will deal with the impact of the Airlifts on the present day showing how airlift alumni have played a prominent role in the centre of the Kenyan economy.

The fourth chapter will show how the Airlifts meshed with the particular form of capitalism which evolved in Kenya. A discussion of the Kenyatta regime's ideological manifesto -- Sessional Paper #10-- will demonstrate the precise nature of the Kenyan form of nurture capitalism. In doing so the relationship between the Airlifts in particular and a more general political evolution of Kenya and this type of capitalism will be demonstrated.

The concluding chapter will bring together the theoretical analysis of the economy of affection and the emergence of Kenya's particular form of capitalism with the historical case study of the Airlifts. Two linked arguments will be developed here.

The argument will be made that in Kenya, the Airlift generation demonstrated that development could take place within the norms of the economy of affection. In doing so, the way was opened for further development of an increasingly "modern" nation-state. As such, the thesis will offer a critique of Hyden's theory that the economy of affection must be completely destroyed for development to take place. This

leads to the second argument, that rather than being destroyed or displaced by the emergence of capitalism, the economy of affection has proven itself capable of evolving to meet different environments. Rather than waning, the economy of affection is becoming increasingly refined over time. As the demands of Kenya's growing population continue to be articulated through the economy of affection, it is likely that these structures will act as one of the most important elements of Kenya's political economy.

Chapter Two

This chapter will establish a theoretical basis for the analysis offered in the following chapters. In doing so it will review the main trends in the scholarly literature relating to "development" in Africa generally. Finally, Professor Hyden's concept of the "economy of affection" and Schatz's notion of "nurture capitalism" will be presented. These conceptions will be central to the analysis of the Mboya Airlifts offered in the final chapter of the thesis.

The late nineteen fifties and early sixties were heady times throughout the world. The industrialized nations were in the midst of an economic boom. The threat of the cold war was gradually receding, as nuclear terror was successfully managed. The general level of confidence was great enough to lead to the production of the baby boom.

It was clear to anyone who thought about it at the time that the successes of the Second World War, and the subsequent rebuilding of Japan and Western Europe, were the work of pragmatic positivists. The heroes of the time were the great managers: Marshall, Keynes, Kennan, Eisenhower. There was a feeling that all problems could be solved through the application of rationality. Carefully trained experts would guide and protect the oceans of

suburb dwellers from cradle to grave.

This attitude was firmly established within the social sciences. In 1955, the "end of ideology" was declared at a "world congress of intellectuals" held in Milano, Italy. According to Seymour Martin Lipset:

This change in Western political life [the end of ideology] reflects the fact that the fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution have been solved. ... This very triumph of the democratic social revolution in the West ends domestic politics for those intellectuals who must have ideologies or utopias to motivate them to political action.¹

Behaviouralism became the new wave in the social sciences. This was marked by a search for general theory. Two analytical frameworks of tremendous importance to political science in general and to the newly born sub-discipline of comparative politics in particular, emerged from this era. These were Talcott Parson's "Structural Functionalism" and David Easton's "Systems Analysis".

The Second World War marked the end of an era. The forces which moved the world into the post-industrial era also destroyed the economic basis of colonialism. By the late nineteen fifties, the European powers which had divided Africa in the Treaty of Berlin², were scrambling to divest themselves of what had become

¹C.Waxman, introduction to: The End of Ideology Debate, Waxman C.I. ed., (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), p. 73.

²For a brief treatment of the Treaty of Berlin see: M.E. Chamberlain, The Scramble for Africa, (London: Longman Group, 1974).

extraterritorial encumbrances.³ Great Britain in particular, once the predominant world power, could no longer afford to maintain her empire. As British Prime Minister Macmillan, so aptly put it, "...a wind of change was sweeping Africa."⁴

Full-fledged colonization came late to Africa. It was only in operation seventy-five years or so before independence became inevitable. While Walter Rodney has demonstrated that Africa had several hundred years of destructive contact with non-African economies,⁵ it is clear that the impact of the colonial period was less pervasive in Africa than in Latin America. For statesmen and academics, Africa offered a "tabula rasa", an unlimited opportunity. It was felt that all that had been learned in Western civilization could be transmitted to these new states. This gave rise to "...a period of endless, sometimes shameless

³The way in which this disengagement took place varied greatly from country to country and region to region. The Portuguese, for example, hung on to their colonies much longer than the other powers in Africa. The French --with the notable exception of Algeria-- were able to effect smooth transitions to independence for their African colonies, engineering post-independence arrangements of great benefit to both France and the newly independent nations of the Francophonie.

⁴This oft quoted phrase comes from a speech Harold Macmillan made to a joint-sitting of the Houses of South Africa's Parliament on February 2, 1960. In this speech "...he made it clear that the rise of African nationalism across the continent could not be halted even by South Africa." See: Graham Leach, South Africa, (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 103.

⁵Walter Rodney, How Europe underdeveloped Africa, (Washington: Howard University Press, 1974.), esp. chaps. 1 and 2.

experimentation with the continent being treated much like an empty box." ⁶

The sixties were said to be the decade of Africa. As African states attained independence they found that the world, especially the western industrialized nations, were ready to support them with a seemingly endless font of aid and assistance. This was a reflection of both the buoyant state of the world economy and the desire of the super-powers to bring the new states on side. There was also a significant degree of good will at play. This could be described as well-intended paternalism on the part of the industrial nations, especially the United States. There was a firm belief that the people and states of Africa could be brought into the "modern" world.

The men and women who led their nations to independence did so with a thoroughly modern set of expectations. Their objective was the achievement of membership in the industrialized world as quickly as possible. Thus the models of progress adopted were "foreign and modern rather than domestic and traditional." ⁷

Because of the Treaty of Berlin's arbitrary, and --in the context of precolonial African society-- totally irrational division of Africa, frightening internal cleavages were built into most of the continent's territorially defined states. Such

⁶Goran Hyden, "The Theory of Reciprocity and Governance in Africa". Paper presented to the Conference on "Advances in Comparative Institutional Analysis" at the Inter-University Center of Postgraduate Studies at Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, October 19-23, 1987, p.3

⁷Ibid., p.2

cleavages were for the most part ethnic, though other factors, religion and class, for example, were significant in some cases. As new political orders developed, the one-party state emerged as the force under which such cleavages were subsumed and by which the resulting conflicts were arbitrated. Progress towards the modern was seen as requiring national unity, the one-party state became "an engine of change".⁸ Pre-colonial African modes of behaviour and politics were seen as obstacles to progress and many development "experts" prescribed efforts to stamp them out.

These factors at play in the world were reflected in the political science of the time. It is fair to say that Gabriel Almond and the Committee on Comparative Politics of the United States Social Science Research Council set the theoretical tone for the analysis of African politics. As Richard Higgott has pointed out:

Few formalized academic groups have so thoroughly set the course of a segment of social science scholarship as did this committee.⁹

Almond married structural functionalism and systems analysis. The result he labeled the "developmental approach". In Comparative Politics: a developmental approach, Almond wrote:

⁸ Ibid.

⁹Richard A. Higgott, Political Development Theory: the contemporary debate, (New York: St. Martins Press, 1983), p. 15; for a deeper analysis of the the committee and its impact see: Robert A. Packenham, Liberal America and the Third World; political development ideas in foreign aid and social science.

...we are ethically concerned with the problems of political development and political change in the contemporary world. The prospects for democracy and human welfare in many parts of the world are unclear and troubling. We regard the confusing and often threatening events of the last twenty years, and the search for solutions to the problems of instability and internal warfare as challenges to us as citizens and as political scientists.¹⁰

Almond and Powell saw this challenge as a question of "...helping men to explain, and predict the events of social life in order that they may grapple with their problems in a rational manner."¹¹ Rationality is a central concern of their theory. Development theory sought to explain the process of change in the newly independent nations. As Huntington has phrased it:

Political Development, ... is the response of the political system to changes in its societal or international environments and, in particular, the response of the system to the challenges of state building, nation building, participation and distribution. Political development itself was thought of primarily in terms of political modernization. The three criteria of political development were held to be: structural differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and cultural secularization.¹²

By way of reiteration Huntington quotes Lucien Pye, who summarized the basic themes of political development as follows:

¹⁰Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics: a developmental approach, p. 300.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²S. Huntington, "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics" in: Comparative Modernization, C. Black ed., (New York: The Free Press, 1976), p. 41.

...a movement toward: increasing equality among individuals in relation to the political system; increasing capacity of the political system in relation to its environments; and increasing differentiation of institutions and structures within the political system.¹³

Obviously there is a decidedly American bias built into this theory. The framework they offer is in the final analysis an evaluative one. It is a means of determining how closely a given political system approaches the model of the United States. For Almond it was clear that the path to development lay in Liberal positivism. This can clearly be seen in the following passage from Comparative Politics: A developmental approach:

The approach followed in this book has come to be called "the functional approach to comparative politics". ... This particular version of functionalism grows directly out of the classical tradition of political theory; in particular, out of that part which has been concerned with analyzing the political process, and with distinguishing the subprocesses or phases of political decision and action. ... this concern led to the formulation of separation of powers, the doctrine that political action involved the distinguishable processes of legislation, administration, and adjudication. Those political systems which provided for specialized institutions to handle these particular functions, or powers, were said to be more likely to protect liberty, property, and justice. And those political systems which provided for the effective representation of the major social and economic strata within such separation-of-powers were more likely to be stable and libertarian.¹⁴

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Almond and Powell, Comparative Development: A developmental approach, p. 10.

Almond's work was built on by scholars like Arstide Zolberg and Samuel Huntington who substituted "political order" for political development. Like Almond, these thinkers believed that development could be achieved through the establishment of formal structures or institutions through which power could be channeled for development.

By the 1970's it was clear that the search for a general theory of development --like Almond's-- and a focus on the formalized structures of developing societies was futile. On the ground in Africa the realities were stark. The quality of life of the continent's citizenry had not, on average, improved. There had been no significant economic development outside of the basic service sectors. Despite the establishment of strong centralized governments, an influx of outside experts, consultants and volunteers, all accompanied by massive amounts of aid, the sixties had not seen the blossoming of independent Africa. Rather there had been a rash of military takeovers, wars, institutional collapse and general social distress.¹⁵

One of the most important attempts to explain this state of affairs was the "dependency school", a neo-marxist structural theory which arose from scholarship examining Latin America.¹⁶

¹⁵For a thorough and thoughtful examination of this see: Richard Sandbrook, The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹⁶It is fair to say the Andre Gunther Frank was the father of this school of thought. See, A.G. Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969).

As is well known, dependency theory focused on the economic aspects of global integration. It argued that the underdevelopment of the Third World was a direct result of the economic success of the first world. In this view, international capital controls politics throughout the system to ensure that wealth, or surplus value, is sucked out of the Third World periphery to the metropolises of the First World. Colin Leys, in his Underdevelopment in Kenya, describes a situation in which both the state and the middle / "comprador" classes serve only the needs of external capital.¹⁷ This view leaves no room for independent action on the part of African leaders or citizens. Dependency school theorists see the proletariat as the only viable agent for change. Change however demands as a first step that the "false consciousness", which traps the proletariat into passive acceptance of the status quo, be shattered. Empowered by a "true" perception of their economic position, the proletariat can then find the path to their own salvation and reject the economic structures which have enslaved them.

These theorists tend to see development from a viewpoint determined by rationality.¹⁸ They assume that Africans faced with the choices involved in their day-to-day life will act as they would. Deciding with cold-blooded logic to maximize their long and

¹⁷See, Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

¹⁸Obviously this is a much more complicated process within dependency school theories. Be-that-as-it-may the basic logic of explanation is the same in liberalism as in modern marxism.

short term utilities in much the same way as a suburban house-wife in Dallas would. A growing number of theorists --most notably Goran Hyden-- have come to see this as a fatal flaw in the scholarship of developing areas.

In recent years the need for a more "hermeneutic", context oriented sensibility has become clear. Such an approach requires two basic changes in attitude. Endogenous factors have to be given equal weight with exogenous ones, and informal processes have to be regarded as just as significant as formal ones.¹⁹ Once this is done it becomes clear how patterns of behaviour conceptualized as the "economy of affection" --including concepts of obligation and the family-- and deeply rooted in African society confront and often confound the process of development.²⁰ Goran Hyden, for instance, writes:

...the economy of affection has nothing to do with fond emotions per se. Rather it denotes a network of support, communications and interaction among structurally defined groups connected by blood, kin, community or other affinities, for example, religion. It links together in a systematic fashion a variety of discrete economic and social units which in other regards may be autonomous. ... Because such co-operation, however, is not an

¹⁹Hyden, "Theory of Reciprocity and Governance in Africa", p. 13.

²⁰Hyden fully develops the notion of the economy of affection in, Goran Hyden, No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective, (London: Heinemann, 1983). This work follows naturally from his various writings on Tanzania's Ujamaa programme, including his Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry, (London, Heinemann, 1980). In his most recent scholarship Hyden has opted for the term "reciprocity" in favour of "economy of affection". This can be seen in, "The Theory of Reciprocity and Governance in Africa".

inherent and permanent part of the production system, it tends to be ad hoc and informal rather than regular and formalized. These are 'invisible organizations' which tend to be too readily forgotten in the development debate, ...²¹

It was through this invisible system of the economy of affection, serving as an important safety net, that African households were able to survive the pressures of the colonial period.

The key to understanding the effectiveness of relations within the economy of affection is the realization that they are governed, not by a set of specific rules and obligations, but rather by a shared conception of how the society should operate. This is the crucial difference between purely capitalistic interactions --which take place one at a time with clearly defined terms of exchange-- and the relations of the economy of affection. Where the term exchange is commonly used to denote relations with purely capitalistic contexts, "reciprocity" is a term that has been adopted to denote interactions within economies of affection:

A formal definition of reciprocity, then, can be given as a mutual transfer in the absence of both a quid pro quo and simultaneity. The contribution that each party makes to the welfare of the other is with an expectation of mutual performance. Reciprocity occurs only if these expectations converge.

The process of reaching an agreement is also different between exchange and reciprocity. Bargaining,

²¹Hyden, No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective, p. 8.

the principle strategy used by parties to an exchange, is inappropriate in a situation where a quid pro quo is lacking (Boulding 1972:116). The instrument of agreement in exchange is contract. In cases of reciprocity it is the covenant. Unlike contracts which are concerned with precise terms and conditions, the covenant represents an agreement about norms governing future conduct.²²

As mentioned above, much of the early literature on development assumed that the citizens of developing countries shared, or could easily be convinced to share, the rationality of the modern / developed world. The notion that the liberal democratic institutions and economic structures had only to be installed for development to take place, followed as a logical corollary. Patently this was not the case.

In the developed world, citizens as individuals feel that they belong to a community that is defined, in the largest and most general sense, by their nation state. Formalized contractual relationships between the individual and her society are seen as serving not only the common good but the good of the individual. Concomitant with this is a clear understanding that institutionalization of these relationships protects the individual within society.

By contrast in many parts of the Third World, and clearly in Kenya, a number of factors make the establishment of such a rationality problematic. For the majority of Kenyans around the time of independence, modern institutions including the state

²²Hyden, "Theory of Reciprocity and Governance in Africa", p. 27. The citation in the text is to: K. Boulding, The Economy of Love and Fear, (Belmont Ca.: Wadsworth, 1973), p. 116.

itself --established through the colonial system-- could only be seen as instruments of oppression and exploitation. The demands of these institutions --taxation, registration, labour-- were to be avoided whenever possible. The colonial institutions produced virtually nothing in the way of "goods" for African Kenyans.

Following one of the most effective strategies of colonial rule, the British colonial administration systematically strove to keep separate the ethnically determined groups within Kenya. In this it was remarkably effective, establishing patterns which have been preserved in post-independence politics.²³ This led inevitably to a situation in which the nation state became an arena in which these groups manoeuvre for advantage. It is easy to understand then that most Kenyans would believe resources allocated by them to the state to be resources lost. On the other hand, there is logically a perception that diverting resources from the state has no cost to the individual or to his particular group per se.

A third major force worked against the establishment of a modern rationality. Most African Kenyans, as well as being isolated from the modern sectors of the colonial economy, had grown up in a state of great insecurity. The arrival of Europeans and the construction of the railway to Uganda brought epidemics which

²³See: Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State". Throup demonstrates that the Kenyatta regime, once firmly in power, adopted this technique further hardening the distinctions and divisions created during the colonial period.

wiped out large sections of Kenya's population. During the First World War, virtually all able bodied Kenyan men were pressed into service in the "Carrier Corps". This human supply train served the British troops attempting to subdue the German irregulars in Tanzania. The men of the Carrier Corps were worked like beasts and died in huge numbers.²⁴ In the immediate pre-independence period, the Mau Mau Emergency --so called-- spread violence throughout large segments of Kenya's population. Thousands were placed in concentration camps.²⁵ Through all of these events the one structure on which an individual could depend was his family. Today this is reflected in the fact that virtually every resident of Nairobi maintains a residence in and a commitment to the village of his origin. In doing so the individual protects and maintains his ties with his ethnic group. Only the children of the city's most destitute slum dwellers come to think of Nairobi as their home.

To be sure, colonialism was not responsible for the establishment of the economy of affection. Rather, the social patterns of the economy of affection served to protect African Kenyans from the ravages of the colonial experience. Because the

²⁴For an account of this see: J. Murray-Brown, Kenyatta.

²⁵By the end of 1956, 13,500 Africans, 95 Europeans, and 29 Asians had died in the conflict. See: C.G. Rosberg and J. Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau": Nationalism in Kenya, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 303. "By the end of 1954, 77,000 people, most of them Kikuyus, were in detention, some of them in punishment camps..." Christopher Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, p. 60; Leo cites, Fred Majdalany, State of Emergency: The Full Story of Mau Mau, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), p 221.

economy of affection was so important during the colonial period, it played a central role in the run-up to independence. Notwithstanding the Liberal / Marxist belief that such pre-modern social patterns should have withered away, the economy of affection continues to play an important role in Africa today. Hyden and others have clearly demonstrated its importance. The Enlightenment tradition, it is fair to say, has greatly exaggerated the rumours of its death.

Recent work in Africa has demonstrated that:

...modernization is not a unilinear process; customary institutions have a life of their own and combine with modern values in new and often surprising ways; economic processes and social relations rarely resemble those prescribed in capitalistic or socialist blueprints...²⁶

Inevitably as African capitalism became established in Kenya it was saturated by the economy of affection. Through its relationship and integration with traditional African social structures the economy of affection made a significant contribution to the establishment and functioning of capitalism in Kenya.

It was the impact of the economy of affection, rather than "corruption" as has often been argued, which explains many of the difficulties encountered by development schemes of the sixties and seventies. As these projects deployed resources in newly independent states, it was only natural that they were diverted

²⁶Hyden, "The Theory of Reciprocity and Governance in Africa", p. 14.

through the mechanisms of the economy of affection wherever possible. This came as a surprise to those managing the international aid effort who assumed that in independent Africa the nation state would function as in the developed world. They failed to see that:

Interdependencies between state and community are much weaker than those holding specific communities together. African countries are "bottom heavy". Their resources, both material and symbolic, are concentrated and circulated in the periphery. Instead of being able to penetrate these communities, the state is being used by them. These "systems within the system" constitute the building blocks of governance, guided by their own normative structures. African societies are de facto poly-constitutional.²⁷

What does this mean in real terms for the process of development? If, as has been argued above, the introduction of new means of production and concomitant social arrangements fail to displace the economy of affection, taken in the broadest sense, then what has taken place? In many senses this is the fundamental question addressed by a group of scholars investigating the nature and history of capitalism in Africa. They have come to the conclusion that in Africa a unique type of capitalism, generally labeled "Afro-capitalism", has been produced. Rather than supplanting pre-existing social structures, this type of capitalism has adapted to suit the demands of the economy of affection. The

²⁷Ibid., p. 23.

economy of affection in turn has donnee new clothes suited to the present-day state of African society.

