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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY
TOPIC
EASTERN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SCHOLARSHIPS TO KENYANS,
AEROFLOT AND THE COLD WAR CONFLICT, 1959-1970

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DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my family, special dedication to my late Father Peter Sungu and the late Wera Ambitho.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the efforts of my supervisors the late Professor Milcah Amolo Achola, who was my lead supervisor and Professor Vincent G. Simiyu for the corrections and for giving very important advice on the direction this research should take. I remain sincerely indebted to both of them. My gratitude goes to Dr Mary Mwiandi for the initial research support and to Dr George Gona, the MA programme Coordinator for his persistence in his urge to me to finish the project.

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Aeroflot; a scholarship programme, where students went to different eastern Socialist countries in order to get university education, late 1950s and early 1960s.

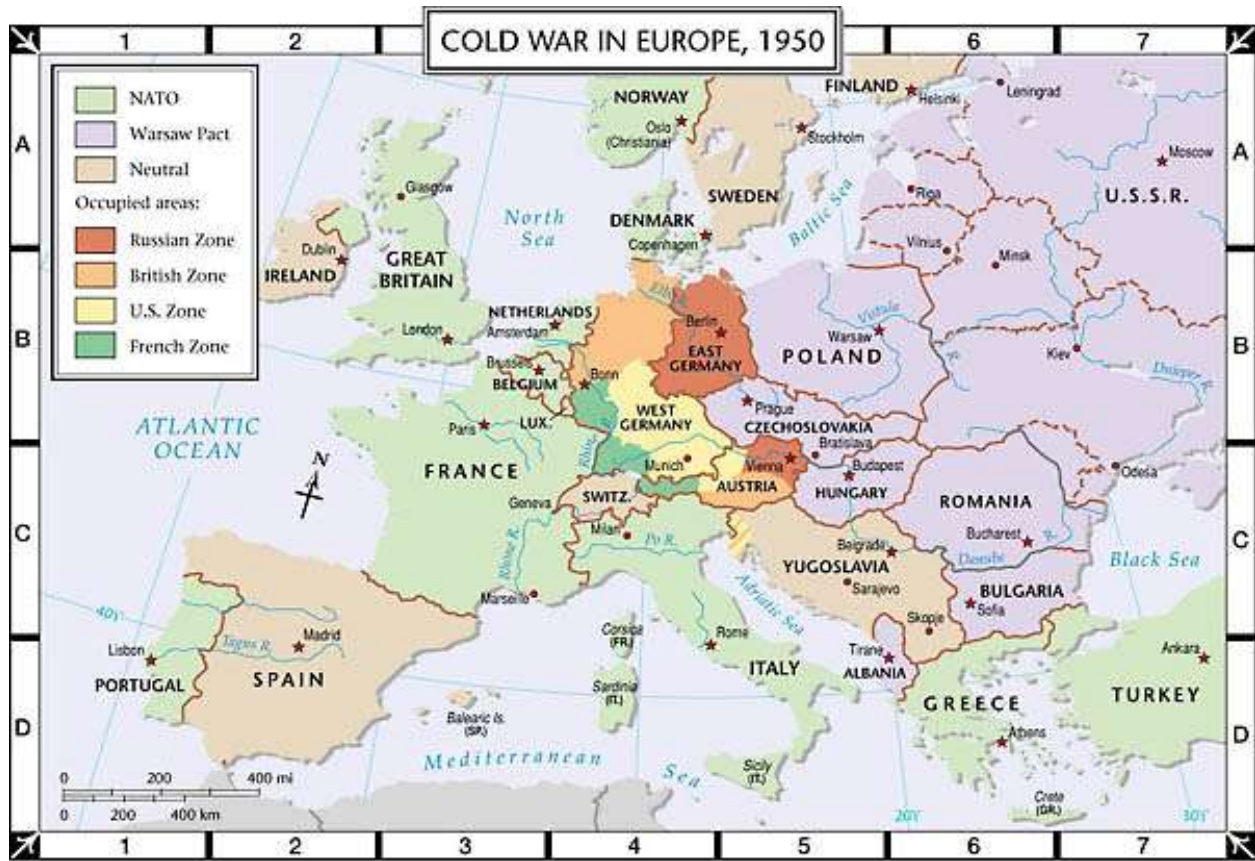
Airlift; a scholarship programme, where students benefited and went to study the USA as organized by Tom Mboya during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Nationalist; would mean any person who gave his contributions towards the attainment of Kenya's independence, by way of armed struggle, debates, representation and offering those needed for Kenya's independence.

Map showing countries where the students passed through to Cairo (Africa)



Map showing countries in Europe that hosted the universities (Europe)



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Particular countries, USSR, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USA	-	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
USSR	-	UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
KANU	-	KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
KPU	-	KENYA PEOPLES UNION
SPLA	-	SUDAN PEOPLES LIBERATION ARMY
CIA	-	CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
KLA	-	KENYA LABOUR MOVEMENT
ICFTU	-	THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS
WFTU	-	WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
AFL	-	AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR
UNO	-	UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION
NATO	-	NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION
KCA	-	KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION
JAB	-	JOINT ADMISSION BOARD
CORD	-	COALITION OF REFORMS AND DEMOCRACY
NYS	-	NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE
COMESA	-	COMMON MARKET FOR EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA
LEGCO	-	LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

ABSTRACT

This research was about the Kenyan students who went to study at the Socialist eastern and central European universities from 1959 to 1970, as Kenya was nearing her independence. The programme continued after independence. The programme was referred to as the Aeroflot scholarships programme and the discrimination some of the graduates faced upon their return to Kenya has been discussed. The main objective of the study was to research on why the prospective students had to face difficulty by trekking along the way, simply because the then colonial government would not entertain such moves to go for studies in the communist east. The work also looked at the interplay of the cold war in the provision of the scholarships, given that a similar programme otherwise referred to as Airlift, which took students to the west, in America. This work had two hypotheses one was that, the two scholarship programmes were not only out of humanitarian concern to Kenyans but were also a furtherance of competing political hegemony of western and eastern blocs and that the two scholarship programmes as supported by the eastern bloc and the capitalist west, was clear manifestations of the Cold War conflict in Kenyan. On methodology the work chose qualitative research method. On sampling the work used snow balling method, semi structured interview (free style) was used. This method is best for study like this one, because the questions flow is controlled by the researcher. This method allowed the work to get an in depth response from the respondents.

The findings were that the two scholarships were meant to advance the super powers preferred ideologies and that the colonial government never wanted anything to do with communism to come to Kenya

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

The research had set to investigate, the factors that made Kenya to have two competing scholarships programmes, based on ideological divide at the eve of independence and immediately thereafter. Who were behind each one of them, why they started almost at the same time and why the one to the eastern bloc, was not given prominence as the one to the USA.

The researchers intended to find out, whether the scholarships were an extension of the cold war conflict, or were out of genuine humanitarian concern. This work sought to show, how the capitalist giants used their former position as Kenyan colonizer to their advantage and eventual triumph in Kenyan political circle.

The research laid focus on the scholarships to the eastern socialist countries, where several Kenyan students joined universities in such countries as, USSR, East Germany, Bulgaria, Cuba Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. These scholarships were offered by the communist bloc countries in a bid for Kenyan students to have a real meaning of the communist ideology, far away from the western distorted communism in the colonized African countries, they lent their support to the African countries, struggling for their independence.

The Kenya office, Cairo, provided space where all the scholarships to eastern bloc colleges were left, or lobbied for on behalf of prospective Kenyan students who wanted to further their education.

Sudan and Egypt, which by then were both independent and were leaning towards the eastern bloc, assisted Kenyan students, who were on their way to eastern socialist countries. The prospective students went through Uganda then Sudan.

At the Kenya Office, Cairo were two Kenyans who administered the scholarship. They were Odhiambo Okelo, Chairman and Wera Ambitho, Secretary of Kenya liberation Office, Cairo, Abadala Hassan Bashir Karungo Kinyariro, a Kenyan from Lari in Kiambu, manned the Sudan Office, through which the would be students passed on their way to Cairo.

The Sudanese Government co-operated with Kerungo Kenyariro and organized their travel documents to Cairo, where students accessed the scholarships to the communist bloc colleges. The British colonial government did not want many Africans to get higher education anywhere. But was particularly against any attempt to study in the communist countries, which they painted very negatively. The British feared any African who had some formal education, to an extent that, some people did not disclose their full education at the time of employment. That alone, could block one's way to employment. The above was supported by Henry Ochieng Obiero, Obiero was not one of the beneficiary of the Aeroflot. He joined the colonial police service in 1950, but failed to disclose his highest standard of education, including his typing skills. When later these skills were discovered, he was taken for training and then promoted from constable to police inspector directly.¹

The British hatred for Communism encouraged more Kenyans to rush for the eastern socialist scholarships. As more Kenyans wanted to go the eastern bloc, in order to see for themselves what it was like, when opportunity arose.² The British influence in pre and post independent

¹Henry Ochieng Obiero oral interview at Kisumu Ofafa hall on 17th September 2014

²Oral Interview Patroba Owiti Otiende on 14th April 2013

Kenya was very clear. This explains why of the scholarship programme to eastern colleges is not well documented. Kenya after independence still relied on the British very much. Britain was Kenya's closest ally in the western bloc and the new Kenyan government was reluctant to associate openly with the former colonial masters, immediately after independence.³ The above explains a period of tolerance of both blocs immediately after independence. This research has tried to explore why the colonial regime was against the Aeroflot scholarship to the eastern socialist universities. The above was confirmed during a visit to the Kenya National archives, where a whole wall leading to the upper floor is filled with materials on Tom Mboya's contribution, including the Airlift scholarship programme.

1.1 Historical Background

The historical background was seen in this project in two faces, one is the period of the European occupation of Kenya, in this section of historical background, the study strived to explain, how the British ended up colonizing Kenya. This is important in that it explains the British policy on education; such policy somehow put a stumbling block to attainment of higher education in the mid 1950's. This made Kenyans look for alternative routes for higher education and the eastern bloc offered a solution to the above. The second dealt with the history of cold war and its perpetuation as a driver to the provision of scholarships to the eastern colleges and to America.

One, the British having colonized Kenya alongside Uganda at the Berlin Conference of which was convened by Otto Von Bismarck at the City of Berlin and later on made Kenya a protectorate in 1895, after the failure of the Imperial British East African Company IBEACO headed by sir William Mackinnon, who was mandated to run the affairs of Kenya.

³ Makinda, S.M., (1983) *From Quite Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya Foreign Policy*, Third World Quarterly, Vol.5No.2. Taylor & Francis Ltd pp304

With the end of Second World War, which had two greatest effects on Kenyans; one was the hegemonic struggle in the world by the emergent powers namely, USA and USSR and the spreading their most preferred mode of production, thus capitalism and communism respectively. The USSR which was not a player previously in Africa, begun to assert itself in Africa. Assisting in the liberation struggle and giving scholarships, such as the Aeroflot.

The British government had allowed a negligible number of Africans to pursue university education. The best jobs were a preserve of the educated, hence by extension, the British and a few Indians. The Kenyans not to be left behind in job acquisition took on education and the scholarships programme is seen in this light. Some went to the eastern socialist universities; others went to the western capitalist Universities, while the top cream academic achievers went to the East African University. The searches of the coveted education became the quest of many young men and women.

The British grip in all spheres of Kenyans affairs became very manifest. They did not allow too much acquisition of higher education even to the west, but anything socialist east was viewed with contempt and with lots of suspicion; this was the genesis of the attempt to block Kenyans to go study to the socialist eastern countries.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The two scholarship programmes were the greatest contributions that the two super powers gave to Kenya, then one would have expected that the two scholarship programmes be held in high esteem given that there were limited educational opportunities then, but what happened was a sustained attempts to have prejudicial general biased against some eastern educated students.

This was an open contrast with with the manner in which the othe scholarship Airlift to the west

was considered and arranged. The manner in which the first Aeroflot students struggled to get out of Kenya secretly is a very difficult problem to understand while the other to the other to America was easily accepted and encouraged. The main problem therefore is, why there was such open bias. The problem is further compounded by the fact that both started in the same year 1959, was there anything to it or were the timing a mere coincidence?

1.3 Objectives and Goals of the Research

The overall objective of the research was to carry out a scholarly study of the Aeroflot scheme in the period 1959 -1970.

The specific objectives were as follows:

1. To bring out clearly the eastern socialist scholarship programme Aeroflot between 1959-1970.
2. To acknowledge how cold war politics had a bearing on the provision of the scholarship programmes
3. To identify notable beneficiaries of the scholarship programme and what they became upon their return to Kenya.
4. To assess the impact of the Aeroflot scholarships on Kenya.

The Research Questions

- i. Why did many Kenyans go to the east despite British prejudices against the east?
- ii. What was the impact of the Aeroflot scholarships in independent Kenya?
- iii. What role did the Kenya Office, Cairo play in taking students to the eastern bloc?
- iv. Were the scholarships a genuine humanitarian concern or were they part of the cold war struggle?

v. What were the qualifications for Aeroflot scholarship programme?

1.4 Scope and Limitation

The scope in the historical background starts from 1945 after the end of Second World War, as this was the start of stiff competition in the world two dominant ideologies. Though most of the Aeroflot graduates were from across the country, a number of them hailed from the western part of Kenya. Therefore the main geographical scope of this work was Western Kenya. However the research extended to Nairobi and other towns, as was directed by those interviewed. The time factor was a barrier. In addition to this, was a financial consideration. The research was self funded, the vast geographical area involved expensive travel to visit these former Aeroflot students. Other limitations included reaching all the targeted audience, specifically those who studied in the eastern socialist colleges, between 1959 -1970. A problem arose where the interviewee did not give enough time for the research, some did not open up to give a quality interview and others felt that the research was prying too deep into their affairs. The above was partially solved by obtaining a research permit, being as professional as possible while collecting data and getting the informed consents of those to be interviewed. The research made second visit, where it appeared necessary. The other limitation was that those lined up for interview were often unavailable after moving to other places, while others had died, one of such was Joseph Kamotho, whose death came at the middle of the data collection, some were old and too sick for the interview. The above was solved by interviewing their neighbours, those close to them, their children and widows. There was also the problem of memory lapse and memory take over by recent events, on this, the use of different sources to counter check the information given, while others did not give enough time for the research, some did not open up to give a quality interview and the time which commensurate the research. There was also the common

problem of being economical with information and exaggerations of the same. The above were counter checked where there was doubt. Lastly, the ability to make good use of the primary source in materials, which were available in the private library of Wera Ambitho.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The justification for conducting this study was based on the premises that, the socialist east educated elite's made important contributions in Kenya. The Aeroflot graduates did well in many public service fields, including the areas of medicine, engineering and even in politics. Examples are Hezrone Manduku of Hema Level 4 Hospital in Kissi, an accomplished medical practitioner, Dr Geoffrey Joel Momanyi of former Masaba Hospital in Nairobi and Chulaimbo near Kisumu, Peter Wambura a former permanent secretary Ministry of Roads and the late Professor Andrew Achola Ayayo formerly of university of Nairobi

The current knowledge gap is very evident. When one speaks of an organized effort to encourage study abroad, the Airlift immediately comes to mind. Most Kenyan people do not know about the Aeroflot, except the former students, their relatives, friends and those who worked with them. Surprisingly even the Kenya National Archives officials just struggled to give materials on the Aeroflot, whereas the airlift materials were at their finger tip. There is a lot of untapped archival material and home library on information of such scholars, which should be used to close the knowledge gap which exists now in this field.

