



Unhappy Valley

Conflict in
Kenya & Africa

Book One: State & Class
Book Two: Violence & Ethnicity

Bruce Berman

*Professor of Political Studies
Queen's University, Ontario*

&

John Lonsdale

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge

James Currey

LONDON

Heinemann Kenya

NAIROBI

Ohio University Press

ATHENS



Contents

| | |
|------------------|------|
| Maps | ix |
| Acknowledgements | x |
| Preface | xi |
| Glossary | xiii |

BOOK ONE: State & Class

One

Introduction

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>An Encounter in Unhappy Valley</i> | 1 |
| BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE | |

Part I

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| <i>Conquest</i> | 11 |
|-----------------|----|

Two

| | |
|---|----|
| <i>The Conquest State of Kenya, 1895-1905</i> | 13 |
| JOHN LONSDALE | |

| | |
|---|----|
| Conquest: the investment of force | 15 |
| The highlanders of Kenya | 19 |
| State-building 1: the politics of conquest | 21 |
| State-building 2: the politics of control | 31 |
| State formation: the vulgarization of power | 36 |
| Notes | 39 |

Contents

Three

The Politics of Conquest in Western Kenya, 1894-1908

JOHN LONSDALE

45

Notes

72

Part II

**Contradictions & the Development
of the Colonial State**

75

Four

Coping with the Contradictions:

The Development of the Colonial State, 1895-1914

77

BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

The colonial state and the articulation of modes of
production in the world system

78

Our foundations in Kenya's historiography

82

Peasant production and the foundations of political control

84

Private capital, settlers and the state

88

African labour and the contradiction between estate and
peasant production

91

Conclusions: the centrality of the state in the political
economy of colonialism

94

Notes

95

Five

Crises of Accumulation, Coercion & the Colonial State:

The Development of the Labour Control System, 1919-29

101

BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

Introduction: explaining the form of the colonial state
(1990)

101

Settler production, state coercion and African labour

104

Notes

122

Contents

Part III

| | |
|---|-----|
| Capitalism & the Colonial State in Theoretical & Comparative Perspective | 127 |
|---|-----|

Six

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>The Concept of 'Articulation'</i> & <i>the Political Economy of Colonialism</i> BRUCE BERMAN | 129 |
|---|-----|

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Notes | 138 |
|-------|-----|

Seven

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Structure & Process</i> <i>in the Bureaucratic States of Colonial Africa</i> BRUCE BERMAN | 140 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Introduction | 140 |
|--------------|-----|

| | |
|--|-----|
| The colonial state as an agency of economic change: articulation and accumulation | 145 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|---|-----|
| The colonial state as an agency of political domination | 151 |
|---|-----|

| | |
|--|-----|
| Conclusion: centralization, development and the decline of the colonial state | 163 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Notes | 167 |
|-------|-----|

Part IV

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Pasts and Futures | 177 |
|-------------------|-----|

Eight

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Up From Structuralism</i> BRUCE BERMAN | 179 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|--|-----|
| Dependency theory and the temptations of structuralism | 179 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|---|-----|
| From systemic categories to historical processes: the colonial state as the product/determinant of contradiction and struggle | 185 |
|---|-----|

| | |
|--|-----|
| Beyond the limits of structuralism: culture, ideology and historical experience | 198 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Notes | 201 |
|-------|-----|

Nine

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>African Pasts in Africa's Future</i> JOHN LONSDALE | 203 |
|--|-----|

| | |
|-------|-----|
| Notes | 219 |
|-------|-----|

| | |
|---|--|
| Index to Books One and Two (In Book One only) | |
|---|--|

Contents

BOOK TWO: Violence & Ethnicity

Part V

Unhappy Valley

| | |
|--|-----|
| The State, Mau Mau & the Path to Violence | 225 |
| <i>Ten</i> | |
| <i>Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence:</i> | |
| <i>Colonial Administration and the Origins of the 'Mau Mau' Emergency</i> | 227 |
| BRUCE BERMAN | |
| The Kenya Administration: discretion and rigidity | 230 |
| The administrator and African politics: protecting the 'man in the blanket' from the 'man in trousers' | 237 |
| Economic growth and the crisis of colonial administration | 242 |
| The Provincial Administration and the KAU: the escalating conflict | 248 |
| Incumbent authorities and collective violence | 252 |
| Notes | 257 |
| <i>Eleven</i> | |
| <i>The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: The Problem</i> | 265 |
| JOHN LONSDALE | |
| Purpose | 265 |
| Problem | 269 |
| Historiography | 282 |
| Notes | 303 |
| <i>Twelve</i> | |
| <i>The Moral Economy of Mau Mau:</i> | |
| <i>Wealth, Poverty & Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought</i> | 315 |
| JOHN LONSDALE | |
| Argument | 315 |
| Evidence | 317 |
| Imperialism and nationalism | 322 |
| Nation and tribe | 326 |
| Tribe and class | 350 |
| Religion and politics | 367 |
| Terror | 401 |
| Past, present and future | 461 |
| Notes | 468 |
| Index | i |