During the colonial period, a number of forces affected the way in which Africans were able to participate in business. When Africans assumed political control of their respective states, the transformation of the basically extractive colonial economic structures was a first priority. It was immediately obvious to African leaders that they were legally and practically empowered to totally rearrange the frameworks within which business was carried out and redistribute the fruits of the economy. The relationship between political power and business --both in terms of indigenous enterprise and the relationship of foriegn capital to the domestic economy-- then became a crucial determinant of development in general in independent African states.

John Iliffe, a British scholar of Tanzania, presents an analysis of "Afro-capitalism" since independence, in his The Emergence of African Capitalism. He identifies three basic forms which the relationship between political regimes and business typically assumes. He writes:

As a very broad generalization, three kinds of relationships between capitalists and politicians have emerged: three ideal types in Weber's sense, ...²⁸

²⁸Iliffe, The Emergence of African Capitalism, p. 77.

Before illucidating these models, Iliffe is careful to point out that some nations are easily classified as conforming to one or model or another, while there are states which present a mixture of elements from differing models.

The first model on which Iliffe focuses, is the regime which seeks to prevent the emergence of private African capitalism in any form. He cites Nkrumah's Ghana as an example of this regime type. Nkrumah, he argues, believed private enterprise to be "incapable of modernizing Ghana at the breakneck speed which he envisaged". At the same time he viewed private enterprise as a potential rival to his own power.²⁹ In Tanzania, according to Iliffe, Nyerere shared Nkrumah's belief in the ineffectiveness of capitalism as a force for development. Nyerere moreover objected to capitalism on moral grounds. As an alternative to capitalism, Nyerere installed an ambitious socialist program --Ujamaa-- in 1967. After reviewing the Ghanaian and Tanzanian cases, Iliffe concludes that:

African governments have shown that they can prevent capitalism; they have not yet shown that they can replace it with anything else that will release their people's energies.³⁰

To the second of his ideal types Iliffe gives the label "parasitic capitalism". This he describes as being the "...use of

²⁹Ibid.. To support the argument that Nkrumah saw private enterprise as a threat Iliffe cites: E. Ayeh-Kumi, quoted in Tony Killick, Development Economics in Action: a Study of Economic Policys in Ghana, (London: Heinemann, 1978) p. 60 n. 27.

³⁰Ibid., p. 79.

state power to acquire private property and business interests, so that the holders of office are also the owners of property."³¹ The quintessential example of this type of afro-capitalism is to be found in Zaire. In 1973 and 1974, large scale Zairianization programs transferred "virtually all" foreign-owned enterprises to approximately two thousand Zairians. The greatest beneficiaries of this takeover were politicians.³² Crudely put, this form of capitalism arises when those in political power seize control or install for themselves the extractive mechanisms typically employed by colonial systems. This form of capitalism serves those office-holders who are prepared, in some cases eager, to use the coercive powers of the state --without restraint of law-- to enrich themselves.

Iliffe's third ideal type draws on the work of Sayre P. Shatz, the inventor of the term "nurture capitalism". This type of capitalism arises, according to Iliffe, when:

...a deliberate attempt by the state to create an economy in which at least substantial areas of enterprise would be in the hands of private capitalists. Such a deliberate attempt - and therefore very remarkable - attempt to devolve economic power might result from an overlap of interests between government and private businessmen, or an ideological commitment to capitalism, but historically the most important motive for nurture capitalism has probably been nationalism. The belief that it was the most expedient means to achieve rapid modernization lay behind both the classic cases of nurture capitalism in recent history: late nineteenth-

³¹Ibid., p. 80.

³²Ibid.

century Japan³³ and mid twentieth century South Africa.³⁴

Nurture capitalism is of interest to us here as it is the ideal type which best describes the economic history of Kenya since independence. While Schatz delineated the concept based on his work on Nigeria --in Nigerian Capitalism-- the framework he developed can be usefully applied to the Kenyan case with few modifications. While it is not the purpose of this study to examine Schatz's work in depth, his analysis provides a bridge between the emergence of modern structures and norms and the economy of affection. This will be taken up in greater detail in the fourth chapter.

Describing nurture capitalism in Nigeria, Schatz writes:

This is an approach in which private enterprise is expected to provide the development thrust in the directly productive sector of the economy, in which it is considered necessary for government to strengthen development by nurturing the capitalist sector generally, in which at the same time the government nationalistically favours indigenous enterprise in particular, and in which continuing conflict between the general and the nationalistic nurturant elements inevitably results.³⁵

³³For an interesting anecdotal account of the role of foreign education and individuals "straddling" the traditional and emergent modern economies in Japan's development see: Hara Matsukata Reischauer, Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986).

³⁴Iliffe, The Emergence of African Capitalism, p. 82.

³⁵S. Schatz, Nigerian Capitalism, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p ix.

Nurture capitalism, which Schatz describes as being "characteristic" of many developing countries in Africa:

... comprises four major policy elements. The first is capitalism. Economic activity in the directly productive sector of the economy is primarily the function of private enterprise while government provides the framework of law and policy. ...government investment is concentrated mainly on the infrastructure. ... Universal and nationalistic nurturant approaches constitute the second and third elements of policy. It is felt that, to transform the technologically simple, subsistence-oriented colonial economy into a modern economy, the government must make strenuous efforts to promote private enterprise.

[Because foreign business has an overwhelming advantage which would lead to domination if left unchecked] ...there emerges a third policy strand, a nationalistic nurturant element -- a set of policies and programmes intended to promote indigenous business enterprise in particular.³⁶

Inevitably, says Schatz, the universal nurturant approach comes into conflict with those programmes and policies designed to favour indigenous enterprise over foreign competition. Accommodation is reached between these two interest groups as long as the foreign interests "...feel moderately secure about the rights and spheres of activity that do obtain for them, they continue to operate and even to thrive."³⁷

More importantly for the argument presented here, Schatz notes that government is encouraged to provide such assurances and security to foreign enterprise, and to view these corporations as

³⁶Ibid., p. 3.

³⁷Ibid., p. 4.

necessary for national development with encouragement of "...important members of the indigenous business community who stand to gain by association with foreign firms, particularly in the climate of nationalism."³⁸

Addressing the impact of the colonial experience on the emergence of Nigerian capitalism, Schatz writes:

The Nigerian political class achieved political power in a setting that was conducive to the abuse of that power. Four aspects of the colonial economic-policy heritage were influential in this regard. First, nurture capitalism involved the state directly in the activities of the individual units of the economy; one of the functions of government after World War II was to nurture and assist not only business in general but also individual businesses. Second, this approach was being carried on in a political and social milieu which .. was intensely concerned with Nigerianization in every sphere of life. Third, while such an approach could have been directed single-mindedly toward the general welfare, the power-achieving Nigerians were accustomed to a different government orientation. They perceived a colonial pattern in which... those who controlled government rather than the general welfare had the first priority. Fourth, [during the colonial period] economic development had not been a matter of urgency.

...by in large, those to whom the British relinquished power responded in a self interested way.³⁹

In Schatz's analysis there is a hint of Louis Hartz's fragment theory.⁴⁰ Clearly, both in Nigeria and Kenya, those who

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., p. 152.

⁴⁰See: Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America: an interpretation of American political thought since the Revolution, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955).

assumed power built on the structures and techniques employed by the colonial administration, changing and developing these to suit their own particular purposes.⁴¹ This is especially true in the economic sphere. The British colonial administration used its power over the alienation and allocation of land to control the development of the colony. It was only natural that the post-independence regime in Kenya would recognize the allocation of land as a crucial element in the establishment of political control.⁴²

It is of crucial importance to recognize that all three ideal types of Afro-capitalism delineated by Iliffe, have as their "raison d'être" the achievement of profound structural and social change in the economies in which they operate. They are fundamentally concerned with the pursuit of development and the process of modernization.⁴³ As we have seen from our examination of Hyden's theory of reciprocity, there are within developing

⁴¹As mentioned above, this is discussed in: Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State".

⁴²Leo provides a full analysis of this in his: Land and Class in Kenya.

⁴³It can be argued that parasitic capitalism in Zaire is simply the manifestation of the state elite's use of the power of the state to extract value from the society as a whole. Hence the Mobutu regime's willingness to participate in businesses which endanger the health and future of the country's citizens --the crude dumping of First World toxic waste for example-- in return for profit. This clearly does not involve meaningful development in the economy of the society. It does involve the creation of profit-making relationships with external capitalists. Iliffe demonstrates that the economic structures of nations like the Ivory Coast and Liberia represent many of the factors he defines as identifying parasitic capitalism while serving as "...a base from which a more independent and productive form of private enterprise...". Iliffe, The Emergence of African Capitalism, p. 81.

countries political and social structures which operate apart from the modern institutions of government. An inescapable prerequisite for development in this situation, then, is a group of people who are capable of moving between the modern, outside, world of the future and the existing political power structure which has developed out of tradition and historical experience. The absence of such individuals serving as a medium between these two world views would inevitably throw the legitimacy of the regime into question. The individuals involved must be seen as competent and trustworthy by both sides of the developing/traditional dichotomy. This fact has been recognized in the literature on development in Africa through a conceptualization known as "straddling".

Turning his attention to colonial Kenya of the 1920's, Iliffe describes the emergence of Kenya's first rural African capitalists:

...most of the first African capitalist farmers ... were the sons of wealthy stock owners of the pre-colonial period. But they were characteristically those sons who had been to mission schools and obtained skilled or semi-skilled jobs which gave them the capital to employ labour and also obliged them to do so, since they were often absent [as a requirement of their modern sector employment].

This tendency for the modern-sector employee to become the rural employer is described by Cowen as 'straddling' and has become a key concept in the analysis of African capitalism in eastern and southern Africa.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Iliffe cites: M.P. Cowen, 'Differentiation in a Kenya Location', East African Universities Social Science Conference Paper, Nairobi, 1972, pp 6-17; on p. 31

Iliffe goes on to point out that "straddling" has been less important in the development of Afro-capitalism in those countries --notably in West Africa-- where pre-colonial capitalistic sectors presented an alternative means of capital accumulation.⁴⁵ By contrast the importance of "straddling" in the development of capitalism in Kenya is clearly demonstrated by Gavin Kitching in his: Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite Bourgeoisie 1905 - 1970.⁴⁶

In the fourth chapter we will take up the notion of "straddling" and use it to explain the role the Airlift Alumni came to choose in their participation in the development of the Kenyan variant of Afro-capitalism. In the same chapter we will see how the elements Schatz describes as characterizing "nurture capitalism" can clearly be identified in the Sessional Paper #10, the ideological blueprint of Kenyan independence. Following a review of the scholarly interpretation of Kenya's economic development this will then be generally related to the careers of Airlift alumni on return, as a means of exploring the role played by the economy of affection and the basic question of change in societies like Kenya.

⁴⁵Iliffe, The Emergence of African Capitalism, p. 31.

⁴⁶Gavin Kitching, Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite Bourgeoisie 1905 - 1970, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), chapter 8.

Chapter Three

Tom Mboya was a hero in the classical sense. In organizing the Airlifts, Mboya confronted one of the most important practical problems of independent Kenya: the need for university-trained Kenyans to run the machinery of the society. In doing so he inevitably put himself in conflict with one of the nation's most vexing political realities: rigidly defined patron/client networks of power. In choosing to live and act as he did, Mboya had to know that as well as contributing to the development of Kenya, he placed his own career at risk.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to present a detailed account of Tom Mboya's political career.¹ What follows is a brief summary which places the Airlifts within the broad context of Mboya's work and Kenyan politics generally. This leads naturally to a fuller description and analysis of the Airlifts and their impact.

Like most Kenyan leaders of his generation, Mboya owed his position in large part to the education he received through the sacrifice of his family. Mboya wrote:

¹Such an account has been provided by: D. Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya: The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget.

My father was determined to give his children an education not only because he wanted them to live at a better standard, but also because this constituted a safe investment for him against old age. This is a general African conception of education. My father saved his meagre earnings for months to be able to pay my yearly fees.²

As a result of the fees paid by his family, Mboya attended Jeanes School and qualified as a sanitary inspector. At the time, this was a relatively privileged position for an African. Mboya quickly became involved in Kenya's fledgling trade union movement and nationalist politics, as well as Nairobi's social scene. In 1955, he left Kenya to study at Ruskin College, Oxford.³

Mboya first rose to national prominence in Kenya's labour movement where he proved to be a skilled negotiator and coalition builder.⁴ From this base he moved into national

²Tom Mboya, Freedom and After, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p 37.

³ Mboya was provided with a scholarship by Great Britain's Trade Union Council (TUC). The TUC favoured a more gradual "Fabian" parental approach to Third World union movements. In providing the scholarship it was perhaps thought that Mboya could be wooed away from the ICFTU's orbit. Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 35. However, as Goldsworthy states earlier in his biography of Mboya: "...Mboya was not inclined to expect great things of the TUC, which he saw as not only being too closely aligned with the British government but also necessarily sensitive to British public opinion which generally sympathized with the settlers' point of view on Mau Mau." Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 32.

⁴For a description of trade unionism in Kenya, and M'boya's role in its development see: Anthony Clayton and Donald C. Savage, Government and Labour in Kenya 1895 -- 1963, (London: Cass, 1974), chapter 11, p 368 - 445.

politics in the pre-independence period. These were troubled times in Kenya. The British used troops and concentration camps to deal with the so-called Mau Mau Rebellion. In the leadership vacuum left by the imprisonment of Jomo Kenyatta and others, Mboya quickly assumed a high profile among African politicians, winning universal respect. When Africans were first elected to Kenya's Legislative Council --the colonial governing council, known as "Legco"-- in 1957, Mboya won a seat and became the de-facto leader of the African caucus.⁵ He soon proved himself to be one of the most effective speakers in the assembly.

He was an equally effective speaker outside the assembly. As Throup has commented, his ability to "...converse colloquially in Gikuyu and Kikamba as well as in Swahili and Dholuo, meant he was able to secure support outside his own ethnically restricted subnationality."⁶ This was particularly important to Mboya as he represented a Nairobi constituency that had a well-mixed electorate in which Kikuyu were the largest single ethnic group. In Kenyan electoral politics, holding a seat for more than one term is a great

⁵ Between 1944 and 1956, a number of Africans were appointed to the Legislative Council. According to Goldsworthy: "It was the British government's intention that leading 'responsible' Africans should slowly accumulate political experience and wisdom through ... graduated admission to the council." However, "...with very few exceptions the Africans in Legco were not regarded by Africans at large as their leaders." Goldsworthy, Tom M'boya, p. 68.

⁶David W. Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State", p. 50.

accomplishment.⁷ Mboya was firmly entrenched in his seat and could depend re-election.

In addition to great personal charisma and acute political instinct, Mboya was extremely well organized and addressed himself to the large questions of politics while remaining aware of the minutiae of his political environment. By nature, and as a result of his upbringing,⁸ Mboya acted as a national politician and refused to think solely in terms of his own ethnic group. In many respects he was Kenya's first modern politician.⁹

In the run-up to independence, Mboya played a central role in the Lancaster House Conference which set the stage for the transfer of power. At these talks he worked side by side

⁷ "Members of the National Assembly have usually remained in office for less than two terms --averaging 7.2 years-- and in all post-independence elections more than half the incumbents have been defeated in their bids for re-election." Ibid., p. 37.

⁸ Mboya's father worked on various sisal plantations and as a result Mboya's early years were spent in ethnically mixed communities. Such diversity was also typical of the residential schools he attended.

⁹ Mboya did not belong to Kenya's dominant ethnic group and his political power base was not defined by his ethnic origin. This proved to be an advantage during the period of the Mau Mau Emergency. At that time many Nationalist Kenyan leaders were either imprisoned by colonial authorities or had to severely circumscribe their activities. As Goldsworthy has written: "Informally the gap was filled to some extent by the trade union movement, with young Tom Mboya contriving to survive unarrested while acting virtually as an unofficial spokesman for nationalist feeling." Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 67.

with Jomo Kenyatta and attracted considerable international attention. He was a natural media performer. Following independence, Mboya served as a cabinet minister --Labour, and Justice and Constitutional Affairs-- in the Kenyatta government. As a member of the KANU party, Mboya found himself opposed to fellow Luo Odinga Odinga's and the KADU party. Mboya was the principal author of Sessional Paper #10, a treatise which served to delineate the basic philosophy of Kenyan development under the Kenyatta regime. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

While participating in the government of Kenya, Mboya retained and augmented his power base in the labour movement. He carefully nurtured the Kenya Federation of Labour's relations with the International Federation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U) and the A.F.L.--C.I.O.. These connections were of great importance to Mboya. As Goldsworthy has written, Mboya used the often substantial support of both organizations as powerful tools as he consolidated his position within the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL).

The KFL had all along given Mboya the politician a colony-wide multi-tribal machine to work with during the years when overt political organizing was at first banned outright and later confined to district level. ...the general secretaryship of the KFL helped keep him in the public eye... It gave him many of his opportunities to travel abroad, and thereby not only helped build his reputation as a statesman but also gave him ready access to the resources in cash and kind which

could be used to consolidate his political support at home.¹⁰

The ICFTU, of course had an agenda of its own. To quote Clayton and Savage:

The I.C.F.T.U. had been formed in 1949 by the leading western trade union federations as a result of the increasing domination of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) by the Soviets and their allies. As a consequence, throughout the late nineteen-forties and fifties, the policies of the ICFTU were very much motivated by the course of the Cold War. To the American unions this was the primary justification for the existence of the ICFTU, and they were prepared to accept money secretly from their government as well as more publicly from their labour movement for the ICFTU in order to achieve these ends. The Americans were especially anxious to extend the activities of the ICFTU into the Third World ... by the last few years of colonial rule the Americans were increasingly prepared to bypass the [ICFTU] fund and deal directly with the unions in East Africa.¹¹

Given this context, it is easy to see how the relationship between Mboya and the ICFTU focused on the transfer of resources. Each side saw in the other the opportunity to pursue its objectives. Therefore Goldsworthy writes:

From an early stage Mboya and others were making insistent requests for funds to meet union debts, salaries, and other expenses. Bury [a Canadian

¹⁰Ibid., p. 153.

¹¹Clayton and Savage, Government and Labour in Kenya 1895 - 1963, p. 379.

union advisor sent by the ICFTU to aid Mboya] soon became a little cynical ... 'to many of the Africans here in the unions it is not a matter of need, it is how much can we get out of the ICFTU'. But usually the ICFTU paid up. Given the whole rationale of its operation in Kenya -- to sustain in office leaders [particularly Mboya] who endorsed the ICFTU concept of trade unionism, and to foster the growth of their organizations -- it had little choice.¹²

It is fair to say that the ICFTU served Mboya well. Internationally, Mboya quickly came to be regarded as one of independent Africa's new generation of leaders.

On July 5, 1969, Mboya was assassinated as he left a pharmacy on Nairobi's Government Road (now Kenyatta Avenue.) To this day, no one knows for certain why he was killed or at the behest of whom.¹³

Though he only spent a year at Oxford as a special student, Mboya clearly understood the importance of university education for both the individual and for his country. He was not alone in this perception. As Christopher Leo has written:

...it became obvious to African observers of the European scene [in Kenya] that the colonial economy offered far better opportunities, but that these were closed to people without a European-style education

Moreover, according to Leo:

¹²Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 32.

¹³For a description of the assassination see: Ibid., p 279 -285.