The research will hopefully avail a new area where more enquiries can be directed. Since a couple of the early Aeroflot graduates are still living, some retired, most of them old, the time is right for a research to be done to find out why some of them were made to suffer and why little is known about them, compared to the Airlift, which took place almost at the same period.

A further justification of the study is the manner in which the first Aeroflot students made their way out of the country, without British passport and following unofficial route, through Uganda, Sudan and then Cairo in Egypt and then they were flown to their respective colleges in communist bloc countries , and bring to light why they had to suffer that much. Lastly, the discrimination of some graduate of the Aeroflot programme needed to be studied; some were never employed at all, as the independent government, denied knowledge of their going to the Eastern Socialist Universities. ⁴

We Kenyans citizens with training in the socialist countries are deeply taken aback by the discrimination, frustrations and tribalism directed on us, after our return to this country from our studies abroad. ⁵

The above quotation is within the premise of this research work, as stated in the research problem. This way, the knowledge gap currently existing can be filled, for the current and future students to be adequately informed. Based on the foregoing reasons, this study sought to generate information to fill the existing gap on this subject.

Some of Aeroflot graduates were tracked down, others even chased away from their jobs for example Wera Ambitho when working as Western Province Information Officer was just sacked. Some other of these graduates were detained alongside Oginga Odinga, while others fled to other countries like Tanzania, one of them is Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo. The east educated were put under 24 hours surveillance by the Kenyan government, as the fear of their education content were not made clear and the independent Kenyan government through the influence of the western bloc, propagated and influenced the Kenyan authority that the aim and mission of the

⁴A signed Memorandum by some of the socialist trained students.

⁵ ibid

socialist trained was to overthrow the elected government of Kenya.⁶ The above was premised on the earlier path followed by the British.

The two scholarship programmes were the best thing to have happened to Kenya then, the need for higher education was high and both the Airlift and Aeroflot benefited a good number of needy students and was a timely move. However, in Kenyan historical circle and in terms of knowledge, Aeroflot is hadly known; this work in subsequent chapter has dealt with this.

During the oral interview it became very clear that most Kenyans have very little knowledge on the students who went to the eastern socialist countries, even those with relatives who took their study in the eastern colleges still confused it with the more and widely talked Airlift. A visit to the national meuseum did not give a better picture either, most of the staffs the reseacher dealt with struggled to know. The other glaring contributor to less knowledge was that the student of the late 50s and early 60s, made their way out of the country secretly. The returned students were subjected to constant spying. The above necessitated the returned students to go silent. It is a fact that anything communism was not intertained in Kenya from mid 60s to 1990, when the cold war came to an abrupt end. It is the above gap that this work has attempted to cover.

1.6 Review of Literature

In *Not yet Uhuru*,² Odinga Odinga praises the trio of Wera Ambitho, Odhiambo Okelo and Abdala Kenyariro Kerugo as young men who gave up their lives and study opportunity to allow many more Kenyans to realise their dream of studying in the eastern bloc. According to Oginga Odinga the British had a strong grip on the Kenyan affairs and were making decisions for the Africans. He further explains how the British and the Americans used all possible methods to

⁶Henry Ochieng Obiero oral interview at Kisumu Ofafa hall on 17th September 2014

divide the Kenyan leaderships along ideological lines, both before and after independence. Oginga Odinga's work explains how the British deliberately set the stage for ideological conflict in independent Kenya, while striving to ensure the perpetuation of their capitalist beliefs.

Oginga Odinga discusses the way the British labeled him a communist agent, while he was only interested in the equal treatment of the communist eastern and the capitalist western blocs. This was to isolate him from the political main stream in independent Kenya. He was surprised that Jomo Kenyatta believed the western countries' propaganda that, he wanted through his connection with the eastern bloc to overthrow Kenyatta's government. Oginga Odinga praises the neighboring countries like Tanzania, Sudan and Egypt which were all socialist leaning, for the role they played in assisting the students destined to go to the socialist colleges. However he fails to discuss the subordination of the Aeroflot scholarship.

Oginga Odinga does not illustrate what the Aeroflot graduates did in Kenya upon their return. Oginga Odinga's further work fails to discuss the preference of the airlift by the colonial power in Kenya, though he discusses the blockage of the communist eastern destined students, by refusing to allow free movement to the eastern socialist countries. He is full of praise of the Aeroflot scholarship initiative. The above work shows that indeed there was a scholarship to eastern socialist bloc colleges.

Odinge Odera in his work *My Journey With Jaramogi* shows what areas of specialization were on offer to the Kenyan students both in the communist eastern and in the USA colleges. Though very close to Oginga Odinga he had a rare chance to benefit from the Tom Mboya led Airlift. He says that the Aeroflot allowed the Kenyan students to study prestigious discipline such as

engineering and medicine⁷ . Odinge further asserts that Odinga felt very happy with the success of the Aeroflot scholarship and that he was able to do what Tom Mboya had earlier done to Kenyans.

This also supports Oginga Odinga's assertion that he was willing to send Kenya students to both eastern communist countries and to America. Odinge Odera was in a position to compare the courses offered to his colleagues in America and his friends in the socialist east. He talks of the technical courses offered in the eastern bloc, which were not easily offered in America. He is also in full praise of the Wera Ambitho and Odhiambo Okelo team for the work they did to secure scholarships for deserving Kenyans. Odera's work clearly points out the underlying competition between Oginga Odinga and Mboya.

Odinge Odera in a whole chapter writes of Oginga Odinga, as a reluctant socialist, stating that he was not as widely traveled nor as well versed on international politics as Tom Mboya was. Odinge says in his work that it was Wera Ambitho and Odhiambo Okelo who introduced Odinga to communism.

This work is important in that it shows the genesis of the Odinga and Mboya rivalry and how the rivalry got support in international circles. The two scholarships programmes were therefore born. However it fails to address why the Aeroflot was somehow made secondary in importance to the Airlift scholarship programme and why some of the Aeroflot graduates were never employed.

⁷ Odera Odinge[2010] *My Journey With Jaramogi* - African research and resource forum. Nairobi.

David Goldworthy argues in his book *Tom Mboya, The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget*, that Tom Mboya through his political connections with some American friends made travel arrangements with P.K. Jani, Sumant Patel of Equatorial Travels, Julius Kiano and Kariuki Njiri. They also teamed up with Robert F. Stephen, to make the selection committee for airlift applicants. On 7th Sept, 1959, 81 Kenyans were airlifted to America. A further 40 students were sent, then the 3rd Airlift to America.

The author discusses how Tom Mboya's American connection for example with the Kennedy family together with his labour movement connection assisted him to gain both national and international fame, which gave him mileage in Kenya's political arena. The labour movement enabled Tom Mboya to travel frequently to the US and also to get large quantities of funds which he used well to build himself up. From this the airlift was initiated and became something envied by his political competitors. This work however does not discuss the eastern bloc scholarships, or expose the embargo to the eastern bloc education nor the restriction of the travels to the communist east. This therefore provides the main departure from this research project.

Stevens' in his book *The Soviet Union and Black Africa*, discusses at length the genesis of the misunderstanding between Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya. Stevens explicitly talks of the different sources of support each had, which both exploited to their political favour. Tom Mboya is depicted as enjoying the labour movement and USA support, while Odinga is stated to have turned to the eastern communist bloc countries, for political and financial support. This is where the Aeroflot scholarships also came in handy. He goes on to explain the dilemma of Kenyatta who seemed to fear both Mboya and Odinga, firstly showing signs of supporting Oginga Odinga

but later on joining hands with Tom Mboya when the propaganda of an impending take over by Oginga Odinga intensified.⁸

Odinga in this work is portrayed as taking a hard stance and a central one when it came to matters of the socialist bloc; he seemed to have put himself as the defacto Kenyan leader in the matter of the general eastern bloc connections. Stevens does not talk of the discrimination of the Aeroflot group faced when they came back to Kenya.

Julie Hessler in the article, *Death of an African Student in Moscow*. The African student protesters carried placards with very inflammatory slogans while shouting protests in English, Russian, and French. This was an indicator of an increased presence of African students in Moscow from early sixties. This was proof enough that the USSR wanted to compete with west in offering educational scholarships to Africans. The USSR wished to upstage the western bloc and also to further the belief in their preferred ideology, communism. As many Western political scientists and journalists recognized at the time, the influx of students from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East was one of the most tangible effects of the Cold War on daily life in the USSR.⁹

The article discusses life in eastern bloc colleges and unfortunate death of a Ghanaian student studying at Baku University in 1965. This was covered by most of the western press. According to the Russian Government, this was with the aim of discrediting the socialist colleges. Particularly the USSR by mid 1960s was enjoying the preference of African students much to the amazement of the capitalist west. The Soviet Union also found the killing of the student

⁸ Stevens C. [1976] *The Soviet Union and Black Africa*. Macmillan Press Ltd. London pp156

⁹ Hessler J, (Jan. - Jun., 2006), *Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War*, EHESStablepp 34

baffling. They suspected a foreign hand, given the Soviet Union's efforts at the dismantling of European colonies in Africa. They wondered how the foreign reporters learnt about the incident so quickly and which hostile power had orchestrated the incident. There were too many strange coincidences, in the view of government officials, for the demonstration to have been conceived spontaneously by the African students themselves.

The drifting of political orientations of newly independent countries, towards the socialist east, explains why many African students chose to go to the Soviet Union for studies. The numbers of scholarships reserved for African students were increased. For example, the student numbers rose from 72 in 1959-1960 academic years, to over 500 by 1961 and 4,000 by the end of the decade.

Hessler's article discusses how the lives of the African students were, it also shows how there was silent competition between the eastern bloc and western bloc from Africa in education front. It also brings out clearly, how the western bloc were very watchful of the growing number of students to the eastern bloc and how desperate the capitalist west were to discredit the communist bloc scholarships through their press. However it does not answer the question why the communist bloc scholarships are not well documented in Kenyans history and how the cold war made the two sides increase their scholarship offers. It does not examine the trekking by prospective Kenyans students or the Kenya Cairo Office which opened the gate to many young men and women from Kenya.

Paul Tiyambe Zeleza in his article, *Trade Union Imperialism: American Labour, the ICFTU and the Kenyan Labour Movement*, introduces the labour politics in Kenya and tries to show how they shaped the Kenyan political landscape. The labour movement propelled Tom Mboya to

prominence with the help of his American trade union movement, whose brand of a labor movement was opposed to Communism.

Zezeza described the end of the Second World War as having ushered in a new post-war international division of labour characterized by the American rivalry between communist USSR and capital.

Lenin's assertion that capitalism was responsible for colonization became sellable to workers who were made to believe by the communist propagandists that, the capitalist mode of production was responsible for their underpayment in a bid for capitalist industrialists to make more profit from appropriating labour surplus value.

The communist supporters in the affiliates unions were expelled under the instigation of the master strategist Tom Mboya, while carrying the wishes of the Americans. Two leading Kenyan trade unionists were flown to the USA for training. They were Peter Kibisu and Arthur Ochwada, who were sponsored by the AFL-CIO to study at Harvard University's Graduate School for Business Administration.. Another Kenyan trade unionist, Ochola Mak' Anyengo was sent to the University of Chicago in 1955. This was followed by the celebrated airlift programme in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Their ultimate aim was to keep the spread of communism out of Kenya. These scholarships to capitalist America later triggered a bigger number of scholarships to the communist east. However this work does not discuss the silencing of the eastern bloc educated in Kenya.

Paul Kibiwott Kurgat elaborates how the scholarships to the socialist bloc and the capitalist bloc were meant to attract the African countries nearing independence or newly independent. Kenya was one such country which was very strategic to the US, Britain and to the USSR.

The above work is a very important complement to this work in that it is based on interviews of many people who went to study in the eastern socialist countries, Kurgat argues that the scholarships were used as bait to closer relation between the country giving and those receiving them. However, this work does not address why the scholarships to eastern socialist countries were not adequately covered in Kenyan history books.

Jason Nyariki Orwenyo in his PhD thesis, on *The Soviet Union and communism As A Factor Among Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957-1966*, explains the frantic effort by the British to keep communism out of Kenya in late 1950s. The Kenyan African members of the Legislative Council were advised to distance themselves from the threat of communism, by the Minister of internal affairs, most of them succumbed to the propaganda of the western bloc. It was Only Oginga Odinga and Taita Arap Towett who saw the propaganda on the British call. Orwenyo in a well articulated work demonstrates the worry of the west on the increase of Kenyans, and other African students in the Soviet Union. He depicts this through the Baku University incident of 1965, when a Ghanaian student was found murdered, a matter which was written by most west press in a bid to discredit Russia.

He ends his work with the exclusion of Oginga Odinga and his friends from the policy making organs of the states, in 1966. The Kenyan intelligentsia was deeply divided on ideological lines.

The above work is very close to this research project in that it shows how the intelligentsia was used to advance cold war conflicts. However it does discuss the discrimination of the Aeroflot scholarship returnees.

Philip E. Mosely in his work *Communist Policy and the Third World*, states that since the US was the USSR's, main competitor in the ideological war and given that the USA was for the

imperialist British, USSR had to be against them in order to destabilise the USA interest in Africa. The Soviet leadership, under Nikita Khrushchev insisted that Communist successes in the economic competition with capitalism, by demonstrating the economic superiority of Communism, were to determine the outcome of the struggle for the support, and eventually for the allegiance, of the developing countries.

In practice, Communist China was competing with Moscow for the support of most of the same countries like Indonesia, Burma, the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Tanzania, Mali, Kenya, Somalia, and others. Peking rejected the more tolerant ideological posture that Moscow was advocating. China was confident in its own great strength which she had gradually adopted towards the Arab world and in Africa. Peking disliked the idea of watering down its own brand of ideological purity.

The main aim of the communist world was to win over Africa, to lend their efforts in international arena. This is why they wanted the African states' independent, in order to join UN, to assist them enhance their voting power and also to be kept away from capitalism. This article however fails to describe the Kenyan scholarships programme to the socialist countries. There is also no mention made on the western bloc using of scholarship to win over Kenya as a country.

W. A. C. Adie's *China, Russia, and the Third World*, is about the differing perceptions of communism and the Sino-Soviet disagreement over the Colonial revolution in Africa, as a way of ending imperialism. A Moroccan paper observed, Soviet foreign policy has during the past few years been aimed mainly at disintegrating NATO.