The impetus to European education came, not only from personal ambition, but also from the collective needs of African communities. The most fervently sought-after opportunity of all was university education and it was the hardest one come to come by. No degree courses were available in East Africa until Makerere College in Uganda began to offer them in 1949. Until then, getting a university education meant going abroad. Peter Mbiyu Koinange, who was the first Kenyan African to go abroad for a full university education, returned in 1938 with an MA in Education from Columbia University.¹⁴ Through World War II and in the immediate post-war period, opportunities for Africans to attend university were very scarce. As late as 1949, only fourteen Africans held bursaries or scholarships. It was left to African politicians to undertake the first really serious and large-scale program of support for Africans seeking university degrees.¹⁵

In order to understand just how desperate the shortage of educational opportunities for Kenyan Africans was in the immediate pre-independence period it is worth quoting, at length, an article by Mboya which appeared in the Atlantic Monthly.

The British in West Africa, where they did not have local white settlers to contend with, have probably done best of all in general education, including the university level, ...¹⁶

¹⁴Upon his return to Kenya Koinange became involved in efforts to open university education to Africans. He was important in the organization of the Airlifts. A leader in the campaign for Kenyan independence, Koinange served as a minister in Kenyatta's first cabinet. He was also involved in the pan-African movement.

¹⁵Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, p. 51 - 53.

¹⁶Mboya, "African higher education: a challenge to America", p. 24.

Mboya then identifies the existence, or absence, of settler colonialism as being the factor which determines the quality of African education in different parts of Africa.

The current Kenya government development plan for 1960 to 1963 envisages the expenditure of 1,068,499 pounds on African education, 479,000 pounds on European education, and 616,800 pounds on Asian education, for a country in which there are 7,000,000 Africans, 60,000 Europeans, and 160,000 Asians.

The two principle ways in which ... African students ... are kept from continuing their education are fees and examinations. The cost of 20 shillings per year in fees alone to attend primary school, 45 shillings to attend intermediate school, and 250 shillings to attend secondary school must be considered in terms of the average per capita national income in Kenya of approximately 500 shillings.

As far as elimination by examination is concerned, the following excerpt from the East African Royal Commission Report speaks for itself:

...of the pupils who enter the primary schools ...half will, for one reason or another, have dropped out... Four-fifths of those who remain will then be eliminated by examination, and only for the remainder will places be found in intermediate schools. Of these, a further 80% will either leave during the intermediate course or be eliminated at the end of it. And of those who go through the secondary schools, only a small proportion will be able to pass the school leaving examination: The Director of Education, Uganda, put this number at 200 out of every 200,000 entering the primary school.

Thus we find ourselves on the threshold of independence lacking adequate numbers of trained men and women in virtually every field. There are too few teachers and not enough teachers' training colleges; the eager pressure for thousands of new elementary schools is felt everywhere. But the

urgency is greatest where the conflict between colonial policy and our needs is deepest --in the field of higher education.¹⁷

The absence of highly trained and educated Africans in the colony inevitably had political consequences. Clearly there were elements within the settler community that dreamed of Kenya remaining a "white man's" country along the lines of South Africa. They expected that the country's university-trained manpower would come either from the settler population or from Britain. This ceased to be official policy after the Lidbury Report which called for the Africanization of Kenya's civil service.

The government of Kenya outlined its response to the Lidbury proposals in Sessional Paper No. 17 of 1954. There was certain lukewarmness in this response ... Nevertheless the government did accept the major principle of a public service '...staffed by the people of the country', although it added the caveat that '...there should be no lowering of standards in the services'.¹⁸

As another author pointed out:

Traditionally Britain had been offering scholarships for degree courses at its universities for a number of years. But these opportunities were limited in number and applicants were scrutinized for political acceptability to the

¹⁷Ibid..

¹⁸Clayton and Savage, Government and labour in Kenya, 1895 - 1963, p 376.

British government in the wake of the Mau Mau Emergency.¹⁹

It is easy to see therefore why Mboya gave voice to the opinion that:

...we also know that existing programs are colonial schemes which restrict educational opportunities and assume that we have centuries of dependency still before us.²⁰

Clearly the British expected that Africanization would take place at a much slower pace than that envisaged by Kenyan nationalist leaders. The British believed that the trickle of graduates from Makerere College in Uganda and the existing, government approved, scholarship programs would meet Kenya's needs. It is likely that this reflected the arrogance of colonial paternalism more than a calculated effort to maintain Kenyan dependency. In 1960, for example, the colonial Minister of Education argued that the possibility of study abroad made it difficult for the administration to recruit

¹⁹Allistair Matheson, "The Kenyan - U.S. Student Airlift: The Beginnings of educational exchange between Kenya and the United States of America", materials compiled for the United States Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, 1986, p. 2.

²⁰Mboya, "African higher education: a challenge to America", p. 25.

school leavers into vocational training programs thus depriving Kenya of crucial personnel.²¹

From the point of view of national independence, it was imperative that the actual hands-on administration of Kenya be "Africanized" as quickly as possible. As long as the infant Kenyan state remained dependent on non-African, ie. British administrators, the government of Kenya would remain, to a degree, dependent on Great Britain. The British expectation was that with independence, only nominal control of state apparatus would pass into the hands of African office holders, while the real control would remain in the hands of British expatriate functionaries who would slowly hand over responsibility as African manpower matured. The most effective means of breaking this dependence, clearly, would be the creation of a pool of university-trained Kenyans. Speed clearly was of the essence.

While Great Britain saw no need to expand the educational opportunities available to Kenyans, the government of the United States had no interest in doing so either. With its great wealth, huge English language university complex, and post World War Two super-power role, it was the logical nation to which the Kenyans would turn. At the time however --1959--

²¹Smith, "The East African Airlifts of 1959, 1960, and 1961", p. 64.

America was not particularly interested in Africa.²²

America's relationship with Britain was seen as being more important than those with soon to be independent Kenya. The American State Department was reluctant to anger "...British officials in the Government of Kenya, and through them, key officials in the British Foreign office in London."²³ Furthermore an increase in aid to Kenya would inevitably affect America's relations with other African states, especially those of East Africa.²⁴

This then was the setting in which the Airlifts took place. In many respects it was a situation tailormade for Mboya. As an extension of his stay at Ruskin College Oxford, Mboya visited the United States in 1956. Mboya was then the Secretary-General of the Kenya Federation of Labour, and was twenty-six years of age. During two months touring America as

²²Generally there was a lack of interest in the developed world toward education for Africans. But the industrialized world was really the only source --India being an exception-- of university education available. "In 1959, more Africans were receiving higher education in colleges and universities abroad than on the continent itself. There were only 10 universities in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. UNESCO statistics show that in 1958 about 7,000 African students were enroled at higher educational institutions on the continent while 6,500 were studying at post secondary level in the United Kingdom and another 2,000 in France. A smaller number were attending Universities in the United States." Matheson, "The Kenyan - U.S. Student Airlift: The Beginnings of educational exchange between Kenya and the United States of America", p. 1.

²³Smith, "The East African Airlifts of 1959, 1960, and 1961", p. 230.

²⁴Smith deals with this at length in his thesis. Ibid.

a guest of the "American Committee on Africa" (ACOA)²⁵, Mboya was "...dismayed to hear ... of Kenyan students who had been offered places at American universities, but who could not afford the airfares to take up the offers."²⁶ Dismayed he may have been, but clearly the potential was not lost on Mboya. He saw that in America there was a wealth of education for the asking. The simple problem was to convey Kenyans from East Africa to the United States. The scholarships were there and once landed in North America the students would be able to survive one way or another.²⁷

Through the ACOA, Mboya was introduced to and became friendly with an American named William X. Scheinman,²⁸ who was the head of Arnav Industries --a company which

²⁵Goldsworthy describes the ACOA as mostly comprising "...people who would today be called establishment liberals...". Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 61.

²⁶Mboya, Freedom and After, p. 53.

²⁷Remember, as was mentioned in the first chapter, this was a period of enormous prosperity in the United States. Part-time and summer jobs were abundantly available as many of the former students pointed out in interviews. Some were even able to save money while at school and help finance the studies of family members.

²⁸George M. Houser, the ACOA's executive director, introduced Scheinman to Mboya. Scheinman was a member of the Committee's Executive Board. Smith, "The East African Airlifts of 1959, 1960 and 1961", p. 22. Houser has written on the subject in his memoirs: George M. Houser, No one can stop the rain: glimpses of Africa's liberation struggle; forward by Julius Nyerere, (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989).

manufactured aircraft components.²⁹ Scheinman personally paid the airfares of seventeen Kenyan students in 1957, and of a further thirty-six in 1958. In 1958, Mboya and Scheinman met in Ghana to discuss means of transporting more students to scholarship opportunities in North America. As a result, the African-American Students Foundation (AASF) was formed in the United States in 1959. It had a blue ribbon membership that included black celebrities: Harry Belafonte, Sidney Poitier, and Jackie Robinson.³⁰ Also in 1959, Mboya made a frantically paced speaking tour of the United States drumming up support and scholarships wherever he went.

The cost of transportation was the biggest obstacle faced by Kenyan students wishing to study in North America. Universities would waive tuition fees and in many instances provide housing, but it was up to the student to get himself or herself on campus. Travelling by regularly scheduled commercial airline from East Africa to North America was prohibitively expensive. However, it was realized that by chartering a plane, the unit cost of moving a student to North America could be drastically reduced. Thus the "Airlifts" were born.

²⁹Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 62.

³⁰Robinson in particular played a very active roll in the foundation, lobbying government agencies and private individuals for support. Smith, "The East African Airlifts of 1959, 1960, and 1961"

The first "Airlift" flight left Nairobi Airport on Monday, September 7, 1959. It carried eighty-one students -- sixty-one men and twenty women-- destined for 40 different North American Universities. The students were broken down as follows. Forty-eight had received scholarships from the African-American Students Foundation. Twenty-four of these were found by Tom Mboya, Dr. Kiano arranged 12, and Njiiri and Kariuki found the other two. An additional 9 scholarships were made available to the ASSF through the American Embassy -- Robert Stephens, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Consolata Mission, and a "prominent Arab sheik." An American living in Kenya sponsored Cyrus Karuga.³¹ The remaining 33 students on the flight had gained admittance to U.S. universities on their own initiative and had been able to raise enough money to keep themselves more-or-less alive while in North America.³²

Even as the first Airlift was taking place, preparations were being made for a repeat performance the following year. Both in Kenya and America, Mboya moved to gather support. The "New York Times" published a letter from Mboya which appealed for "...continued support for what he called 'this daring new educational strategy.'" ³³ He also approached the African-

³¹Matheson, "The Kenyan - U.S. Student Airlift: The Beginnings of educational exchange between Kenya and the United States of America", p. 6.

³²Ibid., p. 7.

³³Ibid., p. 10.

American Students' Foundation and the African Scholarship Program of the American Universities (ASPAU), the latter having been primarily involved with Nigerian students. The AASF sent requests for scholarships to 475 American institutions. American dignitaries visiting Kenya -- evangelist Billy Graham, for example-- invariably found themselves on the receiving end of Mboya's charm and hospitality. They left "...fully persuaded of the crucial importance of higher education to Kenya's future, of the need for more opportunities for overseas study, and of the personal responsibility of each American to make some kind of contribution or to help find scholarships for Kenyan students."³⁴ In 1959, the American State Department as a matter of policy disregarded the first Airlift. By 1960, this had shifted to concern over the project's existence.³⁵

By July of 1960, AASF was able to announce that more than two hundred North American institutions had offered scholarships to the program.³⁶ At the same time, Mboya was at work in America. In New York City, he spoke at a conference entitled: "The Quest for Higher Education in East

³⁴Smith, "The East Africa Airlifts of 1959, 1960, and 1961", p. 34.

³⁵Ibid., p. 231. It must be pointed out, however, that a number of American consular officials in Nairobi in 1959, were enthusiastic supporters of the Airlifts even though their masters were not interested.

³⁶Matheson, "The Kenyan - U.S. Student Airlift: The Beginnings of educational exchange between Kenya and the United States of America", p. 11.

and Central Africa". Following the conference, he travelled to Hyannis Port where he met with then senator John F. Kennedy.³⁷

As a result of the meeting with Kennedy, the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation contributed \$100,000 to the Airlifts, thus assuring that aircraft could be chartered to transport students to North America. The foundation also sent a team to Kenya to evaluate the Airlifts in terms of future support. Arriving in Nairobi two weeks before the 1960 airlift was due to depart, the delegation found themselves caught up in the excitement of the project. As one of the delegates, Albert Simms later wrote:

Long lines of students still formed daily outside the Nairobi Office of AASF, a 12-foot square room The applications [sic] were being interviewed and counselled in an endless stream from morning until late at night by Tom Mboya, Gikonyo Kiano, Dixon Oloo and Kariuki and Ruth Njiiri, who recorded financial needs, coordinated with the American Consulate, negotiated with the travel agency supplying international transportation and attended to the myriad problems inherent in so large an organized emigration.³⁸

³⁷The foundation eventually contributed another \$25,000 in supplementary assistance. John F. Kennedy personally contributed \$5,000 to airlifts. The Kennedy Foundation's participation in the airlifts became a minor issue during the election campaign which saw Kennedy become president of the United States. For a full account of this see: George Houser, No one can stop the rain: glimpses of Africa's liberation struggle, p. 82.

³⁸Albert Simms cited by: Matheson, "The Kenyan - U.S. Student Airlift: The Beginnings of educational exchange between Kenya and the United States of America", p. 13.

Matheson, in his account of preparations for the second airlift wrote:

At Nyeri, 60,000 Kenya shillings were collected at a series of rallies organized by the local M.P. Josef Mathenge. A tea party organized by the parents of one of the selected students in Kutui district raised 5,500 Kenya shillings in one day. Throughout the country substantial sums were raised through these vigorous "Harambee" solicitations among families, communities, political parties and merchants. The Aga Khan contributed \$14,000 and the Kennedy Foundation team later estimated that Kenya's Asian community raised at least half the money for the supplementary assistance needed by most students in order to take up their scholarship offers.³⁹

While most of the resources used in the Airlifts came from outside Kenya, one can hardly understate the importance of the contributions made by Kenyans to the program. Making real sacrifices in order to secure education for their children or kinsmen is something that Kenyans had been doing almost from the beginning of the colonial period. Citing John Anderson's The Struggle for the School, Leo writes:

Once Africans saw the value of the education, however, the demand for schooling soon outran both the available facilities and the ability of the missions to augment them. It soon became common practice for local communities to make land available, to erect buildings, and, in time, to offer significant financial support. As time went on, a growing number of African communities, dissatisfied with the educational opportunities

³⁹Ibid.

offered by the government and the missions, launched their own schools.⁴⁰

By 1938, Leo notes that there were 1400 such independent schools in Kenya. At Jomo Kenyatta's first public appearance after his release from prison, Mboya raised a quick one hundred pounds for the Airlifts by selling pictures of Kenyatta.⁴¹ As Mboya himself wrote:

... In a society where subsistence agriculture is still the rule and where ten years ago Africans were still prevented from growing a cash crop like coffee, to provide each student --as we have done-- with an average of almost \$1000 for books, clothing, and other expenses is an accomplishment of self help of which we are very proud. The students themselves contributed the pennies and shillings laboriously collected in the fields and pastures, from members of their lineages, clans, or ethnic groups. ...we were able to do it because of the very great faith and interest and hope that the African people have in the advantages and benefits of higher education.⁴²

In September of 1960, a total of 288 students touched down in New York on their way to universities all over North America.⁴³ In 1961, control of the Airlift passed from Mboya

⁴⁰See: Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, p. 51.

⁴¹Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 186.

⁴²Mboya, "African Higher Education: A challenge to America", p. 25.

⁴³Matheson, "The Kenyan - U.S. Student Airlift: The Beginnings of educational exchange between Kenya and the United States of America", p. 186.

and other Kenyan politicians to a consortium of the various educational agencies involved. An American, Gordon Hagberg, was seconded from the African-American Institute in Washington to head the consortium. The American State Department that year contributed \$100,000 to the project. Four plane loads of students left that year for North America.⁴⁴ To quote Goldsworthy directly:

So thoroughly did the CECA consortium take over, in fact, that the AASF found itself virtually without a function. In February 1962 the AASF wound itself up. The great exercise in 'educational daring' was over. For the third Airlift was also the last. By 1962 scholarship opportunities all over the world had multiplied. But it can be fairly said that the three great Airlifts of 1959-61 have remained embedded in Kenya's collective memory, and that Mboya's name, above all others who participated, lives on in association with the whole scheme.⁴⁵

Having described the Airlifts and the context within which they took place, it is now possible to examine them in terms of the interaction of the "economy of affection" with the institutions of the modern world.

As has been demonstrated, the Airlifts took place in spite of opposition from both the colonial government of Kenya and the British government and an almost complete lack of interest on the part of the American State Department. How then did Mboya and company overcome the barriers to the

⁴⁴Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 186.

⁴⁵Ibid.

program created by the most important institutional decision-making bodies involved? The answer is simply that the strategies and techniques of the "economy of affection" allowed Mboya to take control of the process.

Of course a number of factors had to be in place for this to be possible. In the first place the goal of the "Airlifts" --providing qualified students with educational opportunities-- was one to which no reasonable objections could be raised. At the same time, the colonial government felt that the control of university education fell clearly within its purview. The colonial government believed that enough was being done in the field. Moreover the British, quite rightly, viewed the Airlifts as having political motivation and consequences which challenged their plans for Kenya. The American government, on the other hand, perceived the provision of education to Kenyans as neither a priority nor a responsibility. Mboya and company simply resorted to the informal networks which typify the "economy of affection". This mobilization took place inside Kenya and was carried over to the United States. In both cases, there were clear reciprocities between those behind the Airlifts and those convinced to support them.

Clearly the most important element in Mboya's ability to secure support for the Airlifts in the United States was his association with the union movement. It was the union movement that brought him to America in the first place. Once

in the United States, he gained credibility with and gained access to the people who organized and bank-rolled the American end of the project --Scheinman, Kennedy, etc.. On his own, Mboya could not have succeeded.⁴⁶

Mboya's patrons were not acting out of unqualified altruism; they had a very clear, if subtle, agenda of their own. The success of the Airlifts increased Mboya's visibility and reputation in Kenya and throughout Africa. The Americans had clearly identified Mboya as fitting their ideal of a Third World leader. By increasing his effectiveness they would weaken rival radical or socialist figures on the African political stage --Nkrumah for example.⁴⁷ Indirectly this made Mboya's position as an advocate of the kind of trade unionism they want to see develop in the Third World significantly stronger. Within Kenyan politics Mboya was a strong advocate of the sort of open capitalistic development that they hoped would set a pattern for other African states.

The Airlifts were a perfect vehicle for those behind the ICFTU's Third World strategies to use in support of Mboya. In the first place, their support was wholly informal and largely

⁴⁶For example in support of the 1960 Airlift, \$1,600,000 dollars in scholarships were contributed by various North American universities, while \$250,000 was collected in Kenya. This according to: Smith, "The East African Airlifts of 1959, 1960, and 1961".

⁴⁷Later in Mboya's career his association with American support and money would be used against him by his opponents. Near the end of his career concrete efforts were made to "...remove Mboya's most prominent American link-men from the [Kenyan] scene..." Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 272.

invisible.⁴⁸ They simply facilitated a fine young African leader in his efforts to secure education for his country men, and who could object to that? Moreover the Airlifts and their indirect benefits to the ICFTU et al, came at no direct cost to themselves. Individuals, universities and foundations footed the bill. As Machiavelli counselled, it is always a good idea to use the property of others when giving gifts.⁴⁹

The fact that the Airlifts removed control of a significant part of Kenya's relationship with the United States from the State Department troubled these actors not-at-all.

An examination of the Airlifts thus shows how a number of reciprocal relations made it possible for students to leave Kenya and study in the United States in spite of substantial barriers and constraints. The groups, individuals and institutions who invested in the Airlifts generally did so with a view to a return in the longer rather than the shorter

⁴⁸It is unlikely that the precise roles and motivations of the various peripheral --and even of some of the central-- actors in the achievement of the Airlifts will ever be revealed. Smith, who interviewed --formally and informally-- many of those involved in the Airlifts in 1963 and 1964, wrote that, with one exception his "...sessions developed little substantive information,... Part of the problem in achieving productive results from the interviews was the reluctance of some interviewees to be quoted, to permit attribution, or to be free and frank in discussing their personal roles." This study encountered much the same problem. See: Smith, "The East African Airlifts of 1959, 1960 and 1961", p. 4.

⁴⁹"...either the Prince spends of his owne and his subjects, or that which belongs to others: in the first, hee ought to be sparing, in the second hee should not omit any part of liberality." Niccolo Machiaveli, The Prince, Edward Dacres translation (1640), (London: Alexander Moring Limited, 1929), p. 73

term. By turning attention to the type of economic structure adopted in Kenya, we can see why Kenyans were so willing to sacrifice to send young people abroad and why those individuals were so eager to return to Kenya upon graduation. We will see that the variant of capitalism developed in Kenya was shaped by the forces of the "economy of affection". This form of capitalism and the "economy of affection" are inextricably linked.

Chapter Four

Kenya is, within english speaking academe, a "big literature" country. In North America and Europe, the late fifties and early sixties saw the rapid expansion of the university system. In a time of general world prosperity, these blossoming institutions turned their attention to the problems of the planet and unleashed a veritable army of bright young minds on the nations of the world. Kenya received and continues to receive a great deal of scholarly attention.

The country's smooth and eventually peaceful transition to independence and the various legacies of British rule, made Kenya an attractive place to study. Furthermore the country seemed to embody all of the optimism that flourished in the wake of Africa's decolonization. For the products of middle-class Canada, Britain or the United States, Kenya must have embodied endless hope for Africa.

While independent Kenya has been in almost every measure a success, the great possibilities of the early 1960's have not been realized. In fact Kenya has been subject --in lesser degree than some of her neighbours-- to the economic and political pressures and failures endemic throughout Africa. The challenge for the academic community

changed. It became a question of explaining what had gone wrong or not happened and subsequently providing a prescriptive analysis. This has been termed the "Kenyan Debate".¹

This debate has focused on the development of capitalism in Kenya. It has presented arguments about the role and nature of the Kenyan "bourgeoisie", the state and the relationship of the aforementioned with the forces of "external capital". In this chapter these arguments will be summarized and then related to an analysis of the "Airlifts" and the decisions taken by individual "Airlift" participants. This latter analysis will form the structure from which a variety of conclusions will be drawn in the final chapter.

Khadiagala and Schatzberg have divided the debate over the nature of Kenya's political economy into three phases or "discernible but over lapping stages". In the first phase, which they characterize as "baseline studies of dependency and underdevelopment", the failure of full-fledged capitalism as the product of an effective Kenyan "bourgeoisie" was simply attributed to Kenya's general subordination within the global

¹This term has been used in a variety of recent scholarly writings. The discussion which follows has been shaped to a large extent by: Gilbert M. Khadiagala and Michael C. Schatzberg, "The Kenyan Bourgeoisie, External Capital, and the State" in The Political Economy of Kenya, Gilbert M. Khadiagala and Michael Schatzberg eds. (New York: Preager, 1989); and Björn Beckman, "Imperialism and Capitalist Transformation: Critique of a Kenyan Debate", in the Review of African Political Economy, vol. 19, p. 48 -62.

economy and the particular subordination of the putative Kenyan bourgeoisie to the forces of international capital.²

In this phase the problems of Kenyan development were attributed to the structural economic legacy of the colonial period. Colin Leys and E.A. Brett were among the most important scholars of this phase. They demonstrated that the basic extractive / exploitive nature of the colonial economy resulted in unbalanced development of the various African economic strata within Kenyan society prior to independence. This was only logical as the explicit goal of colonialism / imperialism was to create economic units which serviced the metropolitan economy with cheap resources and captive markets through unequal capitalist intercourse. The role of the colonial state was to enforce these relationships. To some extent a money-based economy was developed within the indigenous Kenyan population but this was limited to achieving the ends of international capital through the provision of wage labour. In this view, fully functioning African capitalism was prevented from breaking out prior to independence. After independence --according to Brett-- the entrenched power of the economic structure in which Kenya was embedded continued to dominate.³

²Khadiagala and Schatzberg, "The Kenyan Bourgeoisie, External Capital, and the State", p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 3.

Clearly there is great cogency to such arguments. They identify important factors that played and continue to play a role in the relationship between the economic structure of the world and that of Kenya. At the same time, however, they are unsatisfactory because they present a picture in which the ability of Kenyan actors to shape their own destiny and that of their nation is ruled out. Recognizing this, Leys follows Brett's influential Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Kenya with a more sophisticated argument.

In Underdevelopment in Kenya, Leys argues that at independence, political power was smoothly handed over to a regime intimately allied with, if not in fact the pure creation of, foreign capital. Simply put, Leys believed the Kenyan bourgeoisie was being manipulated at will by the more sophisticated and powerful forces of international capital. Khadiagala and Schatzberg summarize the solution he offered as a conclusion, as follows:

Political decolonization was thus critical to post colonial political and economic development precisely because settler and international interests had successfully manipulated nationalist leaders to ... preserve their own dominant position in the economy.

Moreover they conclude:

On the specific question of the evolution of an indigenous social class capable of spearheading national development, Leys noted that a middle class of educated Africans and new property owners became the core of the nationalist movement during the later phase of the colonial period. Yet, this emerging class was unable to lead the socioeconomic

transformation after independence because of its subordination to settler and international interests [emphasis mine].⁴

As will be shown, Leys' later subsidiary conclusion is important to the analysis offered below. Leys attributed Kenya's arrested development to the power of foreign capital.⁵

Leys' conclusions were supported, emphasized and expanded upon by a number of scholars. Steven Langdon examined the way in which a relatively small Kenyan "insider bourgeoisie" used their political power to facilitate the operations of multi-national corporations in Kenya. His analysis of the partnerships formed between Kenyan para-statal corporations --which in many cases controlled valuable monopolies-- and international companies were particularly trenchant. He clearly demonstrated that such relationships benefitted international capital and a very small group of Kenyan bourgeoisie directly at the expense of Kenya's citizenry.⁶

The basic tenet of this scholarship, as we have seen, is that as long as foreign capital continues to occupy a dominant position in the Kenyan economy, local Kenyan

⁴Ibid., p. 3 and 4

⁵In identifying the "middle class" as the most likely agent of change within Kenya, he touches on the main focus of this thesis' argument.

⁶See: Langdon Steven, Multinational Corporations in the Political Economy of Kenya, (London: Macmillan, 1981).

capitalists will be unable to operate and compete on any significant scale within the economy. Patently such notions were questionable. Through the seventies, a loosely knit group of scholars conducted careful studies into the history of capitalism in Africa as a means of explaining how capitalism operates in Africa in the here and now. Studies of countries as disparate as Gambia, colonial Tanzania, Nigeria, and Ghana caused a general rethinking of the nature of capitalism throughout Africa. This work is reflected in the conclusions arrived at by Iliffe and Shatz, described in chapter two.

Specific to Kenya, the writings of Michael Cowen are of great interest. Cowen demonstrated that during the colonial period, a "class" of "capitalist accumulators" was clearly in evidence and that once the racial restrictions of land ownership were removed, African capitalists moved aggressively into large-scale commercial agriculture.⁷ This self-reproducing class flourished alongside of foreign capital. Central to the existence of such a class was their

⁷Cowen makes this explicit assertion in: Michael Cowen, "British State and Agrarian Accumulation in Kenya" in: Martin Fransman, ed. Industry and Accumulation in Africa, (London: Heinemann, 1982), p. 163. In support of this assertion he cites: Apollo Njonjo, "The Africanization of the 'white Highlands': a study in agrarian class struggle in Kenya, 1950-74", Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1977.

"control and occupation of the commanding heights of the state apparatus" ⁸.

In light of this scholarship, there was a great rethinking of Kenya's political economy. During this period the writings of Nicola Swainson and Colin Leys were of particular importance. Swainson focused to a large extent on the role of the multinational corporations in the Kenyan economy. She demonstrated that while foreign capital had enormous advantages, particularly in the manufacturing sector, the power of the state --after independence-- was being systematically deployed to the advantage of indigenous capital.⁹ In his essay "Accumulation, Class Formation and Dependency", Colin Leys revised his earlier positions and focused on the way in which the "indigenous class of capital" functioned. He wrote:

Besides the scale of their capital, the indigenous class of capital --which after the reforms of the 1950's we can increasingly term an indigenous capitalist class-- had a further highly significant asset. It was heavily concentrated in not only the largest ethnic group -- composing with closely related neighbouring people about 25% of the total population -- but also in the economic and political centre of the country. Combined with a strong representation in the state apparatus (due

⁸Schatzberg and Khadiagala, "The Kenyan Bourgeoisie, External Capital, and the State", p. 7. Here the authors cite: Apollo Njonjo, "The Kenyan Peasantry: A Re-Assessment", The Review of African Political Economy, 20, 1981, p. 39.

⁹See: Nicola Swainson, The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya, 1918 - 1977, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

to its heavy investment in education) the indigenous bourgeoisie was exceptionally well placed to convert its natural dominance in the nationalist movement into a position of strategic control over the post-colonial political realignments needed for the next phase of accumulation. ...

From this time onward the state apparatus superintended a series of measures which rapidly enlarged the sphere and the rate of indigenous capital accumulation. The principal measures used were trade licensing, state monopolies, state finance capital, state direction of private credit and state capitalist enterprise.¹⁰

We can see two things clearly here. First, control of the state apparatus was achieved before independence by a self-reproducing class, which had identified the importance of education. Secondly, it was through the control of the state apparatus that capitalists and capitalism were fostered and favoured. As Leys comments later:

...The essential function of the state was to displace monopolies enjoyed by foreign capital and substitute monopolies for African capital, and also to supplement individual African capitalists with state finance capital and state secured technology, to enable them to occupy the space created for them in the newly accessible economic sectors.¹¹

In this essay Leys rejects his own "dependency school" writings on capitalism in Kenya. Now he sees "...the

¹⁰Colin Leys, "Accumulation, Class Formation and Dependency" in: Martin Fransman, ed. Industry and Accumulation in Africa, (London: Heinemann, 1982), p. 178.

¹¹Ibid., p. 180.

barriers of capital scale and technology as relative, and the state as the register of the leading edge of indigenous capital in its assault on those barriers." ¹²

Leys views the formation of an indigenous bourgeoisie as being a crucial factor in the development of Kenyan capitalism. Within the context of an increasingly differentiated capitalist class, he attaches great importance to:

...the formation of a certain strata (determined by political and ideological practices) ... in particular, a small, older political stratum, heavily involved in the various forms of modern primitive accumulation, increasingly giving way to a younger generation more equipped to dispense with primitive forms of accumulation and oriented strongly towards fully capitalist valorization of the inherited family capital: the high-level 'straddlers', that is, holders of salaried positions, state, para-statal and corporate, using their salaries and their privileged access to credit to create independent basis of accumulation; and a stratum of low-profile entrepreneurs, in the classical mould ... destined in the long run to assume greater importance through the long-run growth and deepening of its investments.¹³

Concomitant with this in Leys' view is the development of a university trained and educated "auxiliary" of lawyers, doctors, academics, accountants, and the like who serve the capitalist bourgeoisie. This is accompanied by the development of bourgeois culture --focused on private and

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 184.

foreign education-- and what he terms "distinctive bourgeois life styles".¹⁴

Leys then goes on to describe the politics of the period between 1965 and 1969 in terms of class conflict between the bourgeoisie --who in his view were becoming progressively more class conscious, and the "petty-bourgeois/urban trade union/rural landless alliance led by Odinga and Kaggia" -- who were "out manoeuvred and finally destroyed in the banning of the Kenya People's Union in 1969." As part of this process, the middle and poor peasants were "organized as clients of the bourgeoisie through a comprehensive system of ethnic organizations with their associated 'self-help' movements, rival ethnic colleges of technology, ethnic investment holding companies and so on."¹⁵

By identifying the use of state power as central to the development and furtherance of indigenous capitalism in Kenya, Leys arrived at conclusions parallel to those Schatz characterized as "nurture capitalism" --discussed in chapter two.

That the Kenyatta regime intended to pursue a form of nurture capitalism becomes clear from analysis of Sessional Paper #10. This document was used by the Kenyatta regime to clearly spell out its economic and ideological intentions. It was a blueprint for what were to be described as the "Kenyatta

¹⁴Ibid, p. 185.

¹⁵Ibid.

/ Mboya policies of capitalist development".¹⁶ The pattern laid out in the document is still being followed today. In keeping with the time in which the paper was announced, the label "African Socialism" was given to a very capitalist framework.

Published in 1965, Sessional Paper #10 was launched at a press conference by President Kenyatta. He spelled out the importance with which the paper was to be regarded:

The Government has produced this Sessional Paper which discusses in detail both the theory of Democratic African Socialism and its practical application to planning in Kenya. There has been much debate on this subject and the Government's aim is to show very clearly our policies and also our programme. This should bring an end to all the conflicting, theoretical, and academic arguments that have been going on.¹⁷

Clearly the paper was taken to be more than just the official analysis of developmental problems confronting Kenya. It was the Government's definitive statement as to how these problems were to be solved.¹⁸ The Paper was produced by Tom Mboya, in his capacity as Minister for Justice and

¹⁶The phrase is from: Nicholas Nyangira, "Ethnicity, Class, and Politics in Kenya" in The Political Economy of Kenya, Gilbert M. Khadiagala and Michael Schatzberg eds., (New York: Preager, 1989).

¹⁷East African Standard, 29 Apr. 1965. Quoted by: Mohiddin Ahmed in, African Socialism in Two Countries, (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 68.

¹⁸Ibid..

Constitutional Affairs. In hindsight, Mboya was remarkably prescient.

Though the paper offers no definition of the form or nature of African Socialism, it does attempt to dispel the notion that Kenya's "African Socialism" is something alien to Africa. The Paper takes a teleological view of the development of societies. All nations, it contends, have the same basic goals. Substantial differences between societies are caused by the "political and economic means adopted for achieving these ends." ¹⁹

It is probably due to the realization that means do inevitably affect ends that the Paper stipulated prior fulfilment of certain conditions if the ideology of African Socialism were to be firmly established in Kenya. These are the fundamental operating principles underlying the mechanics of the ideology, without which African Socialism would lose both its distinctive African character and its technical functionality. It must first, "draw on the best of African traditions". Secondly, African Socialism must be "adaptable to new and rapidly changing circumstances". Finally, African Socialism "must not rest for its success on a satellite relationship with any other country or group of countries." ²⁰

The paper claims that pre-colonial Africa was democratic and that "... the notions of citizenship and democracy are not colonial or alien imports; ... In African

¹⁹Government of Kenya, Sessional Paper #10, 1965, "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya", para. 4.

²⁰Mohiddin Ahmed, African Socialism in Two Countries, p. 69.

traditional society, every member was respected and equal."²¹ This traditional democracy was to be the first fundamental principle of African Socialism.

The second principle of African Socialism was mutual social responsibility.²² "Expressed in socialist terms, mutual social responsibility in traditional African society meant each according to his work -- and not according to his needs."²³ Religion was the third identified element of traditional African life, a "strict moral code for the community."²⁴ No clear place or role is spelled out for religion in Kenya and it has to be assumed that the topic is raised only as a means of rejecting Marxist socialism.²⁵ The declaration stresses the need for pragmatism and an ability to adapt to changing circumstances.²⁶ At the same time, the paper rejects the Marxist notion that a proletarian revolution is inevitable or even a good thing.

While Kenya is prepared to accept foreign ideas, expertise, financial and technical aid, she should remain non-

²¹Ibid.

²²Sessional Paper #10, paras. 11 - 13.

²³Mohiddin, African Socialism in Two Countries, p. 70.

²⁴Sessional Paper #10, para 10.

²⁵Ibid., para. 20.

²⁶Ibid., para. 22

aligned and not allow herself to be placed in a satellite or subservient role to another state or group of states.²⁷

The paper goes to great lengths to stress that: "No class problem arose in traditional African society and none exists today among Africans."²⁸ Clearly this simply was not the case.²⁹

During Kenya's history as a British colony and especially in the years prior to independence, the British administration consciously set out to create a middle class drawn from the Kikuyu and other ethnic groups with which they had close contact.

The British colonial office was a masterful and incredibly creative organization. The policies it pursued in colonial Kenya shaped the nation of today. By the time of independence, the British had successfully created an African middle class equipped with a fully developed capitalistic and bourgeois set of values. The machinations of the British administration ensured that elements of this group assumed control over the emerging Kenyan nation.

²⁷Ibid., paras. 23 - 26.

²⁸Ibid., para 36.

²⁹Iliffe draws on the work of a number of scholars who have demonstrated that class based systems of production existed throughout pre-colonial Africa in: John Iliffe, The Emergence of African Capitalism.

Generally in the industrialized world the "Mau Mau Emergency"³⁰ was seen at worst as a Ruarkesque rampage of African blood lust, or at best as a popular uprising by Africans against British imperialism. Certainly the latter was an important aspect of the emergency. Less well understood was the nature of the battle fought between African Kenyans. The forest insurgents were drawn from the landless elements of the population. During the emergency they vented their frustration on the "Kikuyu proto-capitalists and landgrabbers in central province"³¹. These were the people who were benefiting most directly from co-operation with the British.

Ironically it was the Kikuyu who experienced the greatest upheaval as a result of colonization and --as a group-- reaped the greatest gains. The British removed them from their lands in the "White Highlands" and then set about turning them into a supply of wage labour. As was their usual practice, the British viewed different ethnic groups as being suited to different purposes. The Kikuyu they deemed capable

³⁰The term "Mau Mau" was the name the British gave to the guerrillas of the emergency period. It is an inaccurate use of the term. A more useful label for those involved in the fighting is "Forest Insurgents". For a fuller account of the period see: C.G. Rosberg and J. Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau": Nationalism in Kenya, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966).

³¹Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State", p. 35

of simple clerical work. Because of this, Kikuyu were the first Kenyans exposed to European styled education as a group.

The British created an African middle class by first allowing individual Kikuyu access to small scale commercial enterprise. The British were highly selective when it came to the development of patron-client relationships. Loyalists, as these people were known, made up only about ten per cent of the general Kikuyu population.³² As independence approached, the land settlement programs were used to establish the loyalists as a landed petty bourgeoisie or yeomanry. It was with this African elite, led --even through years of imprisonment-- by Jomo Kenyatta, that the British negotiated the terms of independence. The independence agreements, as Christopher Leo has demonstrated, served the interests of the British and the Kikuyu elites at the expense of the Kenyan peasantry.³³

³²Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, p. 60.

³³It has to be understood that the British government's objective in the period running up to independence was not to retain Kenya within the empire. The colony was not particularly valuable to Britain after the Second World War. Impoverished Great Britain however could not afford to compensate the white settlers should they suffer financial loss as a result of independence. These people had gone out to Africa as a result of British government campaigns to encourage settlement. As such they would have had a very real claim against the government of Britain should their farms and other property become worthless. The British government's objective therefore was to secure the interests of the white settlers at no cost to the British government. This was splendidly achieved in the independence agreements, which enshrined private property; and by the land settlement schemes which ensured the value of white held land. The loyalist Kikuyu were the key element in the success of this strategy.