For example, the African body of students had called for the creation of a union to mobilise them for struggle, courses on explosives, sabotage, weapon training and guerilla warfare were

conducted. The above was in line with the communist countries assistance to Africans in their pursuit for their struggle for independence.

During Cameroon's independence celebration in 1960 in Yaoundé, an invited Chinese guest remarked that the USSR was never concerned with central Africa. He remarked that only a few university professors in Moscow took an interest in Central Africa.¹⁰

One of them was Pavel D. Erziu, deputy to Professor Rumyantsev the Rector of the Friendship University named after Lumumba; he was a senior officer of the KGB, responsible for recruiting agents among African students, 30 was then the number of those who had already left Moscow.

The above work shows the implementation of communism activities by USSR and China, the latter preferring a more robust movement in Africa to overthrow the imperialist, while the USSR preferred an approach where the Africans were left to see and judge for themselves. The USSR did this in Kenya and other African countries by offering scholarships in order to fortify their relations with the Africans.

Oye Ogunbadejo, *Soviet Policies In Africa*, discusses the varied response in Africa by successive leadership, Joseph Stalin (3rd April 1922 -16th October 1953), who was so detached from Africa and saw in the leaders of national movements purely as 'bourgeois imperialist lackeys'¹¹ and he remained largely unconcerned with African Affairs.

On the other hand Nikita Khrushchev (14th September 1953 to 14th October 1964) was warm and enthusiastic to the African nationalists and liberation movements. He saw their struggle as a rebellion against the capitalist west. He looked at the struggle from ideological lens. Any loss of the western power was a gain to the eastern bloc. He believed that movements in the struggle of

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Oye Ogunbadejo, (Jul., 1980), *Soviet Policies In Africa* Published by: Oxford University Press, pp 297

Africa were genuinely striving for the attainment of socialist states. All these measures were embarked upon to ensure that the new African states would move much closer to the Soviet Union, including adopting the socialist model of political and economic development, rather than capitalism. The Soviets had found good allies in Nkrumah's Ghana, Keita's Mali, Toure's Guinea [Picture in appendix xii], Ben Bella's Algeria, and Nasser's Egypt. The above period of leadership, marked a period of increased scholarships by the east to the African students and development for Africa.

Leonid Brezhnev (14th October 1906 -16th November 1982), was more useful for the Africans armed struggle. The Soviets began giving military and economic largesse to African states. Indeed, with the skilful use of propaganda and the timing of aid grants, Russia managed to portray the west, particularly the US, as totally uninterested in the true development of African states. They were largely successful, but with little interest in Africa. Countries like Sudan, Egypt, Tanzania and Ghana, Ethiopia and Somalia among others became socialist.

The above work laid ground for this research in that it states how the USSR made their presence in Africa and by what means. However it falls short of addressing the concern of the project, since it does not discuss the scholarships, the difficulties African had in accessing these scholarships and how such programmes were not fully accepted by the African government like Kenya.

Anthony Mc Dermott in his work *Sadat and the Soviet Union*, discusses of the breaking of the long term relationship with the Soviet Union and expelling of the Soviet military personnel, by the Egyptian government, to the surprise of many. This break came after long relation among the two countries Egypt and the Soviet Union. It was argued that, it was now time for Egypt to return

to a secure area between the two super-powers.¹²This clearly shows the relationship between Egypt and Russia in the mid 1950's benefited the Kenyans who were still under the British colonialism. This work shows that Egypt, a country once colonized by Britain had at independence decided to associate more closely with the communist eastern world than the western world, which Britain their former colonizer belonged the western bloc was attempting to reassert itself in Egypt. Up to 1970 USSR was an ardent supporter of Egypt in international matters. The difference occurred over Egypt's war with Israel, the USSR did not want to fight directly against Israel, for fear of a direct confrontation with the USA.

Egypt's relation with the communist bloc led by USSR is central to this research. However this work does not talk specifically on eastern socialist scholarships to Kenyans, or the difficulties these students underwent. The concerns of lack of a good written history on the scholarships in Kenya is lacking in the above work.

A.M in his work the *African Airlift* writes about the entry of 81 airlift students from Kenya to the US in 1959. He describes how they were taken through orientation in the US, visiting among other important places UN offices and New York City, where they were addressed at the city hall by Minority Leader in the lower House. They visited both television and radio stations. On the evening of September 11, they were addressed by the scholarship committee in America.

The above article explains how important these scholarships were taken with a lot of seriousness by the people of America. However it does not elaborate on the thesis of this research.

John Howell in his work *An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy*, describes what the Kenyan foreign policy was, during the early independence period. Both Kenyatta and Odinga had an earlier misgiving regarding the imperialist west. With Oginga Odinga showing an open disdain

¹² Mcdermott A. , (Sep., 1972), *Sadat and the Soviet Union*: Source: The World Today, Vol. 28, No. 9 pp. 404-410 Royal Institute of International Affairs pp406

for the western capitalist countries, Jomo Kenyatta took a conciliatory tone and a middle ground in international matters. The above was evidenced when Joseph Murumbi was dispatched to Congo during the Congo crisis of 1964; Kenya gave a strong statement castigating US intervention in Congo. However the early irredentist claim of part of the Northern Frontier District by the Somali President Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke and the mutiny saw Kenya enter into a military pact with Britain. This helped create Kenya's subsequent accepting attitude to Britain and the west in general. It was Kenyatta's fear that the communist Soviet Union was arming the Somalis in the Shifta war.¹³

Kenya, though a non aligned state practiced the capitalist mode of production to the surprise of people like Oginga Odinga, from mid 1960's after the publication of Sessional Paper No 10 prepared by Tom Mboya with the assistance of American economist serving in his office. The latter had founded the opposition party Kenya People Congress, and claimed that Kenya had adopted a hardened stance against the eastern bloc, that made it doubtful whether Kenya was indeed a non aligned country.¹⁴ However Howell does not say anything on the eastern socialist countries trained and the discrimination some of them faced when they came back.

Samuel M. Makinda in his work *From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy*, talks quite elaborately of what Kenyan foreign policy entailed. His work starts from what he refers to as, quiet diplomacy in the early post independence period, when Kenya remained non committal on most international issues. Kenya's change of tactics came in the wake of Somali's irredentist claim over the North Eastern Province. This made Kenya to rush into a military alliance with Britain and Ethiopia in 1964. Kenya was made to be close to the USA as

¹³ Oyugi W.O.[1994] *Politics And Administration In East Africa*, East African Educational Publisers, Nairobi., pp 305

¹⁴ John Howell,[May 1968] *An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy*, Cambridge University Press pp 33

well. This was a contradiction of an earlier stance, on non committal foreign policy. Kenyans dependence to the western manufactured products and the open policy of industrialization, where foreign powers led by Britain and USA become major partners in trade and other business. Kenya also undertook a protective foreign investment policy. On the cold war politics, Kenya had a genuine or imagined fear of the Soviet Union, what Makinda calls Russo phobia. This is the time anything communist was seen as bad and any critic of government policy was seen as pro communist. The USA sponsored the Delegate Conference in Limuru in March 1966 and it was here in Limuru that had Oginga Odinga demoted and effectively kept out of the corridor of power. Kenya was then seen as one of the African countries which were pro west and pro capitalist .Kenya had found reasons to treat the Soviet with suspicion¹⁵ .

Makinda's work clearly illustrates the pattern of the Kenyan changing foreign policies and the factors that influenced it. His work relates well with this research project in that it shows the factors that influenced such changing policies, however he does not talk on the scholarships and how it was difficult to go to the eastern Socialist countries and the challenges they encountered when they came back.

Patrick J.McGowan, in his work *African and Non Alignment: A Comparative Study of Foreign Policy*, states that Africans' response to the cold war was based on the objectives and the reaction of each state to different issues. Most African states before independence had a minimal interactions with the socialist eastern countries, with Algeria as the exception. The level of cooperation was based on the following, economic, technical training, credit and grant, scholarships both technical and academics, Military agreements, military personnel trained

¹⁵ . Makinda M. S,[April 1983] *From Quite Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya Foreign Policy*,_Third World Quarterly, Vol.5No.2.Taylor & Francis Ltd 308 .

behind the Iron curtain, trade, more communist news, air agreements and vote with the Soviet bloc in UN and diplomatic representation.

However Gowan does not talk over the other areas like why they are missing in Kenya's history books nor why the scholarships to the east was not highly regarded and somehow discriminated.

Wilbert J. LeMelle,(1988)*The OAU and Superpower Intervention in Africa*, The creation of OAU on May 25, 1963 by the Heads of State or Government of 32 African countries, aimed among other things to eliminate colonialism on the African continent. The former colonial power did not want to lose their market and profit in Africa, while the eastern bloc wanted them out of Africa. The competition was much larger in design, and aimed at creating world hegemony. The Soviet made attempts to indoctrinate African leadership with Marxist-Leninist ideology and this was seen from the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s. Scholarships for training in the Soviet Union and in particular at the Patrice Lumumba University were strongly oriented towards ideological indoctrination. The provision of scholarships and grants for short term and longer degree training programs in the U.S. were likewise used to achieve the goals of extending western liberal democratic ideology in the new African states. Technical assistance programs in agriculture, education, health, infrastructure development and public sector management, including large training components were also started which geared towards the same goal. The goal of gaining geostrategic advantage in Africa was without doubt the most compelling reason for U.S.-Soviet competition in the early years of the independence movement in Africa. Diplomatic support at the United Nations and in other international fora was another contestable area in Africa. In the late 1950s and through the 1960s the militancy which accompanied the demand for decolonization and political freedom found a natural ally in Soviet revolutionary

ideology. The independent African states were linked economically and institutionally to former European colonial powers; there was real pressure and advantage, to maintaining close cooperative ties to the west. Equally strong pressure however, was applied by the Soviets and China, by making strong anti-imperialist statements against the western bloc.

The above work shows the reason for the superpower intervention in Africa as purely a showcase for preferred ideologies and their benefits which OAU and Nehru Gandhi attempted to guard the Africans hard gained independence, through the non alignment movement.

Summary of literature review

The sum total of the literature which was reviewed, talked about mostly the cold war politics and how the USSR in particular wanted to assert themselves in Africa in general and in Kenya for this case. The eastern socialist countries did all within their powers, to win the Africans by way of financial and material support, before and after independence. The USSR by their action saw the British as an extension of the US imperialist power. All literature reviewed failed to answer the reason why much of the Aeroflot is missing in the Kenyan history books and why this scholarship graduates were treated with much suspicion.

1.7 Theoretical framework

This project selected a theory that has some explanation and relevance to this research work. Theories are like a building blocks in any academic research project, in that they tend to explain in a more general way, the happenings in the society, that any work therefore must have some kind of backing on an already existing theory. This work therefore, decided to use the *Rational choice theory*, according to John Scott, in his book entitled *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of The Present*. A pioneering figure in establishing a rational choice theory in

Sociology was George Homans, who in 1961 set out a basic framework of exchange theory, which he grounded in assumptions drawn from behaviorist psychology.

This theory best explains the aim of this project, it describes that human beings have choices and should be allowed to choose from the available options, the one which gives maximum benefit to the person.

In rational choice theories, individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their 'preferences'. As it is not possible for individuals to achieve all of the various things that they want, they must also make choices in relation to both their goals and the means for attaining these goals. The theories hold that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate what will be best for them. For example in his book *How International Law Works: A Rational Choice Theory*, Andrew T. Guzman claims that states act rationally to maximize their interests. This assumption incorporates standard premises of this theory. The preferences about outcomes embedded in the state interest are consistent, complete and transitive. However, Guzman says that this is not to claim that the axioms of rational choice accurately represent the decision making process of a 'state' in all its complexity or that this theory can provide the basis for fine-grained predictions about international behavior. When states exist, people have adopted institutions that ensure that government's choose generally consistent policies over time, policies that at a broad level can be said to reflect the state's 'interest' as one understands the term.

The above theory explains this research best. The colonial government refusal to allow Kenyans the choice between communism and capitalism, made many Kenyans choose education in the socialist bloc.

1.8 Research hypotheses

1] That, the two scholarship programmes were not only out of humanitarian concern to Kenyans but were also a furtherance of competing political hegemony of western and eastern blocs.

2] The two scholarship programmes as supported by the eastern bloc and the capitalist west, was clear manifestations of the Cold War conflict in Kenya.

1.9 Methodology

This research used qualitative method where the work relied on oral interview of selected and some key personalities and that way the research got the needed information other than that, the work was supplemented it with primary and secondary data sources. Secondary sources included articles from journals, newspaper reports and magazines, internets, books and unpublished works, the University of Nairobi library, Robert Ouko Memorial library at Koru, personal libraries of the late Wera Ambitho and of Odhiambo Okelo. Lastly was the primary data collection from the national archives of Kenya, then in oral interviews where a total of 35 respondents, were interviewed, which included former students, the widows of former students, their children, work mates, personal letters and Ministry of education letters. This research chose a study of particularly those who went to study to the socialist east whose leaning was purely communism. The presence of primary source documents which were used in this study encouraged this work to go for qualitative research method.

Key informants were, Odhiambo Okelo, Odundo Ambitho, David Otedo Ongiro and Nathan Ojungo, who is a nephew of Wera Ambitho and the custodian to his home library. List of interviewees and dates of interviews are in the appendix.

This method allowed the project to go deeper to in finding the activities of the Kenya Office Cairo , as a practical drift from the West (America and Britain) who by this time had a lot of influence in Kenya and most importantly, where the process of the Aeroflot were done. This paper's main aim was to provoke them to talking, so that they can be heard and their work to be written about, by those who may be interested in their story and history. The time is ripe now as the ideological divide and competition is no longer at play. There is no better time than now, as our successive governments have had a look east policy. There will be no inhibition of such a research, as could have been earlier

The socialist east studies through allowed this resea Kenya Office, Cairo rch to get the necessary details to back up the work and more so to particularise the existence of the scholarships to the socialist bloc. It acted as a functional link to the Communist world and Kenyans who before then only knew of the British and American system of education and ideology. It allowed this research to vividly bring to light, the interplay of the Cold War with Oginga Odinga and his allies benefiting from the Aeroflot, through Cairo to the east. Lastly the method allowed the project not to generalize but to particularise the event of the study to the eastern socialist countries and their contribution thereafter. It allowed the project to answer some of the research question, for example why little is known on the research area.

For Informant sampling the purposive method was used. This work used all those who studied in the socialist countries. All of them had equal chance of being interviewed and the simple sampling method was used. The snowballing method was applied as a guided sampling. This is a non probability sampling, because the population of research was not at the same geographical area. They had to be searched for in the places where they stayed. Other methods of sampling were not plausible. Starting from the known as the snowball became bigger as the researcher

continued to interview other people referred by the research contacts. The new respondents got included and they also contributed by suggesting other names, it went on that way until the research reached its maximum (saturation).

The semi structured interview (free style) was used. This method is best for study like this one, because the questions flow is controlled by the researcher. This method allowed the work to get an in depth response from the respondents. The other advantage of this method was that the researcher can prompt a respondent to tell more on the research area. The reading of the body language was possible by this method through observation. This way, the research ended up getting more qualitative answers that was needed. The persons interviewed, whose interest in the study was aroused willingly told the researcher the names and places where their former colleagues were. This choice of the interview as opposed to questionnaire was made because the researcher wanted to deal with persons, who were to be encouraged to tell their story. The research does not have to be as keen on numbers as is always the case with quantitative research. The choice of qualitative research was guided by its superior nature for obtaining explanations rather than showing by use of bulky figures without an elaborate involvement of the respondents.

CHAPTER TWO

THE COLONIAL EDUCATION IN KENYA UPTO 1963

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the background of education in general in Kenya and the British blockage to Africans advancement both in educational and political fields. The introduction of the Kenyan independent schools, which increased the numbers of those reaching form 4 levels of secondary education, thus increasing the need for higher learning. The history of education has been included in this chapter, with the scarcity of universities chances in the East African University, clearly spelt out. The blockage of education by the British was well used by the eastern bloc to increase their influence in Kenya, by offering scholarships to the needy Kenyans.

The grades of those getting the scholarships are well documented, as the rush to the east increased at a high rate. There was need for the coveted education but the means to go to those universities was the problem. The scholarships were offered to other African countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Malawi, Uganda and others as well.

As independence approached, the African human resource crisis also grew. This called for an increased trained manpower.¹⁶The British in the face of such a challenge opened up the scholarships to their country and the other to commonwealth countries. Among the early beneficiaries were Simeon Nyachae, Eliud Mahihu and Joel Omino, who were already in colonial civil service. All of whom were latter strategically positioned as provincial administrators.¹⁷Most importantly, were the first students to the eastern bloc, who broke the jinx

¹⁶ Sheffield J.R.(1973)*Education In Kenya: An Historical Study*, Teachers Press, New York Pp41

¹⁷Oral interview Peter Wambura via Cell phone on 24th May 2015

and struggled mostly on foot, through Uganda, Sudan then Egypt, where the early scholarships before independence were placed. They are referred to by this work, as the trekking prospective students. This group was of great interest to this study, as their resilience and determination broke a barrier, in view of the British uncompromising stance. People who were already working and had the qualifications, were among those left out by the high cut off points for the university intake, also made it to the scholarship. Examples are Stephen Odhiambo Olel who had been working at Makerere University, at the Department of Veterinary Medicine and Anatomy. More schools were now offering both primary and secondary school education.[list of Schools by 1960 appendend xv]

2.1 The history of western education in Kenya

Formal western education then came to Africa through missionary activities. The acclaimed three C's namely Christianization, Commerce and Civilization, ¹⁸were only to be actualized through a formal education process, where education meant learning through a known syllabus. The British colonial government allowed the missionaries to start mission schools, where Christian values were taught. The learning of reading was emphasized, to enable learners to read the bible and for the white evangelists to communicate the teaching of the bible, from among the early educated, the government got their clerks, interpreters, policemen, messengers, orderlies, domestic workers and administrators. ¹⁹ One of Kenyan scholar did argue that the mission was more geared towards meeting the settlers' needs. ²⁰Mission centres like in Kikuyu(1901) at Kiihuuruko, Weithega(1903), Kahuhia(1906), Mahiga(1908) and in Embu(1910) all by Anglican Church

¹⁸ Sheffield J.R.(1973)*Education In Kenya: An Historical Study*, Teachers Press, New York, pp 9

¹⁹ Ibid pp10

²⁰ Sheffield J.R.(1973)*Education In Kenya: An Historical Study*, Teachers Press, New York, pp 11

Missionary, not to be left behind was Catholic with centres opened in Kiambu(1902), Limuru(1903) and Mangu(1906), among others sprung up²¹. Thus, it will be right to argue that the early education was a preserve of the missionaries, who confused it to mean western civilization.²²

Christians missionaries are rightly acknowledged as the founders of western education in Kenya²³

Things changed from 1909, when the government appointed J.Frazer as education advisor. Thus a department of education was established with James R. Orr as the first director.²⁴ The establishment of permanent advisory committee on education in 1925 was a milestone of government involvement in education matters.²⁵ The mission largely remained incharge of both primary and secondary schools education, while government took over higher and technical education.²⁶

Later on, the Africans from 1920s started their own schools referred to as African independent schools, which offered a mixture of traditional and Christian practices unlike the mission schools which were offered on pure Christian values. The Kikuyu independent schools sprung up as an offshoots from mission schools and by 1929 Kikuyu independents school association (KISA) was

²¹ Ibid pp 10

²² Ibid pp 12

²³ Sifuna D.N et al(2006)An Introduction History Of Education, University Of Nairobi Press, Nairobi.pp 178

²⁴ Ibid pp 17

²⁵ Ibid pp19

²⁶ Ibid 21

formed.²⁷ Another milestone in education among the kikuyu was the establishment of Alliance school in 1926, by an alliance of Protestants.²⁸ In western Kenya saw the establishment of Maseno School the same year. Earlier in 1925 Technical school was established in Machakos and another one the Native industrial Training Depot in Kabete.²⁹ Coming up also were Jeans schools, the first being established in 1925 at Kabete. This form of education was mainly based on technical training to both men and women pioneered by a philanthropist Quaker lady. Women were taught health Science, child care and general home economics, while husbands were taught agricultural technique and community development³⁰. The creation of District Education Board (DEB) in 1934 was also a great happening in the education History.³¹

The above shows the genesis of education in Kenya, as was introduced by the missionaries who came before colonization in Kenya, as the old adage goes the Flag followed the Cross/Bible.³² Other than reading of the bible, the early education was meant to close the communication gap between the locals and the white men. Education gradually became something that could not be ignored, despite the fact that it was foreign in Africa and Kenya. As independence neared, there was great need for a trained manpower to run the affairs of the country once the Britons left. This set a stage for the two scholarship programmes.

²⁷ Ibid pp 28

²⁸ Sheffield J.R(1973)*Education In Kenya: An Historical Study*, Teachers Press, New York, pp 21

²⁹ Ibid pp 24

³⁰ Ibid p19

³¹ Ibid 26

³² Ibid pp 9

The above had been noted earlier by the Beecher Commission which was appointed in 1945, in order to draw a 10 years plan to 1955. In his report Beecher noted the inadequacies of higher education facilities. Before the introduction of 4-4-4 system by the Beecher report, primary education lasted 6 years then followed by 2 years of junior secondary at which the student sat for Kenya African preliminary examination (KAPE).³³

In the 4-4-4 education system, primary pupils took the Competitive Entrance examination (CEE) in the fourth Grade and proceeded to intermediate schools, which were three hundred in numbers, where there was a strong emphasis on agriculture and handicrafts. In the eighth Grade, the Kenya African preliminary examination (KAPE) was offered³⁴

Following the recommendations of the De-La-Warr commission on higher education in East African of 1937 which improved results in the primary schools examination, Maseno and Yala were opened as junior secondary schools in 1938 and 1939 respectively.³⁵

Secondary school education covered form 3 to form 6 in 1948; the Kenya African Secondary Examination was taken at form 4, while Cambridge school certificate was offered in form 6. This examination was first offered in African secondary schools in 1940. In 1947, there were 51 junior secondary schools and only 2 government and 4 mission senior secondary schools, of which only 2, Alliance high school and Holy Ghost College Mangu taught up to the school certificate level. Some of the senior secondary schools began courses on higher school certificate

³³ Sifuna D.N et al(2006)An Introduction History Of Education, University Of Nairobi Press, Nairobi.pp 223

³⁴ Ibid .pp 223

³⁵ Ibid .pp 208

examination in 1961.³⁶ The certificates of education were majorly Cambridge Ordinary School Certificate and Advance Level Examinations.³⁷

In 1939, Kenya had 4 secondary schools namely Alliance High School with an enrolment of 106, Kabaa high school with 50 pupils, CMS Maseno with 58 pupils and Yala with 17 pupils³⁸.

Adult education in the colonial period started mainly as an offshoot of the Jeanes School.³⁹

In terms of schools, there were now mission schools then independent schools and finally Government schools. In 1935, where there were 34 independent schools with 2158 pupils which increased to 44 with 3948 pupils in 1936. There also emerged besides the independent schools, the African Teachers College at Githunguri in 1938, started by Senior Chief Koinange. The college opened its doors to students in January 1939⁴⁰

On teacher's training which is a very important ingredient in education sector, by the beginning of 1920s, however, many of the teachers were trained on the job except for some training which was carried out at Buxton high school, Kabaa and Alliance high school also carried out training for teachers. Much of the training of teachers in the inter war periods was not undertaken at separate institutions. Teachers' education existed as an appendage of secondary school institutions or primary schools; it was not until 1944 when Kagumo College opened to train

³⁶ Sifuna D.N et al(2006)An Introduction History Of Education, University Of Nairobi Press, Nairobi.pp 224

³⁷ Ibid.pp 213

³⁸ Ibid .pp 208

³⁹ Ibid.pp 209

⁴⁰ Ibid.pp 212

primary school teachers of all denominations. The 1931 education ordinance categorized primary teachers into Elementary, lower primary and primary teachers.⁴¹

In 1948, a Teacher certificate (T4) replaced Elementary Teacher Certificate who could teach up to standard 4, a teacher certificate (T3) replaced the lower primary teacher certificate and could teach up to standard 6. A teacher certificate (T2) replaced the primary teacher certificate and could teach up to form 2 and lastly a teacher certificate (T1) (Makerere teacher) qualified to teach up to form 4. Along side all the above were untrained teachers⁴²

The Binns education commission in 1952 recommended the establishment of coordination of teachers training centers and take up the responsibility of setting teachers examination. Following those recommendations two teachers training organization were set up at Kagumo and Siriba to coordinate teachers training⁴³

By early 1950s, the number of student who studied abroad increased rapidly although the number remained relatively small. In 1947, there were 13 Africans in Britain and by 1950 there were 350 abroad either in Britain, America, India or Parkistan⁴⁴

In Kenya, university education for african was very scarce between 1950's and 1960's, as only those who had passed well at form 4 could be admitted to Makerere University, University of Dar es Salam and the Royal Technical College now University of Nairobi.

In the whole of East Africa, there were only three colleges offering University diplomas and degrees. All were affiliates of the University Of East Africa. There was Nairobi College in

⁴¹ Sifuna D.N et al(2006)An Introduction History Of Education, University Of Nairobi Press, Nairobi.pp 208

⁴²Ibid .pp 225

⁴³ Ibid,pp 225

⁴⁴ Ibid .pp 225

Kenya which specialized in Engineering courses, Dar es Salaam College in Tanzania which specialized in law and Makerere University College in Uganda. These colleges were for top academic achievers. Others who had the need for higher education, had to look for it elsewhere because of the limited chances in this region then, such places were teachers training colleges and other colleges offering some courses as well.

Most young men and women were then forced to get to the job market, which were still wide open to anybody who had any level of secondary education. In minutes of a Joint Admission Board (JAB) meeting dated 6th March 1962 a summary of total admission to the three colleges which were constituents of the University Of East Africa, was given as follows.

General courses under JAB

Makerere, Bachelor of Arts	120
Royal College Nairobi, Sciences	80
Makerere, Bachelor of Science	50
Royal College Nairobi, Arts	50

Professional courses under JAB

Engineering	60
Medicine	45
Commerce	20
Agriculture	25
Veterinary Medicine	15 ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Letter dated 6th March 1962 source National achieves of Kenya file H21/134/1 s/7731

In yet another letter, reference, 4/280 by the Ministry of Educaion on admission of private candidates, out of the 19 who earned qualifications only four were Kenyans, in a list dominated by Ugandans⁴⁶

It was too competitive to make it to the local higher education institutions and this justified the need to go overseas for post secondary school studies. Because of the rising need for education, the UN also opened up scholarships from member countries, from early 1962, in a file marked, *scholarship and courses, educational facilities by member states of UN and Iron Curtain countries*, this work took two examples of Chege Joseph who applied on 24th July 1962 and wanted to go to Poland to study agriculture, the second candidate sampled, was Addero Robby Christopher, who wanted to study Law in Poland. These applications were responded to in a letter to the Ministry of Education, Nairobi, Kenya Colony, written by the Secretary for Technical Cooperation UN, reference, *offer of scholarships by UN member states of the United Nation*. The following Kenyans who received scholarships in 1963.

Name	Course	Country
Refuel Obbeyi	Education	Czechoslovakia
Laban Osoro	Architecture	Poland
Joseph Chege	Agriculture	Poland
Robby Christopher Addero	Law	Poland
Joseph N. Nzioki	Science	Czechoslovakia
Silas Nyamato	Economics	Poland
Samson Nyabwari	Economics	Poland
James Andrewson	Railway Engineering	Hungary ⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Letter dated 12th March 1963, source The Kenya National Achieves

The policy British was for Africans to have education within East Africa; very few were officially allowed to leave the country. until 1956, all Africans received their higher education at Makerere which was the highest education structure for Africans in East Africa. The Africans were discouraged from seeking courses abroad unless they were not available in eastern Africa⁴⁸. Only the first class achievers were admitted to East Africa University. Upto early 1960's, the University of East Africa only admitted 170 students from the whole of East Africa. By 1964 the newly constituted University of East Africa admitted only 636 students, out of which 195 joined the University College Nairobi, Makerere University 288 students and the University of Dar es salaam 153 students.⁴⁹

It is important at this point in time to give a brief history of the University education in Kenya. The Royal Technical College Charter was given in September 1951, with the foundation stone laid in April 1952. In April 1954 the Gandhi Memorial Academy merged with the Royal Technical College and opened its doors to students in April 1956. Through the working committee under the chair of the Chancellor of London University Sir John Lockwood, the Royal Technical University College in East Africa was transformed. On 25th June 1961 the college became the second University in East Africa, under the name Royal College Nairobi, which was renamed University College, Nairobi on 20th May 1964. It continued to offer diploma and degree courses examined by the London University. From 1966 it started preparing students for degrees exclusively for University of East Africa. On 1st July 1970, the University of East Africa was dissolved to pave way for the University of Nairobi.

⁴⁷ Letter to the Officer Administering the Colony of Kenya dated 23rd April 1963, source The Kenya National Achieves.

⁴⁸ Sifuna D.N et al (2006) An Introduction History Of Education, University Of Nairobi Press, Nairobi. pp 220

⁴⁹ Daily Nation 6th April 1964

Going to Britain for university education under scholarships was very stringent, as one had to be recommended by the director of colonial scholarship at the colonial office and courses like Medicine had to have first grades. Thus there was great need for higher education, when the Americans saw the growing influence of communism; they started offering scholarships to Kenyans. With second and third grades division passes at form iv, an opportunity to study abroad from 1959. Tom Mboya managed to take the first and second airlifts of 81 then of 40 students to American colleges out of those not qualifying for the East Africa University. Eighty one students from Kikuyu and other tribes of Kenya were greeted by Jackie Robinson at Idlewild airport on September 19th, marking the onset of a two days “invasion” of New York by African airlift.⁵⁰

2.2 Conclusion

The above chapter has discussed the introduction of education as a necessity, the few chances for education has also been highlighted. The gap in education opportunity as been stated. The foreign policies of the super power which was more geared towards attracting the African states, has also been discussed in this chapter..