Jomo Kenyatta always claimed that he was not a leader of the "Mau Mau" and that he had been falsely imprisoned. When he said that Kenyans must "forgive and forget" the wrongs done during the colonial period, he was speaking about the divisions and the smouldering antagonisms within the African population as much as he was addressing the ill-feeling that existed between the white settlers and Africans. In legitimating his regime, Kenyatta had to expand his base of support beyond his own ethnic sub-nationalist supporters.

The problem of class in Africa -- according to the Paper -- is to prevent their formation.³⁴ When the Paper stresses that the prevention of antagonistic class divisions is a cardinal objective of African Socialism, it is clearly addressing itself to potential for social disharmony, even armed insurrection, as a result of the dominant position in the economy held and enjoyed by the state elite. This objective of limiting internal conflict is linked to the Paper's strategy of development based on free enterprise and the uninterrupted flow of foreign capital and expertise. Clearly the economy cannot expand without a stable political environment to attract investment. The state elite as first in line for benefits had, and continues to have, a vested interest in the expansion of the economy.

³⁴Sessional Paper #10, para. 37.

Through 1964 and 1965 the land argument especially gained a new intensity, ... the elite began to accumulate and, ... the numbers of disappointed grew rapidly. The debate was dominated by the cry of 'land for the landless' -- meaning in particular free land for former squatters, farm labourers, ex-detainees, and those who had lost out ... during consolidation.³⁵

The government of Kenya had two primary objectives: to maintain peace and order within the country; and to maintain the advantageous position of the state elite. African Socialism was a means of legitimizing the attainment of these ends. Under the rubric of African Socialism, the creation of a pervasively powerful central state was justified.

The Paper recognizes the potential for domestic concentration of power in the hands of a few Africans, but no counter measures are taken against it. Again, this serves the interests of foreign investors -- who might be scared off by any restriction of private property or capital -- and those members of the state elite likely to concentrate economic power and benefit from economic expansion.

Expatriation of capital abroad, refusal to exploit or develop land resources, conspicuous consumption and the misuse of the nation's resources are cited as punishable anti-social behaviour. There is however no precise definition of these offenses. By contrast, Tanzania's Arusha

³⁵Goldsworthy, Tom Mboya, p. 234.

Declaration's, spelled out the behaviours that were outlawed in a "leadership code."³⁶

The Paper sees individual initiative and not state intervention as being the force which will achieve economic growth and hence the attainment of the fulfilment of African Socialism. The notion that it was acceptable to "lead by example" was widely accepted. Members of the "Wa Benzi" were therefore not at all bashful about rolling around the countryside in the large German automobiles from which their class took its name. For the most part, these individuals owed their material success to their membership in the state elite. Having had access to education, they gained high-paying government jobs which in turn provided them with capital they could invest. Further, their governmental influence made it possible for them to guarantee the success of these investments.

Sessional Paper #10 describes "diffusion of ownership" between public and private sectors in a mixed Kenyan economy as the most appropriate means of controlling and allocating resources in the country. This would provide "... the ideal economic infrastructure on which African Socialism should be based."³⁷ This, of course, could only serve to reinforce the advantages of the state elite.

³⁶Mohiddin, African Socialism in Two Countries, p. 70.

³⁷Sessional Paper #10, paras. 45, 46, 142.

Sessional Paper #10 virtually rejects nationalization. The constitution required both fair and prompt compensation in the event of a nationalization.³⁸ This served as a check against wholesale nationalization. The provision of fair compensation would have been a large drain on the country's financial resources. Further, rapid, large scale nationalization and Africanization would inevitably cut the country's economic output drastically. It would also frighten off foreign investment which was a cornerstone to the idea of economic growth. As Schatz comments, there is a great danger that in nurturing indigenous capitalistic enterprise conflict might arise with foreign capital. The government of Kenya was making clear that it recognized this potential problem and wished to avoid it.

Having thus rejected nationalization and adopted diffusion of ownership as the main instrument by which African Socialism would be implemented, a threefold strategy was proposed:

- 1] Reform of the colonial economy and the development of a mixed economy.
- 2] Africanization of the entire economy through the revitalization of the existing para-statal bodies, and the establishment of new ones designed to get Africans into the economy.

³⁸As previously mentioned, protecting the rights of property in independent Kenya was a prime objective of the British government. Such rights were also enshrined in the KANU party's manifesto. Ibid., para. 50.

3] Efforts to attract and retain foreign investment in the country. ³⁹

The Paper sees the traditional system of communal land tenure as a barrier to economic development as it slows the entry of the peasant into the cash economy and dulls the drive toward personal initiative:

Hence, communal ownership of land must be abolished or severely discouraged, and individual title registration -- ie private ownership of land -- and land consolidation must be encouraged and legislated for. It is only by guaranteeing ownership of land that one can expect an individual to invest anything in it or work on it at all." ⁴⁰

In the type of analysis offered by Hyden, this can be seen as a recognition of the need to "trap the peasantry" in order to foster industrial development.⁴¹ Christopher Leo, on the other hand, took the level of analysis one step deeper, concluding that the land reform policies adopted by the Kenyan government fostered the peasant "economy of affection" while simultaneously catering to the state elite.⁴²

³⁹Mohiddin, African Socialism in Two Countries, p. 76.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 73.

⁴¹See: Hyden, No Shortcuts to Progress.

⁴²Leo, Land and Class in Kenya.

According to Leo, the expansion of the "land frontier" served, and continues to serve, as a means of diffusing social unrest. As long as there continues to be the possibility of acquiring land, then the landless and relatively powerless elements in Kenyan society remain content with their lot and political order is preserved.⁴³ Moreover, as Throup has pointed out, "once a poor peasant had a title [to his land] he was less easy prey to the proto-capitalists".⁴⁴ Therefore we can conclude that the Kenyatta regime purchased a degree of political stability by fostering the entrenchment of the peasantry and their "economy of affection" strategies.

Equally, simplified land registration policies had direct benefit for the state elite. Through their control of the bureaucratic machine they were able to manipulate the various land settlement programs to provide homes and work for their relatives --thus meeting the demands placed upon them by the "economy of affection". At the same time, the elite's access to land gives them an opportunity to invest the capital they acquire through their, usually state-related, wage

⁴³The big losers in this have been the Masai, who have consistently refused involvement with the modern state. At present land development in Kenya has taken on a momentum of its own. Kenyan businessmen are now buying large tracts of land, which, though marginal for cropping, can be sub-divided and resold to the land hungry. Steadily this process is eating into the land on which the Masai way of life depends.

⁴⁴Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State", p. 42.

income. Such investment provides a tremendous sense of security to this group as they are, for the most part, only a generation removed from the land themselves.

Members of the petty and upper bourgeoisies --as well as peasants-- were able to meet family obligations and at the same time increase their own power and prosperity through the acquisition of peasant holdings. Therefore the impetus toward the expansion of peasant society came, not only from landless people scrambling for smallholdings but also from members of the African bourgeoisies who saw the ownership of peasant holdings as integral to their careers in the capitalist economy. ..

... we find peasant and capitalist classes thoroughly interpenetrated, with many an individual merging the two class identities in his or her person.⁴⁵

In the final analysis, Sessional Paper #10 continues the theme, well-established in the Lancaster house constitution, that foreign investment in Kenya would be welcomed and protected by the government. There is, however, a gentle warning in the paper that the government will act to protect the interests of the country against abuse of ownership rights.⁴⁶ At the same time "Africanization" of all aspects of Kenyan economic life is a clear goal of "African Socialism". Multinational corporations are "requested" to make shares available for purchase by Africans and to hire

⁴⁵Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, p. 148.

⁴⁶Sessional Paper #10, para. 75.

and advance Africans, in a meaningful way, wherever possible.⁴⁷ The Paper enjoins foreign business operations to adopt "...the spirit of mutual social responsibility..." by:

(i) making shares in the company available to Africans who wish to buy them;

(ii) employing Africans at managerial levels as soon as qualified people can be found; and

(iii) providing training facilities for Africans.

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While the Paper makes it clear that Kenya needs foreign capital, as well as ideas, expertise, financial and technical aid, she should remain non-aligned and not allow herself to be placed in a satellite or subservient role to another state or group of states.⁴⁸

The political challenge involved in managing the type of economy described in the Paper revolves around balancing the concentration of economic power with the needs and aspirations of those at the bottom of the economic pile. Clearly the "economy of affection" was the means by which this was achieved. It ensured that enough distribution took place to avoid dangerous social unrest, while spreading the belief that even the poorest members of the society were to a degree

⁴⁷Ibid, paras. 39 and 40.

⁴⁸Ibid., para. 38.

⁴⁹Mohiddin, African Socialism in Two Countries, p. 71.

participating in the economic growth of the society. People believed that their big men would look after them and that the state elite would lead society as a whole to a significantly better future.

Clearly we can see in Sessional Paper #10 all of the elements that Schatz discovered in the Nigerian variant of capitalism he termed "nurture capitalism". The Paper identifies private enterprise as the motor which will provide the thrust of development. To this end then, programs which foster private enterprise --like the registration of land titles and the development of efficient economic infrastructure-- were among the government's first priorities. While the paper recognizes the need to encourage and reassure foreign capital, it is also prepared to use the power of the state to ensure that local capitalists thrive. Thus, government policies were designed to ensure that external companies take on Kenyan partners and personnel.⁵⁰ The Paper also anticipates the potential for conflict between the interests of external capital and local capitalists and accepts the role of adjudicator in such situations.

In the Paper, the government assumes for itself the mantle of benign parental authority over the people. This was clearly evident in Kenyatta's personal style of rule.

⁵⁰ The Paper explicitly states that legislation will be used to enforce Africanization if companies fail to co-operate with the policy. Sessional Paper #10, para. 142, subsection 7.

Kenyatta, the Mzee or "old man" developed into a father figure of mythical proportions to the wananchee or "common people". This is one of the defining features of politics within situations of reciprocity.

To see how the Airlifts reveal the relationship between the "economy of affection" and "nurture capitalism", we must first place the Airlift students in social context. As was made clear in chapter three, educational opportunities in Kenya were extremely limited. So limited in fact that the selection committee for the 1959 Airlift "...had difficulty in finding enough fully-qualified candidates to receive the scholarships at hand."⁵¹ At the same time, it has to be remembered that virtually all of Kenya's high level leadership have had some form of higher education. Kenyatta studied in England and, mysteriously in the Soviet Union, while Moi was a primary school headmaster prior to his career as a politician. Kenya's first university graduates --including Peter Koinange and Juluis Kiano-- have also been at the peak of Kenyan politics.

In order to be accepted by a North American university, a Kenyan student had to have achieved, as a minimum, the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, with a

⁵¹Smith, "The East African Airlifts of 1959, 1960 and 1961", p. 41.

First Division, or high Second Division pass.⁵² In order to have reached this minimum level two things had to be true of a student. He or she had to have remarkable ability and diligence to have surmounted the hurdle of "trial by examination". To have been able to stay in school and take these examinations, that same student had to have had an enormous degree of financial support from his or her family. The students who went off on the Airlifts, therefore, had already been identified within their communities as potential leaders.

As independence approached, it was clear to Kenyans that top-level positions within the post-independence society would require university education. Those who received such education would not just fulfil the technical needs of development management, but also serve as a link between their community and the Africanized modern economy. They would be strategically placed in the system which would create and be

⁵²Ibid., p. 38. Even with this minimum requirement met, Kenyan students faced a host of other obstacles to acceptance by American Universities. "British secondary school headmasters reflected official reluctance in their letters of recommendation, ... A typical reference might read: 'This student did all right while he was here; he earned his Cambridge School Certificate; but he is not ready for overseas study.'

...
Still another problem was that of establishing academic credentials, ...especially for members of the Kikuyu tribe. The Kikuyu had pressed more ... than any other tribe for expanded educational facilities ... so hard that the government allowed them to establish the Kikuyu Independent School System. ... The system was closed down ... after the Mau Mau outbreak ... and in a great misfortune, the school records were burned.

party to the distribution of "untied" resources within the society. Seen from this perspective, it is easier to understand why poor Kenyans "...sold their goats and sheep to help..." students from their communities off on the Airlifts.⁵³

The Airlift students were in a tremendous hurry to complete their studies and return to Kenya.⁵⁴ Clearly they understood that the opportunities open to them at home far exceeded the possibilities in North America. A university degree qualified them for the choice "Africanized" positions that the policies of Sessional Paper #10 were creating. They understood that they were part of a "first wave" of university trained Kenyans. Their careers would provide a crucial link between the "economy of affection" and the "nurture capitalism" which would dominate independent Kenya.

What sort of careers did the Airlift students have on their return? Of the approximately four hundred Airlift students, it was possible to determine the present occupations of one hundred and three individuals.⁵⁵ For the most part

⁵³Airlift student speaking to reporters, cited by Smith. Ibid. p. 126.

⁵⁴All of the Airlift alumni interviewed stressed this point. Some students did not return to Kenya upon graduation. See: Amos Ahono Onyatta's "Academic Widows" in The Standard, September 16, 1986, p. 23. The vast majority of the Airlift students however did return. This was one of the factors which differentiated the Airlifts from other scholarship programs between the First and Third Worlds.

⁵⁵This information is presented in detail in the appendix.

this information came from a guest list prepared by the American Embassy in Nairobi which held a reception to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Airlifts. Obviously this presents a skewed sample. It is restricted to those alumni presently resident in Kenya, that the embassy was able to find. Socially prominent individuals are obviously easier to trace than those who lead quiet lives and have not had remarkable careers. As a group, the alumni were at this time approaching retirement, and five individuals were listed by the embassy as deceased. What we see is a snapshot of the beginnings and (relative) endings of their careers. It also bears keeping in mind that after President Moi took office, in 1978, he moved to install his own people in key positions wherever possible. This was particularly true in the early 80's. To quote Throup:

The Kikuyu capitalists were able to safeguard their interests... Middle ranking Kikuyu officials, civil servants, and para-statal managers, in contrast found themselves being overtaken by less-qualified Kalenjin or other members of Moi's coalition."⁵⁶

⁵⁶Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State", p. 60. Discussing Moi's replacement of Kenyatta regime stalwarts, Throup demonstrates the relative ease with which Moi was able to install one of his people in the chairmanship of Lonrho East Africa. One of the largest and most profitable multinationals operating in Africa, Lonrho was labelled by Ted Heath as the "unacceptable face of capitalism". Throup points out that while "most of the literature on multinational corporations emphasizes their power over Third World governments "... Lonrho'sconspicuous position has enabled Kenya's 'state capitalists' to treat Lonrho as if it was another para-

Those alumni in office in 1986, had served and prospered under two distinct regimes.

Information about the alumni's careers has been deduced from their job titles. It would be fascinating to know how these various individuals managed their personal financial affairs through their careers. Obviously, and quite rightly, from their point of view, such information is nobody's business but their own. Anecdotal information suggests that many of the alumni are or have been involved in residential real estate investment in Nairobi and in farming in their upcountry communities.

The alumni were categorized on the basis of their job titles. These were: SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS, which includes those serving in the international civil service; UNIVERSITY FACULTY; ELECTED POLITICIANS; PARA-STATAL EXECUTIVES; BUSINESS; MEDIA; THE JUDICIARY; THE LAW; and, MEDICINE, four medical doctors fell into other categories. The number of alumni in each category appear in table one below.

statal". Ibid., p. 62. This example underlines the weakness of the Dependency School argument discussed above.

Table One

CIVIL SERVICE	37	36	%
ACADEMICS	24	22	%
ELECTED POLITICIANS	16	15	%
PARA-STATAL EXECUTIVES	13	13	%
BUSINESS	5	5	%
MEDIA	4	4	%
THE COURT SYSTEM	2	2	%
THE LAW	2	2	%
MEDICINE	1	1	%
<hr/>			
TOTALS	104	100	%
<hr/>			

A quick perusal of table one reveals that this group of alumni are overwhelmingly involved in government service. Taken together the 88 senior civil servants, university faculty, elected politicians, para-statal executives and the judiciary make up 85% of the sample, and approximately 23% of the entire Airlift student population. As a reading of the appendix makes clear, in each category many individuals were at or very near the pinnacle of their professions in key and very sensitive positions. Clearly they can be described as being among the potential "high-level 'straddlers'" to which Leys refers above. But twenty-five years after the Airlifts, these individuals were still in government service.

We know that to win an election in Kenya a candidate must dispense large amounts of money. Therefore we can deduce that the 19 members of parliament among the sample either engaged in profitable business activities or were able to find wealthy patrons to support their campaigns. Alumni in the other categories may well have used their salaries and positions to enable themselves to become "low level entrepreneurs" as Leys suggests. Still, their government positions seem to be of greater importance. Perhaps among the Airlift alumni on whom we have no information, there are many who had become fulltime entrepreneurs and capitalists. But if this is the case then, few of them rose to the prominence that

would make it easy for the staff of the American embassy to trace them.⁵⁷

In order to explain why these alumni are overwhelmingly concentrated in government service, we have to turn our attention to the way in which the Kenyatta regime maintained itself and legitimized its use of power.

While Kenyan society went through a period of great instability, as described in chapter 2, it did not undergo the cataclysmic upheavals which the processes of industrialism wrought on the peoples of Europe, America, and Japan. In these countries land based systems of production, and the family and social organizations that went with them were violently destroyed. The history of industrialization is, in the final analysis, a story of human suffering on a massive scale. It is this history which produced the class systems described and critiqued by Marx. In Kenya, as we have seen, the "economy of affection" remained intact and powerful. The Mau Mau Rebellion was a reaction by people in Kikuyuland against forces which would have commenced to institute the same sort of change in Kenya. These changes, which would have replaced the systems of interaction described by Hyden as the "economy of affection", have been given the intellectual label

⁵⁷Of course it could well be that the embassy simply did not want to locate such individuals. As will be shown this is of little significance to the argument that is being made here.

of "Proletarianization". This term fails to adequately convey the human costs involved in this process.

The way in which Jomo Kenyatta secured and maintained power and legitimacy and the way in which the Moi regime has sought to emulate this achievement have been well-studied by many scholars, including the authors cited above, and the Cambridge historians. Of this latter group, David Throup has summarized much of the work that has been done in this regard in: "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State." As Throup states in his introduction, he seeks to:

...examine the operations of the political process at two levels: the high politics of elite competition for control over policy and patronage at the centre and the "deep politics" of social and economic relations, which legitimize the regime through the incorporation of local clients.⁵⁸

Kenyatta's great achievement was to construct a state in which both the interests of the "economy of affection" and the emerging "proto-capitalists" --in other words the two African sides of the Mau Mau-- were resolved. In Throup's words:

Kenyatta's political career had been based on the impossible: articulating the demands of Kikuyu proto-capitalists for

⁵⁸Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State", p. 33.

political and economic incorporation while mobilizing the peasantry as a battering ram to break down the doors protecting the corridors of power, despite the conflict of interest between themselves and the possessive individualism of the Kikuyu elite.⁵⁹

The Kenyatta regime centralized all power in the person of the president. The peasantry, as we have seen above, wanted stability and security. This was achieved through the distribution of land vacated by the settler community or made available through the expansion of the land frontier. The state arbitrated the competition that the distribution process engendered between various ethnic and sub-ethnic groups. In satisfying this most basic demand of the peasantry, the state was far from being an impartial arbitrator. The state used this power to reward those who demonstrated loyalty and support for the regime. Kenyatta masterfully played factions and groups off against one another, forcing them to compromise in their demands for the spoils of independence. This manipulation deepened the divisions between factions and in doing so served to further legitimize the regime's pyramidal power structure: the alternative to the Kenyatta regime's monopoly of power came to

⁵⁹Ibid., p 37. It is important to note that this assertion is supported by reference to: J. Spencer, KAU: The Kenya Africa Union, (London: Keagan Paul, 1985), as well as several of Throup's own articles.

be perceived as uncontrolled conflict between the various factions.

In much the same way the Kenyatta regime was able to command the support of the "proto-capitalists". "Nurture capitalism" depends on the power of the state to foster the business aspirations of a particular class or group. The power to foster and support is also the power to crush and deny. The regime rewarded those who were loyal with business opportunities that were guaranteed to succeed; the profitability of most such ventures having been demonstrated during the colonial period. This process did not create new economic activity, it simply transferred existing structures into the hands of new beneficiaries. Because there was a relatively small number of individuals who had to be rewarded, the costs of doing so were bearable. Of course these costs were borne by the common people --as they had been during the colonial era. The monopolies and unfair business practices that the regime permitted, made goods and services more expensive across the board, while effectively enriching the elite.⁶⁰ The regime was quite prepared to subvert due process in order to achieve its economic aims.⁶¹

⁶⁰It is important not to deny the extremely avaricious nature of the capitalist elite. During Kenyatta's time they were known as "the family" and the most famously rapacious of this group was Kenyatta's wife --Mama Ngina. She reputedly used her position to become involved in businesses as wide-ranging as ivory smuggling and supermarkets.

⁶¹Throup, "The Construction and Deconstruction of the Kenyatta State", p. 49.

Once the settlers had been dispatched, the various factions of Kenya's ethnic sub-nationalist elites could be included in Kenyatta's coalition, either by election to the National Assembly or as local councillors, or by appointment to the civil service, or as directors of para-statal. Loans and land were available in unprecedented abundance. The dismantling of the colonial state ensured that Kenyatta had enough resources at independence to secure the support of both the loyalist and former KCA factions.⁶²

The Kenyatta regime was able to forestall classic class conflict within the independent state. The regime was legitimated and entrenched as the spoils of "nurture capitalism" were allocated to those members of the elite who had the backing of significant constituencies among the fractionalized ethnic and sub-ethnic groups. In this way the patterns of patron-client relationships were forged between the people on the land who operated within the "economy of affection" and members of the elite who revolved around the president. The regime was totally ruthless with those who challenged, or appeared to challenge the regime, or who called its practices into question. One of the greatest threats that an individual could pose was to develop a base of support which cut across factional lines. In a power structure such as this, loyalty to the regime has to be absolute. As Leys has described above, Kenyatta was able to outmaneuver and

⁶²Ibid., p. 41.

marginalize those politicians --like Odinga-- who attempted to build a class-based opposition. Under the regime, "due process" was a tool to be used.⁶³ Equally, the regime was quite prepared to publicly use naked violence --as in the assassinations of Kariuki and Tom Mboya-- when it felt threatened.

Under the Kenyatta regime political and economic power were inescapably inter-meshed and focused on the person of the president. The civil service and the para-statal were the mechanisms through which both were expressed. When the Airlift alumni returned to Kenya to begin their careers they were still young.

Older members of the elite with political chips to cash in, were well entrenched in the "carcass of the colonial state", to use Throup's phrase. Government service was the one area of wage employment where the alumni were at great advantage. University education was a rare commodity and an instant qualification for positions within the civil service or para-statal. Moreover these institutions were clearly going to be the most important economic actors on the national stage.

Positions within the civil service provided an opportunity to observe the process of factional jockeying for advantage with relative political safety, allowing the alumni to learn how to make the system work to their advantage. From

⁶³Ibid., p. 48.

positions which would increase in importance over time -- assuming that the individuals "played their cards right"-- the alumni were perfectly placed to "straddle" virtually all of the important poles in Kenyan society.

Their first loyalty was to the regime. From their positions as office holders they would be able to act in a general sense as bridges between the "economy of affection" and the emerging African business stratum. On an individual level, they would have been able to use their wage income, access to credit and information to become involved in business activities of their own. It is easy to conclude that such arrangements were structured to benefit the "economy of affection", the networks which sent particular individuals off on the Airlifts, the business interests they aided, and in -- the tradition of "harambee"-- themselves.⁶⁴

Their education and experience in North America equipped them to act as the regime conduit to the foreign governments, agencies, and last, not but least, the managers of foreign capital. Fully fourteen of the thirty-four alumni categorized as senior civil servants worked in an international capacity. Nine individuals worked at the top level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These included the Permanent Representative to the United Nations and the Ambassador designate to the United States. It is worth noting

⁶⁴"Harambee" can also be translated to mean "self-help" referring to a system of local initiative and fund raising --a sort of formalization of the "economy of affection".

that at the time of the sample the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs was also an Airlift alumnus. Five other individuals were working for various international agencies. Their appointments would have been approved or made by the Kenyan government.⁶⁵

Education, in particular university education, as is noted above, was one clear avenue of career advancement within Kenyan society. Consequently, there was a great demand for such opportunities in independent Kenya. The country moved quickly to create degree-granting institutions and there was a great shortage of Kenyans qualified to teach at the university level. Those of the alumni who chose careers in the university could expect to be handsomely rewarded and were to a degree more secure in their positions than those competing for top-level appointments in the civil service. University faculty were also able to invest wage income back into their communities. Informally and through consultancy work they could become involved in many of the same "straddling" activities as their civil service counterparts.

While twenty-three individuals do not make a university system, the Airlift alumni were the cutting edge of a Kenyan takeover of the country's higher education system. The excitement that surrounded the success of the three Airlifts and the realization that a university degree was not

⁶⁵Two of these positions are for "research scientists" but such appointments require diplomatic and bureaucratic skill in addition to scientific competence.

completely impossible, had to contribute to the still-growing numbers of students attending both Kenyan and foreign institutions. In this, Kenya stands in stark contrast to many other developing countries where the military is seen as the most effective means of education and career advancement.

Conclusions

Having examined the Airlifts and the literature on Kenya's political economy, it is tempting to draw the macro conclusion that the Airlift students and those who followed them in university education in ever greater numbers can be described as the seeds and flowering of a true middle class within the Kenyan power structure. Such a temptation is dangerous as it overlooks one of the fundamental points to be drawn. Clearly the use of the term class, and the intellectual baggage that it carries with it, is fraught with danger. Christopher Leo tacitly recognizes this difficulty when he writes:

... we find peasant and capitalist classes thoroughly interpenetrated, with many an individual merging the two class identities in his or her person.¹

¹ Leo 148.

Obviously there are distinctions within any society. But each society evolves in its own way and power is articulated and legitimized on the basis of that society's particular history. We have seen that the airlift alumni were well-positioned to straddle or bridge different aspects of Kenyan society, but this middleman role does not automatically lead to what we would describe as a "middle class ethos".

In the first two chapters, we recognize the way in which scholarship has sought to understand and explain the complexity of developing societies. This evolutionary process has demonstrated the basic weaknesses of doctrinaire analytical frameworks --such as the dependency school. This is not to imply, however, that such theories completely lack validity. The Dependency School scholars identified a number of factors which weighed heavily against developing nations. What we have seen here is that dynamic and creative leadership is capable of overcoming such obstacles. The airlifts drastically changed the educational opportunities open to Kenyans, in spite of the relative poverty of the airlift students, the direct opposition of the colonial administration, and the apathy of the American state department.

The more "hermeneutic", context oriented approach of scholars like Goran Hyden reveals the importance of structures and systems that might otherwise go unnoticed. In examining the relationship between the Airlifts and the economy of affection, a number of points have become clear. Tom Mboya was able to draw on the strengths of the economy of affection to achieve his particular purpose in spite of the opposition of the colonial administration and the ambivalence of the American State department. What is particularly revealing is that Mboya found support for his project in the United States through an informal / "reciprocal" network within upper levels of the American power structure. One of the truisms of the study of comparative politics is that it teaches us as much about ourselves and our subject.

Of course the information that could be discovered about the after graduation careers of the airlift alumni was by definition limited. A complete, systematic study of this group would be of great scholarly interest. This, however, would demand a commitment of time and resources well beyond masters level research. The information that we do have about the airlift alumni fits perfectly with the scholarly arguments presented in the thesis.

The thesis sought to examine three separate strands of scholarship through the lens of the airlifts. Doing so demonstrated that each perspective presented a part of a connected whole. It very quickly, for example, became clear that nurture capitalism has more to do with politics --at least in Kenya-- than it does with simple capitalism. Equally, we can see that the traditional peasant economy of affection has been remarkably effective in the articulation of its needs and fears. Rather than being separated from capitalistic sectors of the polity, the economy of affection has penetrated and used these economic elites to achieve its ends.

Clearly, class-based politics could have developed in Kenya and there are distinct groups and types of citizens within Kenya today who can be labelled as members of one "class" or another. In so labelling such groups, however, we deny the basic structure of political power as it has developed in Kenya. Within their ethnic groupings, Kenyans identify vertically with those who connect them to the power of the presidency or are connected to it by them. Class-based politics depends on the formation of crosscutting horizontal alliances between individuals from different ethnic groupings who share the same position within the power structure.

Development in the final analysis is the management of change within societies. This is the most basic function of politics, to attempt to shape the evolution of society as it responds to the continually changing environment. The Kenyatta regime and the strategies it deployed from independence produced stability. This allowed the peasant economy to prosper and grow, parallel to the development of African capitalism. Such change is an ongoing process.

Notes on the Appendices

The first appendix lists the names and 1987 occupations of those "Airlifts" Alumni about whom such information was available. These lists are broken down by type of employment.

The second appendix is a list of all known "Airlift" students. It is arranged, loosely, by state or province of study. The names of students from the 1959 "Airlifts" appear at the head of this list. For these students subject of study information --in 1959-- is included. Throughout the second section 1987 occupation is included where available.

The appendices were created, primarily, by merging three basic documents. These were:

1) Guest list from Ambassador + Mrs Thomas' reception for the silver anniversary of Kenyan U.S. Student "Airlifts", at residence July 1, 1986. This included present occupations for those Alumni invited.

2) Report On The "81" Kenya Students Who Arrived In North America By "Airlifts" in September 1959, submitted by K.D. Luke, Adviser to Colonial Students in North America, British Embassy, Washington, D.C., June 1960.

3) African American Students Foundation, East African Students in the United States as of December, 1961.

The list of East African Students in the United States as of December, 1961 contained the names of students from East Africa who were not "Airlift" participants, where this was

clearly the case these names have been deleted. In the spirit of the Pan-African movement the "Airlifts" included students from Tanzania and Uganda. Where it has been possible to identify these students a note has been made in the appendix. Ugandan and Tanzanian alumni have not knowingly been included in the first section of the appendix.

There were also discrepancies between the documents. For the most part these revolved around the spelling of names. Where such variances were not obvious a note has been made in the appendix entry.

One major discrepancy occurs in regard to Mr. Hilary B. Ng'wengo. On the guest list for the 25 th anniversary celebrations he is clearly listed as an "Airlifts" Participant though no obvious record of him appears on the other two lists.

Of those "Airlifts" Alumni who qualified as medical doctors three --of four-- became civil servants and are listed as such in the Appendices.

Appendix One

Civil Service

Ndoto Justus Kalewa
Drake University
Permanent Secretary
Office of the President

Kandie Aron
University of Michigan
Permanent Secretary
responsible for: Personnel
Management

James Karugu
Bowling Green State
Former Attorney General

Wilson N. Ayah
University of Wisconsin
Chairman:
Public Accounts Committee

Sospeter Onuko Mageto
Bronx Community College
Kenyan Ambassador designate
to the United States

Raphael Muli Kiilu
Xavier University
Permanent Representative to
the U.N.

Mugo Nicholas Muratha
Warren Wilson College,
Lincoln University
Liberal Arts
Former Ambassador to Ethiopia

Peter Nyamweya
Agricultural Mechanical and
Normal College
Head of Americas Division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(Ambassador-designate)

Mwabili Kisaka
Institution Unknown
Former Kenyan Ambassador to
France

Ng'ethe Njoroge
Boston University
Former High Commissioner to
Britain

Maluki Eliud Ikusa
La Verne College
Senior Deputy Secretary
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(1986 High Commissioner
designate to Nigeria)

Maitha Stephen Matino
Morningside College
Head of U.N. Division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Gichuru Simon Mukua
St. Francis Xavier University
Commerce
Retired from Kenyan Foreign
Service

Odede Pamela (Later Mrs. Tom M'Boya)
Western Collge
Home Economics
Permanent Representative to the U.N. HABITAT

Thomas Okelo-Odongo
Howard University
African Caribbean-Pacific Group Official

Jermiah Mutuku Mutinga
Union College
Research Scientist with ICIPE

Olembo James Reuben
Purdue University
Pre-med
Research Scientist with UNEP

Justus A.A. Mudavadi
San Francisco University
With the United Nations in Zambia

Nguta Wellington
Pasadena City College
Former Principal Immigration Officer

Seda George Ouko
Graceland College
Deputy Provincial Commissioner: Coast

Kandie Aron
Mbaria Aloysisuis
St. Mary's College
District Commissioner?

Ernest Munalu
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College
Former District Commissioner
now Senior Asst. Sec. Lands

Gideon Masingila
Bluffton College
Former Commissioner of Customs
Now a Farmer

Elikana Mbatia
Miami University
Commissioner: Public Service Commission

Paul Asila
Warner Pacific College
Chief Administrative officer
Central Medical Stores
Ministry of Health

David Mbithi Mbiti
Philadelphia College of Bible
Ministry of Education

Mungola Ellistone R
Philander Smith C.
Education
Medical docotor and retired senior civil servant

Wagama Grace
Howard University
Liberal Arts
Agriculture Officer, Ministry of Agriculture

Fred Njenga
Howard University
Senior Asst. Secretary
Ministry of Labour

Getao James
Stockton College
Former Chairman
Road Licencing Board

Perez Malande Olindo
Central Missouri State
College
Former Senior Wildlife
Conservationist

Karago Joyce Wanyuki
Santa Rosa High School
Ministry of Education,
Science and Technology

Osanaya-Nyyneque Arthur E.
Indiana University
Former senior secretary in
various ministries

Yekoyada Masakhalia
University of Denver
Former Permanent Secretary
Min. of Environment and
Natural Resources

James Joe Mureithi
Laney Adult and Technical
School
Former director of Livestock
Ministry of Livestock

Manasseh Likimani
Aurora College
Medical doctor, retired from
Civil Service

Karen Anyango
Palmer High School
Probation Officer -Kiambu

Academic

Njoroge Raphael Miru
St. Mary's University
Journalism
Dean of Education:
Kenyatta University

Josephat Njuguna Karanja
Princeton University
Former Vice Chancellor:
University of Nairobi

Ojuda Shadrack Kwasa
Howard University, Cornell
University
Liberal Arts
Lecturer in Economics:
Nairobi University

Dr. Miriam Were
William Penn College
Lecturer Public Health
University of Nairobi

Luseno Dorcas
Spellman College
Social Work
Senior Lecturer:
Kenya Institute of
Administration

Dalizu Fred Egambi
Howard University
Lecturer in Government:
University of Nairobi

Murungi Robert Wallace
College of Idaho
Chairman, Dept. of Philosophy
Kenyatta University College

Wallace Robert Murungi
College of Idaho
Theology
Chairman, Department of
Philosophy:
Kenyatta University College

Dr. John Marangu
Olivet Nazarene College
Chairman: Department of
Botany
Kenyatta University

Maloiy Geoffrey M. Ole
Central College
Vet. science
Principal:
College of Agriculture +
Veterinary Sciences
University of Nairobi

Dr. Leah Marangu
Olivet Nazarene College
Chairman, Dept. of Home
Economics
Kenyatta University

Erustus H. Muga
West Virginia State College
Chairman Dept. Sociology
University of Nairobi

Dinah Muturi
Kansas Wesleyan University
Former Asst. Registrar
University of Nairobi

Okatcha Frederick
Michigan State University
Senior Lecturer:
University of Nairobi

Ellysham Shiroya
Macalester College
Prof. of History
Kenyatta University College

Shadrack Ojuda Kwasa
Cornell University
Lecturer in Economics:
Nairobi University

Matnias Ogutu
Scranton University
Senior Lecturer in History
University of Nairobi

Ngola Samuel Mutisya
Philander Smith C.
Economics
Lecturer in Economics:
University of Nairobi

Hon. John Joseph Okumu
Grinnell College
Director: East Africa
Institute
of Management (Arusha)

Gituru Peter Kuria
Copper Valley School
Kenya Polytechnic

Munge F.J. Ngige
Copper Valley School
Kenya Polytechnic

Odede Simon
Alaska Methodist University
Kenya Polytechnic

Mrs. Penninah Amolo Ogada
Simmons College
Principal:
Mbita Point International
School

Gitonga Jonah W.
Tuskegee Institute
Moi Armed Forces Academy

Politics

Kairo Simon Thuo
 North Eastern Missouri State
 College
 Sociology
 Former Assistant Minister of
 Labour

Titus Mbathi
 Institution Unknown
 Former Minister of labour

Ochola Ogaye Mak'Anyengo
Institution unclear
Assistant Min. of Foreign
Affairs

Magugu Arthur Kinyanjui
La Verne College
Minister of:
Transport and Communications

Alphonse Okuku
Antioch College
Former Assistant Min. of
Information + Broadcasting

Filemona Indire (Abigail)
Ball State Teachers College
Nominated M.P.

Waiyaki L. Wambaa
Houghton College
Businessman + Politician

Peter Ndungu Kenyanjui
Northeast Missouri State
Teachers College
M.P. for Kikuyu

Kyale Mwendwa
Michigan State
M.P. for Kitui Central

Julia Kasichana Tuva
Doane College
Member of Parliament

Dr. Mukasa Mango
St. Benedicts College
M.P. for Busia East

Richard M. Kakoi
American University
Former M.P. for Yatta

Ruth Gecaga (Mrs.)
McKinley Continuation High
School
Former nominated M.P.

Oliver Warobi Nyoike
Mifflinburg High School
Possibly Kimani Wa Nyoike:
A graduate of M.I.T.
Assistant Minister of Labour

Jonathan Ng'eno
Moody Bible Institute
Minister of Commerce +
Industry

Ochieng Oneko
San Francisco State College
Former Min. of Information +
Broadcasting

Para-statals
(includes "quango" appointments)

Angwenyi Charles Peter
Regis College
Executive Chairman:
National Bank of Kenya

Wycliffe Awori Mutsune
Iowa State
Managing Director:
Kenya Tourist Development
Corp.

Joseph Barage Wanjui
Columbia University
Chairman: East Africa
Industries

Agnes Ochido Orido Ojany
Springfield South High School
Deputy Managing Director:
Kenya Tourist Development
Corporation

James Kerago Gecaga
Diablo Valley (Junior)
College
Nominated M.P.
Chairman: Bristish American
Tabacco Co.

Godfrey W. Tetu
Central State College Ohio
Managing Director
Kenya Brewries Limited

Gichuhi Evanson Ngiabi
University of California -
Berkeley
Liberal Arts
Personnel Services Manager:
British Amercian Tobacco Co.
(BAT)

Isabella Muthoni Muthiga
Fairleigh Dickinson
University
Public Relations Manager
Kenya Breweries

Ogessa Silvano Onyango
De Pauw University
Liberal Arts
Deputy General Manager,
Kenya Tea Development
Authority

Kahara Christopher
College of Emporia
Chairman: Nairobi
International Show

Gichuru Mary
Newton High School
High School
Director, Kenyatta
International Conference
Centre

Ayany Samuel Gerson
Howard University
Chairman: Mumias Sugar
Factory

Kanyua Francis
DePauw University
Chief Executive Officer
Kenya Nat'l Chamber of
Commerce and Industry

The Court System

Zakay R. Chesoni
Adams State College
High Court Judge

Humphrey Gituru Mwangi
Tuskegee Institute
High Court Judge

The Law

Ochieng Adonijah Menya
San Francisco State College
Business Administration
Managing Director, Menya
Associates

Kassim-Lakha Akber
University of Minnesota
Lawyer

Business

Owino Daniel
Ohio State
Businessman

Beth Mugo
Kenneth Square High School
Chairman: Kenya Business
Women Assoc.