⁵⁰ A.M *African Airlift*, Indiana University Press, pp 23.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COLD WAR POLITICS AND SCHOLARSHIP COMPETITION FROM 1959 TO 1963

3.0 Introduction

The above chapter discussed the history of education upto the time of independence, how the study chances were limited and how schewed education plan was. In this chapter therefore, the work looks at what was happening then in international arena, which was the cold war politics which has taken centre stage. The cold war politics is seen in both political and scholarship prism, the availing of the the scholarships to eastern bloc and to the west are analzed and hard question is being addressed here, which is why the same time. With the impending independence looming and the British settlers going back to their country, this created a human resource crisis, the above gave room to people with formal education to struggle to get the requisite education in preparation for the jobs to be left behind by the departing Britons and Indians and this has also been discussed in this chapter. This period witnesses a number of scholarships coming from both sides of the ideological divide. The competition between the super powers introduced some developemntt in Kenya and the two types scholarship programmes were freely flowing. The airlift of student seems to have been as a result of limited opportunity offered to Africans by colonial administration. It involved a number of African politicians, their election in legislative council in 1957⁵¹. This included Tom Mboya, Dr. Gikonyo Kiano and Oginga Odinga. The second group of student to study in foreign countries went to socialist countries a program which was directly organized by Oginga Odinga to countries like Soviet Union, North Korea, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, hungary, Yugoslavia and

⁵¹ Okoth A Okoth,A [2006]A *History of Africa* Vol. 2, East African Educational Publishers. Nairobi.pp pp85

the German democratic republic. Kenya was denied direct contact with these countries because it was under the British rule. Kenya offices in Cairo and London became centers from which Kenyan student were rooted to socialist countries. These countries made air ticket available in either Cairo or London. ⁵²Whereas in Mboya's airlift student could easily be flown out, it was not particularly easy in this particular program, because the authority were not in favour of socialist countries. Thus, they impounded passport and arrested student concerned. Another unfortunate aspect of the program were the drop outs who for either emotional interlectual reasons found difficulties in re adjusting their aspirations to reality of life in Kenya today, some opted to remain overseas, fearing to return home without the qualificsation they went for.⁵³

3.1 The US and the USSR rivalry before and after independence.

The foreign policies of the USA, the USSR and Kenya at independence have also been covered in this chapter.

Orwenyo argues that,

Under Tom Mboya's leadership, Kenya's right wing and its western collaboration undertook calculated measures that disrupted the Kenyan socialists' and the soviets' plans. Western countries used their opportunities well and thereby became the major influence on Kenya politically, ideologically, economically, socially, militarily and culturally. In the meantime, as the Kenyan progressive intelligentsia was purged from the ruling party and the Government, their Soviet contacts were expelled from Kenya.....Thus, the Soviet suffered a severe setback in Kenya in 1966⁵⁴

⁵²Sunday Nation 9th October 20`6 pp 12

⁵³ Sifuna D.N et al(2006)An Introduction History Of Education, University Of Nairobi Press, Nairobi.pp 231

⁵⁴ Orwenyo J.N[1973]*The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 1966* pp 3

Education became an opportunity for the super powers US and USSR to further their interest in Kenya, As Paul Kurgat points out,

Scholarships were initiated precisely because they entailed not only the transfer of skills and knowledge to the nationals from the new Africa countries, but they were meant as an exposure to the values, norms and practices of the donor nations. It was not only an exercise in the provision of substantive skills, it also included an inculcation of attitude and values.⁵⁵

Kurgat further writes that the use of education as a tool in foreign policy by the super powers, in their bid to create an intelligentsia to influence the way of their thinking and the direction a country should take. For example, it was the Soviet Union's aim to indoctrinate African leadership with Marxist-Leninist ideology and to effect a fundamental direction in the organization and role of government in African states. This was their strategy during the late 1950s and throughout.

In Kenya, Oginga Odinga in 1964 made arrangements with the Soviets who funded and built the Patrice Lumumba institute in Nairobi, with the aim that the institution should teach African socialism to the KANU leadership.⁵⁶ This was in line with the USSR foreign policy in Africa. From 1950's the Soviet Union increased its presence in Africa and was largely seen as a promoter of African liberation, and seemed to have appointed itself as the lead supporter of Africa in their bid to decolonise. The major historical fact which conditions the African response to the cold war was that just prior to as well as immediately after independence, the international relations of most African states were exclusively with non communist powers. The major thrust

⁵⁵Kurgat P.K[2013], *Education as A Foreign Policy: Kenya Students Airlift to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe 1954-1991* pp 75

⁵⁶ Orwenyo J N [1973]*The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 66* pp 232

of communist foreign policy has been to establish new contacts in Africa which were prohibited by the colonial powers.⁵⁷

The East thought the British and the USA in Kenya tried by all means to keep the growing influence of communism out of Kenya and the rest of Africa. Kenya's great strategic importance to the western bloc has been underlined by, Colin Ley in his work, that Kenya begun to play the classic role of a country at the periphery of the capitalist system, exporting primary commodities but importing manufactures.⁵⁸

The British had made up their mind to grant Kenya a political independence by February 1960 and not an economic one. Colin Leys further says

The Kenya government had some leverage as a result of the country's strategic position, tourist attraction and a carefully pro Western foreign policy, but this meant that the logic of its dependence on foreign capital could at most be more palatable, not that it could be escaped.⁵⁹

In order to counter the British, Russia from 1960 started reaching out to the people of Kenya through the Kiswahili and English radio programmes, as a way of influencing the Kenyan masses.⁶⁰ The other way the USSR made Africa to be close was by way of formation of Soviet Association for Friendship with the people of Africa in April 1959.

The aim of the Soviet Association for friendship with the peoples of Africa, founded in April, 1959 is to develop and consolidate friendship, understanding, trust and cultural

⁵⁷ Mc Govan P J [Sept 1968] *Africa and Non Alignment: A comparative Study Of Foreign Policy*, The International Studies Association.

⁵⁸ Leys Colin, [1975] *Underdevelopment in Kenya*, University of California Press, Los Angeles. pp 29

⁵⁹ Ibid pp149

⁶⁰ Orwenyo J N [1973] *The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 66* pp 106

relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Africa.....the association familiarises the Soviet people with the history, national-of liberation movement⁶¹.

The United States strategy, while less obtrusive, was equally directed towards persuading African leaders to embrace the western capitalist option of governance and economic organization. The USA used development as a way to advance their capitalist ideology in the African continent; this was achieved through channeling money through such developing agencies as US AID. The provision of scholarships and grants for short term training and degree programs, were likewise used to achieve the goals of extending the western liberal democratic ideology in the new African states.

It was the policies of these countries to influence Africa at all cost that made a country like USA even to bend its known ideals, like liberal democratic principles, to support dictators like Mobutu Seseseko in Zaire. This was because of the late Patrice Lumumba who was seen to be close to the communist countries. Similarly in Kenya, Kenyatta's governments was supported mostly because of their leaning towards the US in the global competition..

At independence, Kenya still got entangled in the foreign interest, where the Kenyatta government did not have a clear foreign policy, as they allowed engagement with both the west and the east, Education airlift to the east increased at the instigation of then vice President and the indecisiveness of Jomo Kenyatta.

The military was another area the British was not willing to let go, with the signing of a military agreement with Kenya in 1964. ⁶²This was letter to be taken over by the USA. From this point on

⁶¹ File marked African Friendship Association, a write up E⁶¹ [6], Wera's home library.

⁶² Makinda, S, (1983) *From Quite Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya Foreign Policy_Third*

World Quarterly, Vol.5No.2.Taylor & Francis Ltd accessed on 8/5/2013 pp 302

the Kenyan foreign policy became clearly pro west, though they professed a non aligned stance. The eastern bloc lost out, Oginga Odinga was sidelined from the Kenyan political mainstream. Arms from USSR were rejected and the eastern bloc trained military personnel refused entry in the Kenyan military. The above had its root at the run up to Kenyan independence, when Oginga Odinga thought of the future of the Kenyan military. He was against the idea of a continued influence to the Kenyan military by the British after independence. Thus, when the idea of sending some of selected persons to go for some specialized military training. Odinga was showing open dislike for the Colonial government. He told Ogingo Oyamo that they were planning for the future military service devoid of the British. Oginga Odinga was quoted as saying that, the current army was British trained hence had capitalist ideals. Therefore it was not good for independent Kenya and could not be fully trusted.⁶³

Others also went to socialist countries whose scholarships were shrouded with secrecy. Those whose scholarships were un earthed were James Onyango and Paul Ogula of the Military Academy in Cairo, in a letter by Wera Ambitho to the Director of Studies.⁶⁴

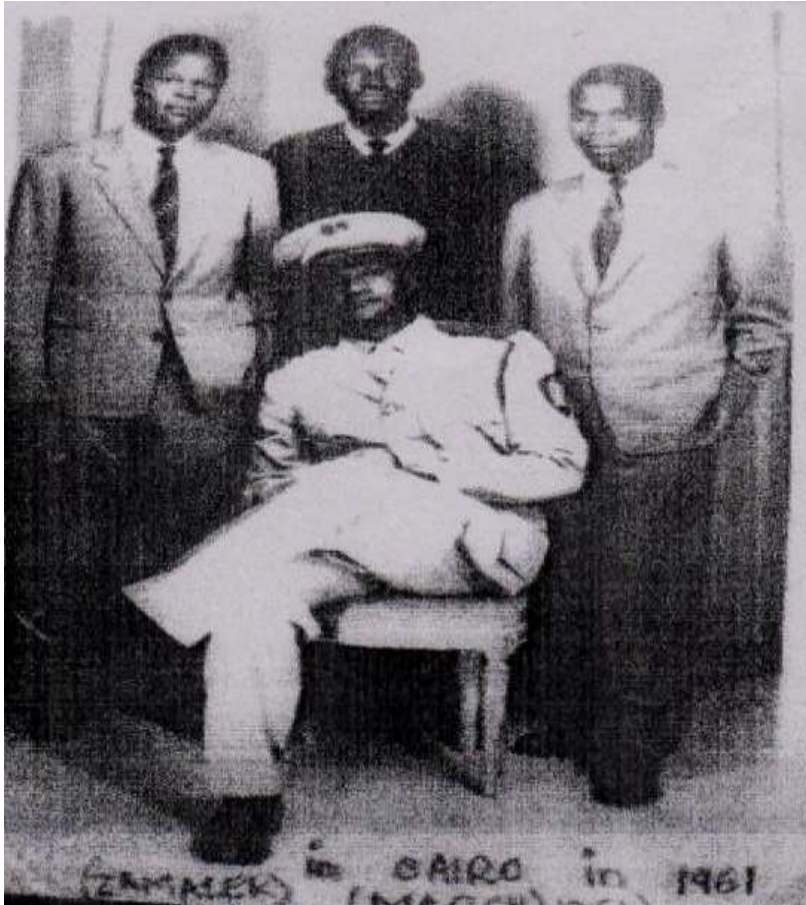
Military Accademy, Heliopolis, Cairo.

⁶³ Oral interview Jeremiah Ogingo Oyamo on 24th June 2014 at 2.00 pm

⁶⁴ A letter by Wera Ambitho to the Director of Studies, dated 9th April 1962, Wera Ambitho private library

Ref; Kenya Officers Cadets: JAMES ONYANGO AND PAUL OGULA.

Figure 3.1: Picture of James Onyango in full white military Uniform, Martin Yaya standing on the right and other two gentlemen in Cairo



Source. Wera's home library

3.2 The Origin of Cold War and its spread in the World

The cold war is a term which came into use in the end of Second World War in 1945 marking the defeat Of Germany and the axis power which had Japan and Italy by the Allied forces led by USA, though a late entrant in the war, which included Britain, USSR, France and other European countries. The war started in 1939 exactly 21 years after end of First World War. The Second World War was started by the aggression of Germany generally and particularly her invasion of

Poland which was an ally of Britain and France, on 1st Sept 1939. The invasion of Poland made Britain to declare war on Germany on 3rd Sept 1939. The defeat of Germany as a strong aspiring power, brought into fore two super powers namely, USA and USSR. This unholy union however, ushered in another front of war which was not physical but was rather ideological.

But at the end of that war the alliance split up into two hostile, ideological camps: the West led by the USA which sought to supervise a world drama of capitalist development; and the East led by the soviet union, determined since 1917 to spread communism. The Soviet Union and the USA had emerged as the superpower, bound to dominate the world. Relation between the Soviet-led East and the US led west deteriorated so rapidly that the resultant hostility was spoken of as the 'Cold War'⁶⁵

The struggle ensued between the USA and USSR on the best mode of production and this ushered in a very fierce competition between them in a bid to spread their favored ideology. This non physical confrontation continued until 1989 when communism collapsed and ended the bi polar to uni- polar world power where USA remained the reigning world power. The cold war had devastating effect in Africa and other third World countries.

Other than the opposing mode of production, thus Capitalist and Communist, the cold war entailed lots of propaganda, mistrust; pure distortion of what each ideology stood for, each side imagined what the other was, without care of asking what it was. The cold war was a very divisive subject that divided humanity into two, attempt by the third world countries to delineate themselves from the brushing ideological war by coming up with Non aligned movements for the newly independent state, was just a paper position but they still had to align themselves with one

⁶⁵ Assa Okoth, A History of Africa pg362

group in order to qualify to get the much needed money for development or debt reprieve. A classical example was independent Kenya which publicly professed non aligned movement but adopted capitalist tendencies and worked very closely with Britain and USA, the successive Kenya government both Jomo Kenyatta's and Daniel Arap Moi's never allowed anything communism and writing by or on Karl Marx were outlawed and banned at the public universities . This show how captivating these ideologies were. Up to the time of the disintegration of communism in 1989, Kenya never allowed any communist party to be registered; in fact being branded a communist would cut one out of political limelight as it did to Mzee Oginga Odinga. The mistrust was too much that wall had to be erected to mark permanent separations i.e. the infamous Berlin wall marking the East and West Germany states, The United State and the Soviet Union each perpetuated a series of Cold war myths that sustained them over the year"⁶⁶

The post war world was now dominated by the two superpowers, their relationship deteriorated a lot after the end of the war, each one of them wanted to influence the bigger part of the world. This was ushered in by the collapse of the grand alliance of USA, Britain and Russia then, later USSR. The collapse of the above amid growing tension of which direction the world would take after the war, more so on the mode of production, gave rise to the Cold War. Both sides blamed one another as the cause of the Cold War. The USA particularly blamed the soviet for forcing their communism ideology to the Eastern European countries, contrary to the end of war agreement. First,

The conventional American view is that the Soviet Union was principally responsible for the Cold War. From this perspective, if the soviet had not been on territorial acquisition, especially

⁶⁶ Mc Williamson W.C et al, The World Since 1945 pp 7

their subjugation of Eastern Europe, the United State would have retreated into its pre war position of isolation.”⁶⁷

On the contrary the USSR blamed USA as being committed to the total annihilation of communism in general and the overthrow of the Soviet communist government in particular; they further accused the US system of politics as non democratic. The stage was set for a brushing ideological battle led by USA on one hand and USSR on the other hand, the Cold War was born. The cold war quickly became global, and in fact it was in Asia that it became most inflamed in the first decade after the war.⁶⁸ By 1947, when the US policy of “containment” of communism was in place, the cold war myths were firmly entrenched on both sides.

Both sides constantly voiced their grievances and suspicions of each other. Each point of disagreement was magnified, each misunderstanding became a weapon: each hostile act was positive proof of the other side’s evil intention. But one could not yet speak of a full blown Cold War. This came in 1947, when the conflict reached a new plateau. In fact, many historians, in the Soviet Union as well as in the West, see that year as the true beginning of the Cold War. It was then that the United State declared its commitment to contain by economic as well as military means- all manifestation of communist expansion whenever it occurred. In the same year a Soviet delegation walked out of an Economic Conference that concerned itself with the rebuilding of Europ⁶⁹

It will be said here that most third world countries by 1945 when cold war started were still under the European colonization. Thus they were forced through such colonial powers to align

⁶⁷ Steven L. Spiegel, World Politics in a New Era pp 131

⁶⁸ Mc Williamson W.C et al, The World Since 1945 pp8

⁶⁹ Mc Williamson W.C et al, The World Since 1945 pp 39

themselves with the West mode of production. That way country like Kenya found herself in the capitalist mode of production. The East in a bid to trash the capitalist mode of production, advanced the theory that colonization was the greatest height of capitalism, as was propagated by Karl Marx and Lenin. It will be recalled that the Russian revolution in 1917, which swept the old czarist regime in the Russian and ushered in the communism in Russia. They sold to the states that were still colonized that communism was the better option because their countries never got themselves in the colonization. That way the rebel groups that were struggling to free themselves from colonization found solace in communism crusaders.

3.3 The Cold War and Ideological Rivalry in Kenya in the 1950's and mid 196.0's

This study is concerned chiefly with the role the cold war played in the provision of the two scholarship programme. Thus this section strived to describe what the rivalry was and how it affected the pre and post independent Kenya. The term cold war came into use after the end of Second World War; it brought out two world powers namely the USA and the USSR, through the glaring two different ideological modes of production, namely capitalism and communism respectively.⁷⁰

It was the competition of the spread of such ideology that brought what the world referred to as cold war, Kenya was not an exception of such worldwide campaign.

But at the end of that war the alliance split up into two hostile, ideological camps: the West led by the USA which sought to supervise a world drama of capitalist development; and the East led by the Soviet Union, determined since 1917 to spread communism. The Soviet Union and the USA had emerged as the superpower, bound to dominate the world. Relation between the Soviet-led East and the US led west deteriorated so rapidly that the resultant hostility was spoken of as the 'Cold War'⁷¹

⁷⁰ Steven L. Spiegel, *World Politics in a New Era* pp 130

⁷¹ Okoth, A [2006] *A History of Africa* Vol. 2, East African Educational Publishers. Nairobi. pp362

It is part of the above struggle that Aeroflot and Airlift were started in Kenya. The USSR was striving hard to assist the countries whose independence were fast approaching to be on their side in the cold war struggle and also to assist them in the voting at the United National General Assembly once they joined as independent sovereign states.⁷²

From the mid 1950's the British and the Americans greatest fear in Kenya was the infiltration of communist ideology. Jomo Kenyatta imprisonment at Kapenguria was premised on the British fear of his radicalism; they suspected that Kenyatta's student days at Moscow states University had a lot of bearing on his political stand. This is what worried the British most that Kenyatta would go the communist way upon ascending Kenyan presidency. This was evident when the then Minister of Internal Security and Defense G.W. Cusack, reminded the Kenyans in an address in the Legislative Council in 1958, that those Kenyans seeking education in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, would be bringing communism in Kenya.⁷³

In Africa and other third world countries, which were still under colonization, the end of the Second World War was a blessing to most of them. The two super powers USA and USSR were not involved in the colonization in Africa. The USA, apart from not wanting to be seen to be going against the known allies Britain and France were not in favour of colonization. They claimed they were in favour of people's freedom and liberty.

Superpower intervention in Africa was, therefore, driven by ideological goals, socio-economic objectives and geostrategic considerations. Soviet Union attempts to indoctrinate African leadership with Marxist-Leninist ideology and in effect a fundamental direction in the organization and role of government in the new African states was hardly a veiled strategy during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s. Through the efforts of Russian advisors and

⁷² George Odeny oral interview at his office at University Of Nairobi on 18. 7.2014

⁷³ Orwenyo J N [1973]*The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 66*, pp107

planning specialists on country assignments throughout Africa, the Soviet Union tried to influence African leadership into accepting the principles of one party rule and central state planning for economic development.⁷⁴

Without the competing ideology as manifested in the different ideologies there could not have been the two different airlifts. Thus the cold war benefited Kenyans. It will be right to state that the two scholarships programmes were shrouded with political intonations and were not really for intellectual development. Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya antagonist ideological difference assisted most Kenyans to get the much needed education.

According to Stevens

Tom Mboya who was young, with a weak tribal background but had a strong trade union base and Oginga Odinga, who was older and appeared first as a conservative Spokesman of the Luo tribe. The dispute between the two was essentially that of power, although they latter disagreed on the right path of Kenya's development. However they soon tarred each other with ideological brushes; Mboya was labeled pro West and Odinga pro East; an American stooge verses Soviet agent⁷⁵

In a manner of speaking, Odinga felt relieved, in early 1960s, that he was now doing to Kenyan students what Mboya had done earlier by assisting Kenyan students to proceed to the USA for further studies. It is reasonable therefore to suggest that the genesis of the rivalry between Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya started mainly from issues surrounding the scholarship initiative.⁷⁶

The detest with which the USSR detested the colonization was clear as it was a zero-sum game, and so what the western bloc loses must be a gain to the eastern bloc. Thus, the creations of new

⁷⁴ OAU with Super Powers pp 22

⁷⁵ Stevens C. [1976] *The Soviet Union and Black Africa*. Macmillan Press Ltd. London pg154

⁷⁶ Odinge Odera, My journey with Jaramogi, 2010_African research and resource forum.pg44

independent states from the old European empires were seen as a loss for capitalism and, therefore, a gain for socialism. The third world was the field of ideological warfare.

The Kenyan African members of legislative council were implored to distance themselves from the threat of communism, most of them succumbed to propaganda of the western bloc, its only Oginga Odinga and Taita Towett who saw the propaganda on the British call. Aiden Crawley while addressing a joint meeting in London of the Royal Africa and Commonwealth societies about the communist menace in Africa, more so in Kenya where the Russian money was felt.

He described the situation in Kenya as being gravely dismaying because of the activities of the returning African students from the eastern socialist countries.⁷⁷

According to Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo, an ex colonial police corporal, who resigned to go and study military science in Czechoslovakia, “The capitalist west was being dramatised, while the communist east was shrouded with lots of suspicion and secrecy⁷⁸”

In newly independent countries, they showed that they were better because they detested colonization. They sent aids ie in Kenya, they built the Lumumba institute, the New Nyanza Hospitals and the Kano Rice scheme, among others⁷⁹. They offered Education scholarships to the Socialist East countries. This was in an attempt to bring some ideological changes.

⁷⁷ Jason Nyariki Orwenyo *the Soviet Union and Communism as Factors among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 1966* pp265

⁷⁸ Oral interview Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo on 24th June 2014 at 2.00 pm

⁷⁹ Okumu J.J, *Some thoughts on Kenya's Foreign Policy*[unpublished] pp287

Figure 3.2 Jomo Kenyatta and Odinga in front of Lumumba Institute in Nairobi



Source.fWera's home library.

At the eve of independence, and with the absence of Jomo Kenyatta who was in detention, Oginga Odinga led a group seen close to the communist bloc while the trade unionist Tom Mboya, with his trade union movement struck a close link with the capitalist bloc America and Britain.⁸⁰ As Kenya neared her independence, the political leadership was torn in between the two blocs, with their representatives trying to give the best image of each, while discrediting the other bloc. The British government was at their best not to allow inroads of the communist ideology into Kenya. The scholarship to the eastern bloc was to present an open front to political

⁸⁰ Ibid pp 85

divide, as Oginga Odinga was closely monitored in his overseas trips.⁸¹ The colonial government was keen to see the effect of the east trained scholars, more so those who went for military trainings, monitored and above all not given any room to propagate communist ideals.

The period between late 1950's and early 1960's have been described as the years of scholarships invasion of Africa⁸². Scholarships were used to secure a sphere of influence, in newly independent African countries, in what was called neo-colonialism, which is closer to the late 19th century's scramble for Africa in order to secure a sphere of influence, the trained personnel were suppose to influence the preferred mode of production and justify more free flowing scholarships to Africa. Julius Nyerere in a speech delivered to the world Assembly of Youth in Dar es Salam in 1961, argued

That the phase from which we are now emerging successfully is the phase of the first scramble for Africa.....we are now entering a new phase of the second scramble for Africa one nation is going to be divided.⁸³

This project has also exposed how the Cold War played itself in the two different direction studies and how both were ideologically coated. The interface of cold war was seen by this work in two stages, which had different actors and results. The first one is the one during the period stretching from 1958 to 1964. This period saw, the socialist countries assisting the countries not yet independent to fight for their liberation. Their focus then, was on the defeat of the British and other western capitalist countries. They gave out scholarships and assisted the Kenya Cairo office, which was also referred to as liberation office or KANU external office (see appendix i)

⁸¹Sunday Nation 9th October 2016 pp 12

⁸²Kurgat P.K[2013], *Education as A tool for Foreign Policy: Kenya Students Airlift to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe 1954-1991*. pp 61

⁸³ Nyerere J, [1961], *The Second Scramble*, Tanganyika Standard Ltd, Dar Es Salaam, pp.1

and which was well funded by the eastern socialist countries, the Arab League and the Afro Asian solidarity⁸⁴, at the same breath fired vitriol against the British government. The above were made against a background of growing demand for secondary level skilled manpower, which placed heavy demands on the still inadequate facilities.⁸⁵ Kenyan people were then one and all the ethnic groups made it into the two study programmes, all through to 1964, Oginga Odinga, and Jomo Kenyatta were working together as Kenyan gallants sons, this worried the western powers as the unity of purpose showed openly while the west wanted a divided political scenario in order to fix the communist proponents like Oginga Odinga⁸⁶.

⁸⁴Letter from Wera to the Secretary General, Afro Asian Peoples Solidarity ref; CIR\E-FOUR618 dated 26/10/ 1961.

⁸⁵ Sheffield J.R.(1973)*Education In Kenya: An Historical Study*, Teachers Press, New York pp65

⁸⁶ Orwenyo J N [1973]*The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 66* pp 261



Figure 3.3 From left Jaramogi Odinga, Joseph Murumbi, Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya.

Jomo Kenyatta and Mboya. Source; Kenya National Archives

The above picture shows how united the top Kenyan political leadership were united.

Source; Kenya National Archives

Odhiambo Okelo confirmed that Mboya was having due advantage over Oginga Odinga due to the airlift to the West. Hence the Kenyan in Cairo Office lobbied for scholarships to the socialist East to counter Mboya's influence politically, with the assistance of the West.⁸⁷

The second period was between mid 1964 to 1969, when Tom Mboya and Jomo Kenyatta, directly went for Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and his cronies like Bildad Kagia and Ochieng

⁸⁷ Oral Interview Odhiambo Okelo on April 7th 2014 at Yaya centre in Nairobi 11 am

Oneko. The west and east war was manifested, as arms from Oginga Odinga's house were removed and arms from Russia rejected at Mombasa in 1965.⁸⁸

It is said that this is why Kenya turned down a 16 million pounds Russian loan in February 1966, despite the fact that she had signed an agreement in respect of that loan. The loan which was to be spent on the Kano irrigation scheme, building a powerful broadcasting station, a sugar factory, a cotton textile mill, a fish cannery, and fruit and vegetable processing factories, was turned down because, so argued Kenya...

There is also a political interpretation. It is that Russian aid was refused as a first step in the process of cleaning up Kenya's political and economic institution of socialist influence which had developed around the former Vice President Oginga Odinga, Bildad Kagia, former assistant Minister of Education, and Jaramogi Achieng Oneko, former Minister of information and Broadcasting who was instrumental in building a Kenya broadcasting services after independence.

This finally led to the Limuru Conference held the following month, 11-13th March, 1966, at which the KANU left wing was forced out and into forming a new socialist party, the Kenya Peoples Union.⁸⁹

The students, from eastern bloc colleges now back in the country were branded communist and their education seen to be inferior by some political leaders who were not comfortable with Oginga Odinga's close association with the eastern bloc and had to shed the Oginga Odinga tag in order to survive by mid 1960s, those seen to be so close to Oginga Odinga had to go. The above had attracted the comment of none other than, the Soviet Chief of Higher Education Section in the Ministry of Education while in Nairobi for scholarship mission, who was quoted as saying that, there was prejudice, that, the quality of the Soviet education was low and that ideological indoctrination eroded the rest of it.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Odinga Odinga [1976] *Not yet Uhuru*, East Africa Publisher, Nairobi. Pp293

⁸⁹ Okumu J.J, Some thoughts on Kenya's Foreign Policy[unpublished] pp287

⁹⁰ Orwenyo J.N, [1973] *The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957* Pp 229

The official position of Kenya in international relations was of “Equidistance between East and West” but because of the maximization of benefits, Kenya leaned to the capitalist Western Europe and North America. ⁹¹More importantly, there was little evidence to suggest that, the Kenyan Government wanted to follow a path devoid of discrimination of the eastern bloc. At independence, the departing British left in place strong pro west state actors in the civil service, the west trained beaucrates comes handy. In the post colonial Kenya, Oginga Odinga was seen as the most immediate threat to the capitalist west, as he was being seen to be close to the Soviet Union, where he had send a number of students for military training before independence. ⁹²

The quest to go communist east was reinforced by the British propaganda that in communist east people had no family, children, and property of their own. ⁹³The British had despised anything socialist/communist. The socialist east having known the distorted form of communism, as propagated by the British offered chances to Kenyans, so that they could see for themselves what communism was about. The socialist bloc through their agent’s also poured scorn on capitalism. On Jomo Kenyatta release in August 1961, he indicated that he was not a communist as the British had always thought in an interview by John Freeman on 7th December 1961, which surprised the British; however, Jomo Kenyatta was not willing to show openly that he had nothing to do with the Soviet Union for the campaign for his release. Kenyatta looked set to do business with both blocs, thus Oginga Odinga was left as the outright proponent of communism. Soon after Jomo Kenyatta showed very openly that Oginga Odinga was going to be the first Minister in the yet to be formed KANU government, a fact that amazed the British. Thus the

⁹¹ George Odeny Oral Interview

⁹² Orwenyo J.N, [1973]*The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya’s Internal Problems 1957* Pp 207

⁹³Oral interview Owiti Otiende 14th April 2013 at shirika centre.

years 1962,1963 and 1964 became intensive years of lobbying by the British and the Soviet Union in Kenya. Much development activities and scholarship came from the Soviet while propaganda of Oginga Odinga sending people for Military training in the eastern socialist countries with an aim to later use to overthrow Kenyatta's government intensified⁹⁴. The other allegation was that, two Kenyan students at the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University were under restriction in the Soviet, as was published by London Observer, the Kenyan student leader Benjamin Omburo gave a very strong rebuttal on the rumor⁹⁵. Such were tension that marked British / Soviet relations in Kenya. The British and the US fear were heightened when then KANU's organizing secretary John Keen led a Kenyan delegation to Russia in 1962, which were disappointed that there were only 32 Kenyans compared to two thousand from Ghana, who were studying there. Among the good things they came back with were three hundred scholarship offers to Kenyans.⁹⁶ This very important comparison shows how the discriminatory Colonial settler government was biased in Kenya, where as in other countries were never the same. The above show how the British were keen on remaining influential in Kenya in future. Such bold move to the Soviet bloc irked the British and their fellow imperialist. They did everything possible not to let Kenya go to the eastern bloc. This set stage for future rejection of the eastern socialist military trained and others.Cold war Struggle took centre stage.