Midamba Amos Onyango
Alaska Methodist College
Business Executive

Gershon N. Konditi
J.P. Campbell College
Federation of Kenya Employers

Oliver J. Litondo Musila
Iowa Wesleyan College
E.A. Express Agencies

Media

Joram Amadi
 Tuskegee Institute
 Former Managing Editor
 The Standard and Kenya Leo
 Daily Newspapers

Philip Lamech Wangalwa
 Phillips University
 News Editor
 The Daily Nation

Hilary B. Ng'wengo
 Harvard University
 Editor/Publisher of:
 The Weekly Review

Ochieng Philip
 Roosevelt University
 Economics
 Chief Sub-Editor, The Daily
 nation Newspaper

Medicine

Dulo Agembo
 Roosevelt University
 Gynecologist

Appendix Two

Students who arrived in 1959

Ireri Dunstan
Alabama State C.
Liberal Arts

Gathoni Gladwell
Diablo Valley C.
Pre-med

Mbithi Johnson
Tuskegee Institute
Biology

Gichuhi Evanson Ngiabi
University of California -
Berkeley
Liberal Arts
Personnel Services Manager:
British Amercian Tobacco Co.
(BAT)

Onyundo Okal Amram
Tuskegee Institute
Pre-Med. for Vet. Science

Githaiga Francis
Diablo Valley C./
Warren Wilson College
Criminology

Wandia Raballa Nicholas
Tuskegee Institute/
Bridgeport University
Chemistry

Kamau K. Elizabeth
Diablo Valley C.
Geography

Mungola Ellistone R
Philander Smith C.
Education
Medical doctor
and retired senior civil
servant

Kamau George Gachigi
University of California -
Berkeley
Business Administration

Mbai Daniel Joab
Philander Smith C.
Education

Manini James Sithua Kungu
Diablo Valley C.
Economics

Mutisya Ngola Samuel
Philander Smith C.
Economics
Lecturer in Economics:
University of Nairobi

Njuguna Beatrice Wairimu
McKinley Continuation High
School/
Contra Costa College
Business Administration

Nabutete Frank H.
Philander Smith C.
Political Science

Ochieng Adonijah Menya
San Francisco State College
Business Administration
Managing Director, Menya
Associates

Indakwa John
Howard University
Liberal Arts

Ododa Patricia Rdipo
Howard University
Home Economics

Mpagi Kajubi Younus
Howard University
Engineering
(Ugandan airlift participant)

Mugone Grace Alividza
Howard University
Liberal Arts

Ojuda Shadrack Kwasa
Howard University/
Cornell University
Liberal Arts
Lecturer in Economics:
Nairobi University

Dalizu Fred Egambi
Howard University
Liberal Arts
Lecturer in Government:
University of Nairobi

Wagama Grace
Howard University
Liberal Arts
Agriculture Officer:
Ministry of Agriculture

Mugambi Andrew F.
Georgetown University
Physics

Luseno Dorcas
Spellman College
Social Work
Senior Lecturer:
Kenya Institute of
Administration

Ragwar Jennifer Adhiambo
Spelman College
Sociology

Maundu Philip
Morehouse College/Colgate
University
Political Science

Ogola Boaz
Morehouse College
Economics

Otieno Onyango
Morehouse College
Maths

Olero Samuel Otieno
Morris Brown College
Pre-med

Murungi Wallace Robert
College of Idaho
Theology
Chairman, Department of
Philosophy:
Kenya University College

Kang'ethe John
Roosevelt University
Economics

Ochieng Philip
Roosevelt University
Economics
Chief Sub-Editor:
The Daily nation Newspaper

Magucha Joseph B.
Greenville College/Fisk
University
History

Wokabi Angelina W.
Clarke College
Liberal Arts

Ochola George Philip
University of Chicago
Labour Relations

Wagithuku Arthur
Bowdoin College/Syracuse
University
Political Science

Ogessa Silvano Onyango
De Pauw University
Liberal Arts
Deputy General Manager:
Kenya Tea Development
Authority

Gichuru Mary
Newton High School
High School
Director:
Kenyatta International
Conference Centre

Olembo James Reuben
Purdue University
Pre-med
Research Scientist with UNEP

Samma A.H.
University of Massachusetts
Economics
(Tanzanian airlift
participant)

Karuga Cyrus Gakuo
Iowa Wesleyan College
Liberal Arts

Muyia Harrison Bwire
Wayne State University
Business Administration

Maloiy Geoffrey M. Ole
Central College
Vet. science
Principal: College of
Agriculture
and Veterinary Sciences,
University of Nairobi

Kairo Simon Thuo
North Eastern Missouri State
College
Possibly also at Huron
College
Sociology
Former Assistant Minister of
Labour

Mwalozi Dickson
Simpson College
Political Science

Masembwa Solomon M.
North Eastern Missouri State
College/
Howard University
Sociology

Ochieng John
Simpson College
Liberal Arts

Gichoki Rose Wanjiko
Clarke College
Liberal Arts

Katungulu Regina
Skidmore College
Biology

Kimanthi Ngaamba Titus
Lincoln University/Houghton
College
Arts

Odero Nyimbi Boniface
Manhattan College
Science

Ochola Samuel Abuna
State University of New York
Science

Mboyah Mungai
Bronx Community College/
New School for Social
Research
Liberal Arts

Ruenji Arthur
Beverly High School
High School

Wachira Peter
Ithaca College/Bronx
Community College
Business Administration

Mugo Nicholas Muratha
Warren Wilson College/Lincoln
University
Liberal Arts
Former Ambassador to Ethiopia

Githatha Peter Kinuanjui
Central State College (Ohio)

Oduor Benjamin Enos
Central State College (Ohio)/
DePawe University
Natural Sciences

Odede Pamela (Later Mrs. Tom
M'Boya)
Western Collge
Home Economics
Permanent Representative to
the U.N. HABITAT

Warui George Mbuthia
Oklahoma City University
Pre-med

Karanja Henry Chege
Cascade Collge
Business Administration

Chanzu Said
Pittsburgh University
Liberal Arts

Kabachia Venantio Kiriiri
LaSalle Collge
Liberal Arts

Mwihia Francis
Moravian College
Economics

Mwihia Kathleen
Moravian Collge
Adult Education

Odera Barrak Odingi
Northern State Teachers
College/
State University of South
Dakota
Journalism

Ngumbi John Mutua
Jarvis Christian College/
Howard University
Religion

Omondi Opuodho Raphael
St. Mary's University
Science

Mwangi Charles Muchoki
St. Dunstons University
Commerce

Francis Anthony Santiago
Howard Payne College
Physical Education

Njoroge Raphael Miru
St. Mary's University
Journalism

Mugweru James S.
Brigham Young University
Pre-med

Mbogwa Peter John
McGill University
Arts
Remained in Canada

Thairu Daniel Mwankiki
Virginia Union University
Education

Watatua Solomon
West Virginia Wesleyan
College
Economics

Fedha Washika Nathan
University of Minnesota/
Wisconsin State College
Education

Isige Jackson
Wisconsin State College
Business Administration

Chege Joseph Wanyoke Mwange
St. Thomas Collge
Arts

Gichuru Simon Mukua
St. Francis Xavier University
Commerce
Retired from Kenyan Foreign
Service

Macharia Murai Simeon
St. Dunstons University
Civil Engineering

Students who arrived in 1960 and 1961

Njenga Fred
Howard University
Senior Asst. Secretary
Ministry of Labour

Wangalwa Philip Lamech
Phillips University
News Editor
The Daily Nation

Mutsune Wycliffe Awori
Iowa State
Managing Director:
Kenya Tourist Development
Corp.

Karanja Josephat Njuguna
Princeton University
Former Vice Chancellor:
University of Nairobi

Muga Erustus H.
West Virginia State College
Chairman Dept. Sociology
University of Nairobi

Ochola Ogaye Mak'Anyengo
Assistant Min. of Foreign
Affairs
May be one of the two
Ochola's on the 1959 list

Ng'wengo Hilary B.
Harvard University
Editor/Publisher of:
The Weekly Review

Ogada Penninah Amolo Ogada
(Mrs.)
Simmons College
Principal: Mbita Point
International School

Mbachi Titus
Institution Unknown
Former Minister of labour

Were Miriam (Dr.)
William Penn College
Lecturer Public Health
University of Nairobi

Nyamweya Peter
Agricultural Mechanical +
Normal College
Head of Americas Division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
(Ambassador-designate)

Owino Daniel
Ohio State
Businessman

Karugu James
Bowling Green State
Former Attorney General

Mwabili Kisaka
Institution Unknown
Former Kenyan Ambassador to
France

Okuku Alphonse
Antioch College
Former Assistant Min. of
Information and Broadcasting

Perez Malande Olindo
Central Missouri State
College
Former Senior Wildlife
Conservationist

Waiyaki L. Wambaa
Houghton College
Businessman and Politician

Musila Oliver J. Litondo
Iowa Wesleyan College
E.A. Express Agencies

Yekoyada Masakhalia
University of Denver
Former Permanent Secretary
Min. of Environment and
Natural Resources

Chesoni Zakay R.
Adams State College
High Court Judge

Manasseh Likimani
Aurora College
Medical doctor, retired from
Civil Service

Mukasa Mango (Dr.)
St. Benedicts College
M.P. for Busia East

Amisi Joram Lamwenya
Tuskegee Institute

Mwendwa Kyale
Michigan State
M.P. for Kitui Central

Andipo Meshak
Tuskegee Institute

Wanjui Joseph Barage
Columbia University
Chairman: East Africa
Industries

Gitonga Jonah W.
Tuskegee Institute
Moi Armed Forces Academy

Njoroge Ng'ethe
Boston University
Former High Commissioner to
Britain

Mburu John Francis
Tuskegee Institute

Mwangi Humphrey Giture
Tuskegee Institute
High Court Judge

Ayah Wilson N.
University of Wisconsin
Chairman Public Accounts
Committee

Mwangi Stanley M.
Tuskegee Institute

Okelo-Odongo Thomas
Howard University
African Caribbean-Pacific
Group Official

Nthenge Francis
Tuskegee Institute

Obed Kisusi
Tuskegee Institute

Amadi Joram
Tuskegee Institute
Former Managing Editor
The Standard and Kenya Leo
Daily Newspapers

Ogila Simon O.
Tuskegee Institute

Sangale Micah
Tuskegee Institute

Kisulu Nelson Mwoma
Arizona State College

Wamwea Austin Kanyuru
Tuskegee Institute

Swai Stephen James
Arizona State University

Anyango Karen
Palmer High School
Probation Officer -Kiambu

Gitu Peter Machatha
Merrill Jr. and Sr. High
School

Anyim Crispo Othieno
Seward High School

Kinyua Harrison Jackson
Philander Smith College

Gituru Peter Kuria
Copper Valley School
Kenya Polytechnic

Kuria John William
Philander Smith College

Karanga Kenneth
Seward High School

Msaky Thomas
Philander Smith College

Mainya Joseph
Palmer High School

Ngila Joseph Muthiana
Philander Smith College

Midamba Amos Onyango
Alaska Methodist College
Business Executive

Olelolchoki Jonathan Kariuki
Philander Smith College

Moikabu Josephine
Palmer High School

Rongomas Jacob Zena
Philander Smith College

Munge F.J. Ngige
Copper Valley School
Kenya Polytechnic

Abbott Richard Anthony
Stanford University

Obat Lorna
Copper Valley School

Chutha Florence
Diablo Valley College

Odede Simon
Alaska Methodist University
Kenya Polytechnic

Foulds Anna
Dominican College of San
Raphael

Foum Fatma Ali
University of Redlands

Gecaga James Kerago
 Diablo Valley (Junior)
 College
 Nominated M.P.
 Chairman: British American
 Tobacco Co.

Gecaga Ruth (Mrs.)
 McKinley Continuation High
 School
 Former nominated M.P.

Getao James
 Stockton College
 Former Chairman:
 Road Licencing Board

Mathenge Isika Stephen
 Santa Rosa Junior College

Wanyuki Karago Joyce
 Santa Rosa High School
 Ministry of Education,
 Science and Technology

Kato Mary Regina
 Dominican College of San
 Raphael

Kibathi Evans
 Ells High School

Kigunda John Githi
 College of the Pacific

Kihui Daniel
 Biola College

Kiplagat Danson Kandie
 Orange Coast College

Kungu James G.
 Diablo Valley College

Magugu Arthur Kinyanjui
 La Verne College
 Minister of Transport and
 Communications

Maina James
 Stanford University

Maluki Eliud Ikusa
 La Verne College
 Senior Deputy Secretary
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 (1986 High Commissioner
 designate to Nigeria)

Mbugua Michael
 Orange Coast College

Mbuthia Duncan Kimenyi
 Montgomery Senior High School

Mkindi Yusuf Ally
 Diablo Valley College

Momanyi-Tengeri J. Charles
 Chaffey College

Kimotho Charles
 California State Polytech.
 College

Mungai Fred Mburu
 Sacramento State College

Munyi D.
 Ellis High School

Murungi Julius
 Contra Costa College

Mwangi James Wanyeki
Diablo Valley College
Mwangi R.N.M.
Banning Union High School

Chege Henry Rigii
Golden Gate College
Kabuthu Daniel Mbogo
St. Mary's College

Mwaniki Miss Rahab Wanjui
Chino California High School

Kamau Mwangi Jidruph
Havenscourt Junior High
School

Namasaka Boaz
Santa Barbara City College

Kirike Moses
California College

Nganga Lazarus
Diablo Valley (Junior)
College

Kiritta Eva
Contra Costa College

Njine James Henry
Contra Costa College

Mafunga Wambulwa
University of California

Njoroge Esther Wambui
Contra Costa College

Maina John Ondieki
St. Mary's College

Njuguna Peninnah
Palo Alto Senior High School

Musembi Charles
University of California

Nyamu Raphael
High School

Mbugua Gakahu
Oakland Technical High School

Odera Benjamin
California Western University

Ochieng Oneko
San Francisco State College
Former Min. of Information
and
Broadcasting

Othieno Caleb Obiero
Imperial Valley College

Mucoki John
Laney Adult and Technical
School

Pai Mohini Chaddah (Mrs.)
Stanford University

Patel Jayantilel A.
Fullerton Junior College

Mucoki Mrs. Joyce
Berkeley Unified High School

Justus A.A. Mudavadi
San Francisco University
With the United Nations in
Zambia

James Joe Mureithi
Laney Adult and Technical
School
Former director of Livestock
Ministry of Livestock

Ndegwa Michael Kariuki
Oakland Technical High School

Nderi Peter
St. Mary's College

Ngaracu Eva Joseph
McKinley Continuation High
School

Nyagah Moses
Laney Adult and Technical
School

Nyagah Mrs. Saloma
St. Mary's College

Ngethe Sarah Nyokabi
McKinley Continuation High
School

Nyaggah Boniface
St. Mary's College

Okeyo Michael
University of California??--
Berkeley

Otono Elisha Otieno
St. Mary's College

Waithira Charity
McKinley High School

Wangui Grace
Palo Alto High School

Wanyee Patrick Roki
Havenscourt Junior High
School

Warobi Joan
Palo Alto High School

Woolfall G. D.
University of California

Arao Leo
Dorsey High School

Gethaiga Tabitha Wairimu
Occidental College

Gitau Ann
Providence High School

Muhota Issac
Harvard School

Magua Douglas Ngobe
Northrop Institute of
Technology

Nguta Wellington
Pasadena City College
Former Principal Immigration
Officer

Mwangi Philip G.
California Institute of
Technology

Njoroge Apollo
George Washington Adult High
School

Waciira R.
Cambria Adult School

Waiyaki F. Alfred
Pasadena City College

Angwenyi Charles Peter
Regis College
Executive Chairman:
National Bank of Kenya

Mboya Phillip Kagumba
Mesa Junior College

Muya Magdalena Wayua
Mesa College

Nderito Peter Charles
Colorado State University

Ndyanabo Wm. K.
Colorado State University

Ntege Mahmood
University of Denver

Kinuthia Samuel Njoroge
Taft School

Kubai Samson Owen
Greenwich High School

Njiiri Edward K.
Greenwich High School

Wagichiengo Erastus
Woodstock Junior High School

Kuria Wambui
Howard High School

Ayany Samuel Gerson
Howard University
Chairman: Mumias Sugar
Factory

Dodhia C.P.
George Washington University

Gesuga Angelica Wanjiru
Trinity College

Mlela Johannes
Howard University

Mugwe Evanson J.
Howard University

Mwenda Ibrahim N.
Howard University

Quadros Edith
Dunbarton College of Holy
Cross

Okoiti-Okiya Athanas
Howard University

Wanjiru Perpetua
Trinity College

Kamau David Mungai
Bethune Cookman College

Makuku John E.
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical University

Bisset Charlotte
Moody Bible Institute

Otieno Jackson
Morehouse College

Jonathan Ng'eno
Moody Bible Institute
Minister of Commerce and
Industry

Wakiaga Apollo
Morris Brown College

Bisset Elizabeth
Moody Bible Institute

Obama Barrack H.
University of Hawaii

Bonuke Joel M.
Greenville College

Unguka Wilson D.O.
Maunaloa College

Chiyabwe Blacklaws
Roosevelt University

Chege John Njoroge
Ricks College

Dulo Agembo
Roosevelt University
Gynecologist

Garimu Simon
Ricks College

Dulo Peter
Thornton Township High

Mathenge Solomin
College of Idaho

Imbamba Simeon Kedogo
Southern Illinois University

Ndumbu Noah Kates
Boise Junior College

Mamuya Ngamb'komso
Carthage College

Odundu-Owuor Yuda
Boise Junior College

Marangu John
Olivet Nazarene College
Chairman: Department of
Botany
Kenyatta University

Ouma J.
Idaho State College

Marangu Leah
Olivet Nazarene College
Chairman, Dept. of Home
Economics
Kenyatta University

Amiraki Peter
Garret Biblical Institute

Mohindra Indra
Indiana University

Mukasa L.
Goshen College

Mutia Jastus Muthembwa
St. Joseph's College

Nabwangu James
Anderson College and
Theological Seminary

Ogalo Philomena Agatha
Marian College

Okech William
Ball State Teachers College

Osanaya-Nyyneque Arthur E.
Indiana University
Former senior secretary in
various ministries

Sabwa Francis
Earlham College

Saka Enos Semo
Purdue University

Waiyaki Peter
Goshen College

Wanjiru Miriam
St. Mary of the Woods College

Abajah Ernest Okinyo
Wartburg College

Abwunza George Francis
Westmar College

Anyonge Jumba Nathan
Westmar College
Ayoki Winston A.
Northwestern College

Kamau Evanson
Midland Linotype School

Khamadi Miriam O.
William Penn College

Kimani Samson K.
Iowa State University

Kivindyos Onesmus
Morningside College

Libutai C.O.
Westmar College

Chesengeny Jonah A.
Vennard College

Maoga Charles Benjamin
Morningside College

Maitha Stephen Matino
Morningside College
Head of U.N. Division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Muchiri Moses (Thomas)
Roosevelt High School