The Baku University demonstration over the death of a Ghanaian medical student found dead at the University Park was an instigation of the western powers. What followed were a section of 29 Kenyan students refused to resume studies despite the talk and assurance by the University, in

⁹⁴ Ibid pp 113

⁹⁵Ibid pp 209.

⁹⁶*Delegates get lavish offers of the Soviet aids for Kenya*, East Africa Standard 4th May 1962 pp 13.

what appeared to be a well orchestrated move by US against the Soviet and where the returning students were offered chances in the US.⁹⁷The above was a clear case of Cold War intrigue. The above case was used to depict USSR as not a place to be because of the supposed hostility. As documented elsewhere in the text the 29 exiting students were all considered to places in USA.

Lastly, is the ideological war in Kenya, as the control of the independent Kenya, came into play, ending up with Odinga being outwitted by a combined force of Tom Mboya and Jomo Kenyatta, with the assistance of Britain and USA, the students sent to the east and more so those who went for military training, being used against Odinga, purporting that the trainees were to be used in overthrowing the Kenyatta government

3.4 The Human Resource Crises in the 1960's and the Rush for Scholarships

1960 was a defining moment for Kenya as independence looked inevitable; the 1st Lancaster constitutional conference was held in 1960. National political parties were formed, KANU in March and KADU in May.⁹⁸The jobs reserved for the whites were then up for occupation by the Africans. The above called for a well trained manpower, as stated elsewhere in the text, the Kenyans had to get the requisite trainings and these were only adequately available abroad. The African scholarships by the Soviet and the American were the single most important contribution by the superpower. This came handy when there was a glaring mismatch of provision of a well and adequate trained manpower and the jobs to be left behind by the returning Britons and Asians. Through the provision of the scholarships the superpowers went to the annals of history for having assisted in the creation of the much needed manpower in Africa, thereby solving the

⁹⁷ Daily Nation 24th April 1965

⁹⁸ Okoth A, [2006] *A History Of Africa* Vol 2, East African Educational Publisher, Nairobi pp87

manpower crises of the independence eve. The crises was occasioned by the skewed British education policy in Kenya.

Any estimate of Kenya manpower requirements had to be made within the context of the racially stratified economy, in which most of the high level jobs were reserved for the Europeans. Thus, there was little demand for Africans with more than primary education.⁹⁹

Oginga Odinga did the most daring thing for Kenyans, by turning to his eastern bloc friends for more scholarships opportunities. The Soviet republic in response to the need of a well trained Africans and Kenya included, introduced the Friendship University which was later renamed Patrice Lumumba University, after the African Congo icon.[appendix v]

The scholarships were intended to help develop a competent work force for the future independent Kenya, as most of their courses were technical, something which was not possible in America, where one could only take such degrees after the first general degree. The socialist bloc thus made a contribution to Kenya's nationalism and development before and after independence. This needs to be adequately written about and recognized. By 1961, over one thousand students had been sent to take up scholarships in the eastern European socialist universities¹⁰⁰.

Odinga's turn to the eastern friends was premised on the fact that he never needed the west to continue their influence in Kenya since they were the Kenyan colonizer hence responsible for the skewed educational opportunities for Kenyans. To Oginga Odinga, the British failure to train the Kenyans was seen as prompted by design and not by inability as a well trained African manpower was a threat to the very existence of the British as the work designed for Africans

⁹⁹ Sheffield J.R.(1973)*Education In Kenya: An Historical Study*, Teachers Press, New York, pp 42

¹⁰⁰ Odinga Oginga[1976] *Not yet Uhuru*, East Africa Publisher Nairobi. Pp 187.

then, was mainly unskilled labour. The above was largely contributed by the abrupt and unplanned exit by the British, following the realization that the iron fist method of rule was not able to sustain their rule in Kenya. The coming to power by McLeod in Britain also changed lots of thing in the management of the colonies affairs. The concern for a well trained manpower and educational need for Africans, the US through private organizations and government assisted in providing education opportunities and short term courses in their country.¹⁰¹ The Soviet were not left behind either, more scholarships for technical training were offered and in Kenya they built the Lumumba institute, this institute was latter fought left and right by the capitalist leaning politicians like Tom Mboya and Ole Tipis, who agitated the government to hand over the institution to the Ministry of Education during a debate in parliament.¹⁰²

There arose an opportunity for anybody with some formal education to seek studies abroad or locally, teacher and clerical officers had a chance to seek further education, which also meant a chance to get better jobs.

As the scholarships from the East and the West freely flowed, the Kenyan government also opened doors for further studies at the local Royal University College, in the mature entry programme and part time evening lectures to the people who were already working.¹⁰³

John Odingo Onyango who left primary school teaching, to go to Uganda between 1960s and 1962 to do school certificate, when he came back, landed a job at Shell Oil Company and later changed to Kenya railways. He did state that the Briton and Asians who were the holders of such prestigious jobs were hurriedly leaving the country; hence their places were filled by African in a

¹⁰¹Kurgat P.K[2013], *Education as A Foreign Policy: Kenya Students Airlift to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe 1954-1991* pp101

¹⁰² Daily Nation 13th July

¹⁰³ John Odingo Onyango oral interview on 4th December 2014 at his Menara farm

programme of Africanisation. While working with railways as an accountant, he studied CPA parts 2 and 3 at the Royal College.¹⁰⁴

3.5 Conclusion

The cold war politics as having shaped the Kenyan pre and post colonial period took the centre stage in this chapter. A stage was set through a calculated move, in which the east leaning politician being clearly sidelined. The strong presence of USSR in Kenya has been discussed in the above chapter. Their indulgence in development in the country became so telling with major development activities, the most notable being the building of Patrice Lumumba institute, Nyanza provincial Hospital and more scholarships to Kenyans. The Baku saga being highlighted as a clear manifestation of the underlying mistrusts in the field of provision of more scholarships. The above gave room for discrimination of the east educated in public service employment.

The crisis in manpower created a good ground for more people to seek education in order to fill the chances left by the departing Britons and Indians. It was this crisis which were well utilised by the Americans and the east in order to increase their scholarships, so that they could be seen as the better choice. Each scholarship programme being heavily sought, in what Kurgat calls use of education as a foreign policy.

¹⁰⁴ John Odingo Onyango oral interview on 4th December 2014 at his Menara farm

CHAPTER 4

THE AEROFLOT SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME AND THE CAIRO OFFICE FROM 1959 TO 1964

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the US and USSR rivalry in Kenya and the cold politics and how that gave birth to the two scholarship programmes, in this chapter therefore the discusses the Aeroflot scholarship programme proper; it is a build up from the previous chapter. This chapter gives a brief history of how the scholarship started is given in this section. The requiement for consideration is detailed in this chapter, it is stated generally that any secondary school qualifications aloowed one to be considered. The trek has been described all through to Uganda, Sudan and Cairo city in Egypt is introduced in details, what was happening and other important activities taking place are also stated. The other important aspect of the Aeroflot is the Kenyan ; this office is Kenya Office, Cairo seen in the light of opening doors of scholarships to many Kenyan students. The Embassies aaccredited to Egypt and based in Cairo played an important role, in securing scholrlarships to be given to Kenyans. This chapter acts as the transition point to the eastern colleges. It marked the end of struggle to reach the eastern colleges. The importance of Egypt, and more so Cairo is highlighted in this chapter.

4.1 How Aeroflot started

The Aeroflot scholarship programme was started as a protest move when three people who had won themselves scholarships to the western capitalist countries and whose passport were taken away by the British immigration officials in 1958¹⁰⁵. They were Odhiambo Okelo, who was to

¹⁰⁵ Odhiambo Okelo oral interview on 7 th April 2014 at Yaya centre

go to Britain and was guaranteed by Oginga Odinga, John Wasike who was to go to Britain and was guaranteed by Masinde Muliro and Wera Ambitho, who was to go to Italy guaranteed by Tom Mboya. Armed with their travel documents they went to Mombasa, ready to board a ship to go and start their student life, while there they were confronted by the colonial immigration officers who took away their travel documents and told them that they could not travel. ¹⁰⁶Back in Nairobi they approached their respective guarantors to plead their cases. Only Oginga Odinga offered to confront the government, they visited the Chief Secretary, Sir Walter Courts. They did not get an answer here but were instead referred to the District Commissioner for Nyanza Central, sitting in Kisumu, a P.D. McEntee. In Kisumu they met the District Commissioner who told them that they could not be allowed to travel because they were suspected to be communist sympathizers. ¹⁰⁷Wera Ambitho and Odhiambo Okello secretly crossed over to Uganda and went on to Sudan where they were enrolled to study law at Khartoum University. ¹⁰⁸ From Khartoum they attacked the British colonial government, through verbal utterances. The overthrow of the government by then prime minister who then allied himself to the west, the two then moved northwards to Cairo in Egypt, where the government of Gamel Abdel Nasser granted them political refugee's status and gave out an office from where the two could articulate their liberation crusade(see appendix V). It's the above move that opened doors to several young Kenyans, to seek scholarships to the eastern socialist universities. ¹⁰⁹The became the voice of the eastern leaning nationalist, coalescing around Oginga Odinga. This group was later joined by

¹⁰⁶ Odhiambo Okelo oral interview on 7 th April 2014 at Yaya centre

¹⁰⁷ Odhiambo Okelo oral interview on 7 th April 2014 at Yaya centre

¹⁰⁸ Odhiambo Okelo, Oral Interview, 7th April 2014, at Yaya centre, Nairobi.

¹⁰⁹ Sunday Nation 9th October 20`6 pp 13

Kerungo Kenyariro, who fled arrest in Kenya as a Mau Mau activist. Kerungo Kenyariro was detailed to run an entry office based in Khartoum, while the two others worked at the .¹¹⁰

Oginga Odinga was then Member Legco for Nyanza Central and also the chair of African elected leaders in the legislative council and therefore the head of opposition in Parliament. From 1960 on, after the formation of KANU, he became KANU's external office. Prospective students were recommended by KANU offices in Kenya where Olwande K'Oduol then KANU's Assistant Secretary of Education Affairs recommended students to the Cairo office. Countries like Algeria, Zimbabwe, Angola and others also had their liberation offices in the same avenue, as Kenya office.

The three nationalists Odhiambo Okelo, Wera Ambitho and Kinyariro Karungo, who was a ex Mau Mau from Lari, as earlier said, worked with the assistance of the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser from 1959, who got into conflict with Britain, over Suez Canal, and the United states, which he sought to play off against the Soviet Union. He was also an active promoter of socialist and nationalist movement in Africa¹¹¹

The eastern socialist countries showed a genuine need for technical training for African countries at the eve of their independence. The British colonial government preferred that the Africans sought studies within East Africa or South Africa. They discouraged students wishing to go to Europe or America. Such restrictions were through refusal on the issuance of a passport, which is a prerequisite for one to travel out of the country of origin, the foregoing explains clearly why

¹¹⁰ Odhiambo Okelo, Oral Interview, 7th April 2014, at Yaya centre, Nairobi.

¹¹¹ Daniel Moram, [2002] *Wars Of National Liberation*, London, British library cataloguing- in -publication data pp242

the eastern bloc bound students had to walk out of Kenya, in order to get the passport in Sudan and Egypt, as the British would not agree to facilitate that.¹¹²

The already issued passport could also be cancelled by the colonial government if in their view they thought that the issuance of such would be of some risk. With the increasing influence of communism in Kenya through the labour movements and the workers union, the Colonial government relaxed the rules of overseas studies and allowed the airlift to America, largely because of the Americans and Britain both members of the western bloc.

The British policy of administration, referred to as indirect rule, was in response to the lack of British administrative personnel. The British formulated a system of administration where the lower cadre jobs made up of chiefs and headmen, messenger, clerks, cleaners and others were for Africans while higher cadre from the District Officer upwards were a reserve of the British. With the independence inevitable, Africans had to position themselves with the necessary qualifications to be ready for such administrative jobs. That way, the two scholarships flourish. This is well captured by Murage Stephen Kiura, who justified his application to study in Hungary, by saying . “I want to fill position to be left by the retiring expatriate, and there is the need for agricultural officers.”¹¹³

Towards 1960's the British had a change of mind and joined in the scholarships competition between the eastern socialist countries and America on the other hand, they started to offer some scholarships. Some were offered by the Commonwealth countries, examples of the beneficiaries of such post graduate scholarships to Britain were Richard Odingo who ultimately became a

¹¹²Kurgat P.K[2013], *Education as A Foreign Policy: Kenya Students Airlift to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe 1954-1991* pp118

¹¹³ File no 11(p) 4/3/22, 5/7731 source Kenya National Achieves

prolific scholar and a Professor of Geography at the University of Nairobi. He went to Liverpool University on the Colonial Government scholarship, Francis Ojany who got the Commonwealth scholarship to Birmingham University in United Kingdom.¹¹⁴

The idea of going to the eastern Socialist world could not be entertained by the British colonial government from late 1950s to early 1960s. Suspicion of being a “communist” often made the colonial government to revoke one’s traveling documents as was the cases of John Wasike, Wera Ambitho and Odhiambo Okelo. Thus eastern socialist countries could only avail these scholarships at an outside location like Cairo, Egypt. When such opportunities arose, they were properly utilized, by many Kenyans. The route to Cairo through Uganda, Sudan and finally Egypt to avoid colonial government detection therefore become popular with Kenyans. That way hundreds of Kenyans rushed to get these opportunities. The news of educational opportunities in the eastern socialist world spread in Kenya and prospective students struggled to make it to Cairo. It was after the breakthrough to the eastern socialist countries’ influence and education, that the British and the American increased their chances for Kenyan students to the capitalist

4.2 How the Prospective Students made it to Kenya office, Cairo – Egypt.

The journey from Kenya to Cairo showed how the British made life difficult for Kenyans wishing get higher education. Uganda became the route of many prospective students who wanted to go to the eastern bloc. While in Uganda, one was not yet out of the danger of the unofficial exit from Kenya, Uganda was also under the British, though as a protectorate, while Kenya had been made a colony mainly because of the constructed rail line and the subsequent white settlement along the railways. The risk of escaping on foot using an official route through

¹¹⁴ Professor Richard Odingo Oral Interview on 25th August 14

Uganda was high. If caught, one risked jail term and repatriation, moreover the route were full of wild animals. A few of the trekkers had been to Uganda but none had been to Sudan.¹¹⁵

In Uganda the prospective students had to play hide and seek games with Uganda immigration officials and the police, who did everything to deter the Kenyan escapees who were heading to socialist countries. They tried to be vigilant at the borders to repatriate anybody escaping from Kenya. Uganda was thus the greatest challenge to the prospective students to the eastern socialist colleges.