Mumo David Thomas
Central College

Mutungu Bernard
Central College

Mwangosi George
Westmar College

Waiguchu Julius Muruka
Central College

Ndoto Justus Kalewa
Drake University
Permanent Secretary
Office of the President

Wokabi Francis
Loras College
Gitsu Edith
Southwestern College

Ndunda Price Peter
Morningside College

Imbuye E.G.
Friends' Bible College

Ndungo James
Iowa State Teachers College

Kahara Christopher
College of Emporia
Chairman: Nairobi
International Show

Njeri Rosebell T.
Des Moines Technical High
School

Kangatu Joseph M.
St. Benedict's College

Okumu John Joseph
Grinnell College
Director: East Africa
Institute
Of Management (Arusha)

Muturi Dinah
Kansas Wesleyan University
Former Asst. Registrar
University of Nairobi

Onguko Stephen
Des Moines Technical High
School

Lugalia Ezekiel Majani
Friends University

Opeyo James Orondo
Waldorf College

Appollinary M.
St. Benedict's College

Rogowski Andrew S.
Iowa State College of
Agricultural
and Mechanic Arts

Muchai Augustine
St. Benedict's College

Muganda Bernard
Hesston College

Seda George Ouko
Graceland College
Deputy Provincial
Commissioner:
Coast

Ngoiri Consolate
Sacred Heart College

Njoroge John Mbugua
Everest Rural High School

Wangari Mary J.
Mount St. Scholastica College

Wangeci Agatha
Mount St. Scholaastica
College

Karobia Harry Joram
Berea College

Kibicho Samuel G.
Carver School of Social Work

Mbui H.K.J.
Berea College

Nungari Felicity
Nazareth College

Nyarangi Philomena
Nazareth College

Oburu Ezekiel Samuel
Kentucky State College

Okwirry James Joshua
Berea Collele

Mugwene Albert M.
Xavier College

Onuoha Geoffrey
Xavier University

Gichuru Njoki
Colburn Classical Institute

Gundara Jogdish Singh
Bowdoin College

Adonge Joyce
Richard Montgomery High
School

Gathungu Joseph
Loyola College

Gichaba Naftal
Morgan State College

Matumla Seif Manzi
Morgan State College

Mwangombe Rollica N.
Morgan State College

Okello-Onyango Samuel
Morgan State College

Omwenga Mboga-Mageka
Morgan State College

Akumu Mary Hendrica
Holy Cross Academy

Anael Sarah Roselean
Smith College

Bertha Anna
Greenfield High School

Baryaruha A.
Boston University

Bigirwa Frederick Jackson
Clark University

Chilambe George
Brandeis University

Gicero David L.K.
Boston College

Luzinda Jamada
Amherst College

Gichuru John Gitau
Massachusetts Bay Community
College

Lwabi J.M.B.
Boston University

Matovu Wm. S.
Boston University

Kago Lucy Woky
Newton Junior College

Mbeche Simon
Assumption Prep School

Karanja E.N.
Salem Classical High School

Midewa Mary Consolata
Academy of the Assumption

Kasule-Luyera J.
Boston University

Muriithi David Wanjohi
Boston University

Kenyanjui Evanson N.
Northeastern University

Musoke Swaib
Boston University

Kimani Rosemary
Wellesley College

Muthoni Jane Keziah
Abbott Academy

Kimani Stephen N.
Worcester Polytechnic
Institute

Mwangi Daniel G.
Mt. Hermon School

Kirina Edward N.
Needham Senior High School

Mwangi John Francisco
Lennox High School

Kiteta Mutethya Lennah L.
Windsor Mt. School

Ngugi-Ngutho Douglas
Eastern Nazarene College

Kobai Abudi
Medfield High School

Njeri Winifred E. (Miss)
Dane Hall High School

Laban Bethuel Mururi
Greenfield High School

Nkurruna Livingstone
Atlantic Union College

Okongo Samuel Owino
Brandeis University

Oliela Henry
Waltham Senior High School

Luheyo Eliahi
Emmanuel Missionary College

Othiambo James
Lexington High School

Moturi Alfayo Nyarangi
Hope College

Otieno George J.
Windsor Mountain School

Muze Mishael
Emmanuel Missionary College
Ndeti Francis Kivuto
University of Detroit

Roki Athenas K.
Braintree High School

Ngundo Benjamin
Hillsdale College

Samma Abdulrasul H.
University of Massachusetts

Nikundiwe
Emmanuel Missionary College

Sambatya A.B.K.
Boston University

Ochieng Nelson Auma
University of Michigan

Senoga G.W.
Boston University

Odhiambo Gilbert Ogonji
Hope College

Wambui Mary
Stockbridge School

Okatcha Frederick
Michigan State University
Senior Lecturer:
University of Nairobi

Yazdi Vedad
Commonwealth School

Amunga Machis Masiko
Michigan State University

Onyango J. David
Hillsdale College

Gethooi Mutu Gechuruh
Northern Michigan College

Wainaina Daniel C.
Adrian College

Kandie Aron
University of Michigan
Permanent Secretary
responsible for:
Personnel Management
Office of the President

Agutu Jonathan S.
Winona State College

Masangya Benjamin W.
Minnehaha Academy

Chaghuza Gideon
Concordia College

Muteti G.F.
Holy Trinity High School

Kaloo Boniface A.M.
College of St. Thomas

Ngowi Shadrack
Luther Seminary

Kamau Peter
St. John's University

Nkurlu Yonah
Augustavas Adolphus College

Karangu Isabella M.
Mankato State College

Nyironge Trywell
Richfield Senior High School

Karangu Jomnah Mwangi
Mankato State College

Obong George Samuel
University of Minnesota

Kassim-Lakha Akber
University of Minnesota
Lawyer

Oitana Isaka]
Alexander Ramsey High School

Koinage Stephen
St. John's University

Ellysham Shiroya
Macalester College
Prof. of History
Kenyatta University College

Lama Abimael
Luther Theological Seminary

Mawanda Abbas
Hamline University

Walter Dan Abilla
Campbell College

Mbaria Aloysisuis
St. Mary's College
District Commissioner?

Githaiga Margaret (Mrs)
Saints Industrial college

Mata Felix
Augustavas Adolphus College

Konditi Gershon N.
J.P. Campbell College
Federation of Kenya Employers

Mshomi Elisifa
St. Olaf College

Munalu Ernest
Alcorn Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Former District Commissioner
now Senior Asst. Sec. Lands

Mucau Jean
Mankato State College

Mussai George Kituke Alcorn Agricultural Mechanical College	and	Okal Charles Northeast Missouri State Teachers College
Mwita Francis Alcorn Agricultural Mechanical College	and	Ole Geoffrey Kishoyian Douglas Hanibal-LeGrange College
Odima John Caleb Opano Alcorn Agricultural Mechanical College	and	Onyango Harold Michael Josiah Culver Stockton College
Onyach Albert J.P. Campbell College		Ougo Jonal Northeast Missouri State
Apafia Wacheke (Miss) Piney Woods High School		Oyieng Julius D.C. University of Missouri
Kenyanjui Peter Ndungu Northeast Missouri State Teachers College M.P. for Kikuyu		Wafula James Culver Stockton College
Neige Munio Hardley Technical High		Wakaba Abraham Hanibal LaGrange College
Muthone Priscilla Hardley Technical High		Habil W.W. Wejuli Central College
Ngige James Hardley Technical High		Kinyanjui James M. Rocky Mountain College
Njanga-Wahome Hardley Technical High		Ongele Nicholas Alois Carrol College
Naamau M. Odhiambo Park College		Herai Mahammed H. University of Nebraska
		Mugobi Lincoln School of Commerce

Mutinga Jermiah Mutuku
Union College
Research Scientist with ICIPE

Boma Leonard
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Osodo Jerry S.
Union College

Kagiri Jonathan N.
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Ondwasi Wycliffe I.N.
University of Nebraska

Gakuo Cyrus
Rutgers University

Rweyemamu Anthony H.
University of Nebraska

Kimani Evan
Columbia High School

Tuva Julia Kasichana
Doane College
Member of Parliament

Kiteme John Charles
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Arunga James Aggrey
Hanover High School

Kiwanuka Willibrad
St. Elizabeth College

Figueredo Teresia
Mt. St. Mary's College

Macharia Issac R.N.
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Mingina Dasy Gatecha
Concord High School

Mambuli Simon Sifune
Uppsala College (New Jersey)

Karagoi James N.
Portsmouth Senior High School

Mang'eli John Kilolo
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Karumba Samuel
Proctor Academy

Mwangi Richard Chege
St. Anselm's College

Mbirika Vincent
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Thiuri John
St. Anselm's College

Muthiga Isabella Muthoni
Fairleigh Dickinson
University
Public Relations Manager
Kenya Breweries

Wariumbo Benjamin F.W.
Nashua High School

Ngethe Grishon A. M
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Njuguma Henry Benson
East Orange High School

Ojwang Vitalis
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Rono Wesley
Fairleigh Dickinson
University

Tintamei Moses
Manual High School

Marian Ali
State University of New York

Arita Daniel
New Paltz State College

Albertor Anne Athieno
Cascaillia School

Chite Hannington
Cornell University

Gathecha Peter
Homer High School

Karuga Naomi
New Rochelle High School

Kaguiru Bernard
Houghton College

Kinuthia Eleazar N.
Houghton Academy

Alenga Holiab Kisia
New Paltz State College

Kurai Lucas Gikonyo
Alfred University

Leclezio Marguerite
Vassar College

Machooka Stephen M.
Cornell University

Maitha Joseph
Oswego State College

Malungu Josaphat David
Cornell University

Mbilinyi M.S.
Cornell University

Mthusi Lucia Ndugwa
Skidmore College

Kamau J. O. Mwangi
Syracuse University

Mwena Josephine K.
New Paltz State Teachers
College

Ndungu L.K.K.
Jamestown High School

Newa Alfred
Ithaca College

Nyamanga Nicholas O.
State University of New York

Haron Andima
Hunter College

Okwenyo Jason Nyariki
State University of New York

Apondo George
Hunter College

Nyokaye Silvanus
Albany State College

Butt Hamida Shariff
Bernard College

Nzioka Peter
Binghamton Central

Chakamoi Christopher Oyii
Columbia University

Okateh Thadaya
New Paltz Central School
Okongo Peter Ndiege
Oakwood School

Dungu Richard William
Columbia University

Othieno Nicholas
Cornell University

Getao Francis Ngwere
Adelphi College

Senkusu-Kibaya Samuel
Holy Trinity Orthodox Seminary

Gowi-Oduol Peter Edwin
Hunter College

Boaz Shuma
Syracuse University

Kaddu Andrew
Manhattan College

Jagpal Singh Sikand
State University of New York

Kashangaki Joseph
Fordham University
Tanzanian airlift
participant,
now an accountant in private
practice
in Nairobi.

Skeza Soko
Syracuse University

Kasina Francis
????? New York City

Walukak-Abwao James
State University of New York
College of Education

Kimani George Mbugua
????? New York City

Wariara Elizabeth
State University of New York
College of Education

Kimulu Jacinta Sucy
Mt. St. Ursula High School

Kiriro Amos Kirani
Adelphi College

Kisosonkole Luide
Long Island University

Lukwago Samuel G. M.
Columbia University

Lule Witson
City College of New York

Luyimbazi Francis
Fordham College

Mageto Sospeter Onuko
Bronx Community College
Kenyan Ambassador designate
to the U.S.A.

Makau Peter Muia
Hunter College

Mandara Caroline
Hunter College

Mbogua Leonard
Queens College

Mtagwaba Lugo
President East Africa
Students Union
???? New York City

Mubiru Joseph M.
???? New York City

Muga Karsto
Columbia University
Graduate School

Musyoka Frederick Munyoki
Adelphi College

Mwangi Florence
Albert Einstein Medical
School

Mwenja Margaret Wanjiku
Fashion Industry High School

Mwenja Ng'ang'a
City College

Nkonge Isidoro
Fordham University
Ntheketha Ruth
Mills College of Education

Ojwang Charles I.O.
New York University

Ojwang Oluooh
New York University

Okari Mary Nyaboki
Sarah Lawrence College

Omulepe George O.
Queens College

Otaale Barnabas
Whittier Hall Teachers
College

Othieno Nahemaiah A.
Columbia University

Thuku Rimi Henry
Queens College

Rutatenekwa Francis Wm.
Fordham University

Ndoro Arthur N'gang'a
Warren Wilson College

Saziru Nathan K.
Adelphi College

Ngayo Obidiah Jeremiah
Palmer Memorial Institute

Chege Ruth
Palmer Memorial Institute

Ng'ayu Mary Njeri
Bennett College

Gichia Mwangi Francis
Warren Wilson College

Nginyo Josphat A.
Palmer Memorial Institute

Githiri Peter N.
Palmer Memorial Institute

Ouka Frederick
Shaw University

Kamande Peter Nganga
Shaw University

Sala S.O.
Palmer Memorial Institute
Sure David Moturi
Shaw University

Lutu Ale Damali (Miss)
Bennett College

Apela Richard
Jamestown College

Maguto Robmson B.
Warren Wilson College

Adabu Ferinand
Miami University

Maina Joseph Thiga
Palmer Memorial Institute

Agesa Russell Shem
Wilmington College

Mbugua Humphrey C.
Shaw University

Akich-Okola William
Central State College Ohio

Mbula Dorothy
Palmer Memorial Institute

Bengo George L.A.
Central State College Ohio

Mutungu Nathaniel
Johnson C. Smith University

Gitatha Samuel Kinyanjui
Central State College Ohio

Mwangi Andrew Stephen
Shaw University

Githara Margaret Waithira
Western College for Women

Kabiru Margaret Wamboi
Western College for Women

Motha (Rev.) Isaac Sebusiso
Wilberforce University

Kabyemero Joseph
University of Cincinnati

Musumba James Okye
Kent State

Kaluu D. Muinde
Wilberforce University

Mutheke P. Kingese
Wilberforce University

Karisa Henry
Central State College Ohio

Mwangi Phyllis
John Hay School

Kaungamno Ezekiel
Oberlin College

Mwema Paul
Central State College Ohio

Kibe John D.
Central State College Ohio
Kiilu Raphael Muli
Xavier University
Permanent Representative to
the U.N.

Ndibo Philip G.
Central State College Ohio

Ndiritu Moses W.
James Ford Rhodes high

Maina Timothy
Crestwood High School

Ngure Virginia
Friends Boarding School

Masingila Elizabeth (Mrs.)
Bluffton High School

Nukulu Nelly Stella
Wilmington College

Masingila Gideon
Bluffton College
Former Commissioner of
Customs
Now a Farmer

Ochieng Frank
Ravenna High School

Odhiambo Reggy John
Wilmington College

Mbati Elikana
Miami University
Commissioner: Public Service
Commission

Ofwona Mark P.
University of Akron

Okelo H. Otieno
Bryan High School

Mmari Esther Dora
Western College for Women

Okelo Ochong
Central State College Ohio

Kinuyauo Joseph
Oklahoma State

Orangi Bartholomew
Xavier University

Litondo John Morrison
Oklahoma State

Ochido Orido Ojany Agnes
Springfield South High School
Deputy Managing Director:
Kenya Tourist Development
Corporation

Ombette John
Oklahoma University

Oteng Kefa Martin
Cameron State Agricultural
College

Otieno John A.
Bowling Green State
University

Warui Tabitha
Douglas High School

Rohio Samuel W. T.
Mt. Union College

Asila Paul
Warner Pacific College
Chief Administrative officer
Central Medical Stores
Ministry of Health

Tetu Godfrey W.
Central State College Ohio
Managing Director
Kenya Brewries Limited

Kanotha Josephine
Oregon State College

Tetu E.E.
Hiram College

Lau Johnson Mweu
Eastern Oregon College

Wambua Peter
Miami University

Mbuvi Priscilla
Southren Oregon College

Wanguru Solomon Kahinga
Warren G. Harding High School

Mugo Patricia
Mt. Angel Academy

Awiti Paul Adhu
Cameron State Agricultural
College

Muune Andrew Waweru
George Fox College

Katua Simeon Joseph
Oklahoma State

Mwaniki David Ndinguri
Oregon State College

Nandi Leonard F. N.
Lewis and Clark College

Wachira Ksbungo
Wilkes College

Njeri Priscilla

Kagiri Ruth W.
State College of Penn.

Oregon State College School
of Education

Kanari Peter
St. Vincent College

Njoroge Samuel
Western Mennonite College

Karanja Wallace Benjamin
Lincoln University

Somkence Clifford Mhambi
Southren Oregon State College

Kimani David Muchiri
Lincoln University

Ukiru Chasia Bowers
George Fox College

Kioko Gideon Musyimi
Scranton University

Wafula Julius
George Fox College

Kuru Richard
Waynesburg College

Abungu Cornelfa Oyola
Temple University

Lukwago Miriam Grace
George School

Amianda Daniel
Lincoln University

Mbiti David Mbithi
Philadelphia College of Bible
Ministry of Education

Ananda A.
Lincoln University

Mugo Beth
Kenneth Square High School
Chairman: Kenya Business
Women Assoc.

Apondo George Noah Amimo
Waynesburg College

Musambali Henry Musimbe
St. Vincent College

Aseto Oyugi David
Waynesburg College

Mwale Siteke G.
Temple University

Ayot Henry Okelo
Salisbury High School

Omogi Calleb
Swarthmore College

Mwanga Helen
Bryn Mawr College

Anjili Nyahera
Lincoln

Wandiga Oyoo Shem
Pinforge Institute

Nyoiike Oliver Warobi
Mifflinburg High School
Possibly Kimani Wa Nyoiike:
A graduate of M.I.T., now
Assistant Minister of Labour

Waweru Kariuki
St. Josephs College

Kakoi Richard M.
American University
Former M.P. for Yatta

Odugoo Andronioo Adele
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Ndeli Crispus
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Omolo Valentine
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Omwoha Ruben Abasa
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(deceased)

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Providence Barrington Bible
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University of Penn.

Ogot Patrick Onyango
University of Rhode Island

Shihundu John Akhamwa
Lincoln University

Gidali George
Friendship Junior College

Lilu P. (Miss.)
Mather High School

Kamande Frederick Jackson
Northern State Teachers
College

Manyala Reuben Etianga
Friendship Junior College

Otieno Amos Odenyo
Augustana College

Mbogo J. W.
Allen High University

Roitha Mary Anne
Mt. Mary College

Mbuluu Joyce
Mather High School

Kabinga Elam Festus
Knoxville College

Monyomi Isaiah
Mather High School

Muhuni James Peterson
Knoxville College

Musau Josephine
Mather High School

Mutisya Martin George
Fisk University

Muthiani Ndungwa (Agnes)
Mather High School

Nzomo David Nevil
Fisk University

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Mather High School

Hinga James Nyoke
Texas Southren University

Nduku Philomena
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Boyles Academy

Mahinda Gerald
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Mainga J.
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Rono Eunice
Voorhees Junior College

Muciri Eustace
Trinity University

Wainaina Sarah W.
Voorhees School and Junior
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Ndeto F.
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Kagani Muhika Samuel
Seattle Pacific College

Kuria Neah Njuguna
Bringham Young University

Macaria James
Kings Garden High School

Gikuri Samson
Burlington Secondary School

Manyangenda Salome
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Mwaura Geoffrey Ngoima
Putney School

Nyawanga Misor
Columbia Basin College

Arunga Robert Okala
Hampton Institute
Kayondo Sendi
Eastern Mennonite College

Nanjobe Sr. T.
Seattle University

Makau Phillip
Virginia Union University

Maryogo Earon
Eastern Mennonite College

Mjambili Peter
Hampton Insititute

Onami Joel
Virginia Union University

Thongo-Gichungwa Josephat
Virginia Union University

Wamola Isaac Albert
Hampton Institute

Kabilo Silas
Kinman Business University.

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