These escapees got much sympathy from the locals, who often assisted them with the place to sleep, what to eat and they would also show them the way to Sudan and how to dodge the colonial police, the safest routes and offered other contacts to be used ahead. The trekkers were also using these contacts to inform them of the number of people who had passed through their hands. This gave encouragement to the people who were still on the way to Sudan.¹¹⁶ The first major stop in Sudan was at Juba. Some were arrested while in Sudan but these were meant to verify the prospective student's authenticity and whether they had been recommended or not.

In South Sudan, the meeting by members of the Dinka and Acholi community were a happy encounter of a re union with Kenyans, especially the Luos, whom they called 'Omin', meaning brother.¹¹⁷ Those who knew the history capitalized on this very positively. The near similar language helped in communication flow and to cement the relationship. The other unifying factor was the hatred with which most Kenyan, Ugandans and Sudanese regarded the British. Fleeing from the British was a reason enough to elicit sympathy from the locals in Uganda and South

¹¹⁵ Oral interview Odhiambo Olel on 3rd June 2014 at Kisumu Sifa House

¹¹⁶ David Otedo Ongiro Oral interview on 22nd June 2014

¹¹⁷ Oral interview to Dr Enos Ambitho on 10th April 2014 at Muhoroni.

Sudan. While in Juba, the prospective students got the assistance of a lawyer called Garang. Garang was an elder brother of the late SPLA leader John Garang. This lawyer would assist when one was arrested in southern Sudan. ¹¹⁸

In Khartoum, Kerungo Kenyariro was detailed to receive Kenyans and took care of their accommodation and food. This was catered for by the assisting communist bloc countries that saw the incoming students as having rebelled against the British and the USA and that the Socialist bloc had the moral duty to assist.

The prospective students had to be on the list of Kerungo Kenyariro in order to be legible. Kerungo Kenyariro was the Kenya Office, Cairo contact person in Khartoum. There was a very cordial relation between the Kenya Office, Cairo and the authorities in Sudan; relevant persons were well aware of the transiting students.

The Kenya Office, Cairo team was also up to the task and put in place measures to combat the tricks employed by the British, those sent to spy. ¹¹⁹ According to Stephen Odhiambo Olel who went to study Medicine at Peoples Friendship University in Russia, he enjoyed his short stint in Sudan. He said he went up to a Town called Malakan where he bought a goat at 50 cents, after a brief stay went up to a town called Kosti, then to Khartoum, where he stayed in a hotel belonging to a man he called Santino, at the expense of the Sudanese government. Stephen Odhiambo Olel was full of praise of his host Santino

¹¹⁸ Ibid

Sunday Nation 9th October 2016 pp 12 ¹¹⁹

Once a prospective student was cleared to go to study in the eastern socialist colleges, he or she was then qualified to get travel documents.¹²⁰ The vetting by the Sudanese government was very stringent. It was a formality to be accepted in Sudan, once one was recommended by the Kenyan office and allowed to access the traveling papers. It is right to say that only a small percentage failed to attain the threshold of going to the eastern socialist colleges once in Sudan. Their passport to Egypt would then be arranged to take them to Cairo, Partly by road and then by water along river Nile. From Aswan Dam the final journey was done through the desert using the railways. The journey had its dangers as some prospective students got lost along the way.¹²¹

Figure 4.1: A picture of David Ongiro, together with some grand children during the interview



According to David Otedo Ongiro a holder of Diploma Certificate, from Fritz Heckert University, from October 1961 to 3rd March 1963, in East Germany, now 86 years old, said that he walked from Kitgum to southern Sudan, went upto Equatorial Province capital Torit, from there walked to Juba walked for 3 days before being arrested and taken back to Uganda. Later he convinced a sergeant of police at the border that he was going to look for a job in Sudan. He got a lift in a boat carrying some soldiers and a few civilians. His ticket was paid for by the Captain, whom he asked for food who gave them leftovers.¹²²

The Sudanese government took it upon itself to arrange travel document once the Kenyan officials like Kerungo Kinyariro in consultation with Wera Ambitho and Odhiambo Okelo. Further confirmation came from Kenya, where Olwande K'Oduol was tasked by the Committee for the Scholarship in Nairobi to process those to proceed to the universities in the eastern socialist countries. There were other trustees whose recommendations were valued. Sometimes Oginga Odinga himself did the recommendation. In fact being recommended by Oginga Odinga himself carried much weight. For instance Peres Owalla was recommended by Oginga Odinga and even spent in his house before going to Uganda. During her interview Perez Owalla said that she was accompanied by a lady Mary Akala from Uganda whom she met at Oginga Odinga's house.¹²³

In Cairo the prospective students were received by the two officials, Odhiambo Okelo and Wera Ambitho, whom the colonial government in Kenya referred to as “two mad men in Cairo”¹²⁴

¹²² Oral interview David Otedo Ongiro on 22nd June 2014

¹²³ Oral interview Perez Akoth Owala on 21st February 2013

¹²⁴ Oral interview with Nathan Ojunga on 23rd April 2014 at Kandege.

Reaching Cairo was as good as being at the place of the intended study. It meant one had finally succeeded in evading the British trap. The two men had completely outwitted the colonial government, had defied them even after their passport were revoked. they proceeded do a real damage to the colonial government, by opening an ever widening route to the Socialist/ communist bloc, so negatively represented by the western countries. Wera Ambitho had a very strong feeling against the British, and did a lot in total bravery to annoy the British; Ambitho had the knack of annoying the white. He would talk so loudly in the telephone as if addressing a meeting.¹²⁵

The prospective students and the Kenya Office, Cairo officials were well taken care of in terms of provision financial upkeep. Air tickets were provided to different conferences for example the Afro Asian Conference, Peace meetings at Helsinki, Finland and even travel to the meeting of independent African countries in Ethiopia, and to the eastern Socialist cities.

The Kenya Office, Cairo courageously published the details of a conspiracy in a Document which was presented to the 2nd independent African State conference in Addis Ababa {Ethiopia} in June 1960¹²⁶

Cairo was in a class of its own, Egypt was first to be colonized in 1960 in Africa and the first to be decolonized. Thus Egypt become the centre of the decolonization campaign and provided many Africans with liberation space to articulate their decolonization agenda. The above, was made possible by availing offices where most countries opened their liberation offices and provided the connection to the eastern communist countries that fought along Africans to get their independence. Egypt is strategically placed, in Africa and also in Middle East, in the middle

¹²⁵ The Sunday Times November 16th 1988 pp5

¹²⁶ Supplement of *The new Kenya*, September 1960 pp 5

of the Arab world. The Egyptians partnered with the eastern bloc countries to give Africa countries struggling for their independence some assistance.

While in Cairo, the prospective students were subjected to a lot of international exposures. The students were fully orientated to the ideological war or the cold war and were at liberty to learn about communism. The eastern socialist missions accredited to Egypt, knew very well that, telling what they had been denied was first and foremost thing to be availed to the Students.

The Kenya Office, Cairo was not dependent on the British and its aim was to direct Kenyans to the communist countries, they had no apology to make. They did not conceal their disdain for the British way of thinking and behavior. The Cairo two, were not through with the British colonial government for humiliating them and spoiling their plans of going abroad, branding them as communist and here they were in a communist leaning country where they could influence and hit the British back at home as much as possible and without any repercussion from the British, something which could not happen in Kenya then

The broadcast created a lot of interest in Kenya and attracted many listeners. The news of availability of scholarships interested many listeners. This meant the Kenya Office, Cairo created new persons out of the people who came from Kenya. The reading of copies of *New Kenya* opened their horizon while in Egypt; they went to the socialist east a changed people, in terms of perception of the world. The paper *New Kenya* was read and on demand even by students from America. The Kenya Office, Cairo united the African in struggle, they influenced the inclusion of the liberation committee representation of yet to be independent states when OAU was formed, they also pressured the inclusion of one person to handle the issue of non independent state which was supported by Egypt, when it was floated to the plenary, through the influence of

Egypt, Oginga Odinga was unanimously elected to represent the struggling countries¹²⁷. This is to say that the Kenya Office, Cairo played a lot in transforming Kenya image in the Kenyan's run to independence.

4.3 Life In Cairo

Cairo as a city is very important for this study, Cairo acted as a pivotal centre where the early students to the eastern bloc countries had to pass. It marked the middle of the struggle to reach the study destination, it also marked the end of the unknown. From Cairo, what awaited the prospective students could be predicted. Egypt having received her independence earlier than other African states in 1953, became a centre of African struggle against colonisation. The eastern socialist countries, the Arab nations and the Asian continent through Afro Asian solidarity, also joined in the struggle. According to Odhiambo Okelo the chairperson of the Kenya liberation office in Cairo, Algeria was the first to be offered a liberation office, followed by Kenya, other Countries like Zambia, Malawi, Guinea, Angola and Zimbabwe followed as well¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Oral interview Odhiambo Okelo

¹²⁸ Odhiambo Okelo oral interview on 7th April 2014 10 am at Yaya centre, Nairobi.

Figure 4.2 Sekou Toure President of Guinea, a personal friend of Wera Ambitho, right from their time in Cairo time in Cairo



Source. Wera's home library

The communist bloc had attempted to depict the west and their ideology of capitalism as very exploitative, with an insatiable urge of accumulation of wealth. The above, sold very quickly to the Africans who were still reeling under the exploitative colonization, by the capitalist West. That way, most African states getting their independence such as Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda among others were influenced by the socialist belief. Tanzania's Ujamma policy and Uganda's Common Mans Charter were both socialist in orientation.

Given that Egypt at independence was socialist leaning, the eastern socialist countries opened their embassies in the city. The scholarships were sent to Kenya office, Cairo from the eastern socialist universities. Cairo therefore became a special place for eastern socialist graduate. Wera Ambitho was nick named "Cairo," when he finally retired in his Muhoroni farm, where he died and was buried¹²⁹.

As Kenya under the British rule was denied direct contact with these countries, the London and Kenya Office, Cairo became the centre from which Kenyan Students were routed to the socialist countries¹³⁰

They stayed in Cairo until each scholarship process was finalized. This depended on what one had applied for, according to one's qualifications and availability of college chances, the first process was to do an application and suitability ascertained, then one had to struggle to reach Cairo, once a chance became available, the Kenya Office, Cairo de aware. Cairo was the centre of many organizations. Thus Cairo was a good meeting point for those in struggle and those who were ready to give a lending hand.

The organizational embodiment of the "United Front" through which the Russians and Chinese proposed to exploit the "Bandung Spirit" of leaders such as Nehru, Sukarno and

¹²⁹ David Otedo Ong'iro oral interview on 22 June, 2014

¹³⁰ Ibid pp 187

Nasser was the "Afro- Asian People's Solidarity Organization" (AAPSO). Having failed to make an impression in India, it established its headquarters in Cairo. For a time the Middle East became the "front line of the struggle."¹³¹

4.4 The Qualifications for the Aeroflot Scholarship Programme

On who qualified to be considered for the Aeroflot scholarships, a sample of letters with recommended names, their grades and the courses they intended to take and to which countries, have been included. The first recommendation letter dated 23rd February 1961, had Andrew Ochola Oyaya aged 26 then, having completed Senior secondary and other five which included Martin Yaya aged 20 then,¹³² who was among those interviewed by the researcher, and currently teaching at Moi University in Eldoret. In a letter addressed to Poland Embassy in Cairo, dated 3rd July 1961, the following were recommended, Lawrence Keringo Chege aged 24 completed his secondary, John Odera Owala aged 22 completed preliminary Secondary school, and Edward Njenga Kamau aged 20, completed preliminary Secondary, Jacob Opala Otieno aged 20, and completed General Secondary school and Barack Colly Ogola 21, completed secondary school¹³³.

In yet another letter to Bulgaria Embassy in Cairo dated 4 /11/1961, by Odhiambo Okelo¹³⁴, recommended the following persons. Cyprianus Okoth aged 25 who completed higher secondary school and obtained general overseas Cambridge school certificate, recommended to do

¹³¹ Adie W.A.C (Jul. - Sep., 1962), *China, Russia, and the Third World*: Source: The China Quarterly, No. 11 pp. 2002 Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the School of Oriental and African Studies Stable URL: .Accessed: 01/11/2013 09:21 pp202

¹³² A letter dated 23rd February 1961, Wera Ambitho home library.

¹³³ A letter addressed to Poland embassy in Cairo dated 3rd July 1961, Wera Ambitho Home Library.

¹³⁴ A letter to Bulgaria Embassy in Cairo, dated 4 /11/19 61 by Odhiambo Okelo , Wera Ambitho Home Library.

Medicine Radiology, then Sylvan John Olwochi aged 23, senior secondary and overseas school certificate, recommended to take Medicine. Gordon H. Nyagudi aged 20, who completed his Secondary, was recommended to take electrical Engineering and lastly, was Wilfred John Ngaja aged 20, who completed secondary school was recommended to study general Agriculture. Thus to say most of the scholarships beneficiaries were secondary school graduates, who missed out the chances in East Africa and could afford to get scholarship and means to go the Eastern Socialist countries

.Figure 4.3 Wera seated middle row, then Kerungo, next Peres Wera then Odhiambo Okelo with some students at Cairo



Source. Wera's home library

Those with good grades but were left because of the cut off points, were offered good courses and more so the one of their choice. For example Stephen Odhiambo Olel, with a second class division, was admitted to Friendship University in Russia to study Medicine. Likewise Zebedeo P. Omwando who was admitted at Universidad de Oriente, Santiagoin Cuba to study international law. Thus to say the grades one got, dictated the courses to be offered. KAPE, Cambrige School Certificate and General Certificate of Education, were the certificates mostly considered, other than the above, were any studies at secondary School. The eastern bloc had entry points for almost all levels of secondary, which incuded course in artisan metal works.

The Kenya Office, Cairo did placement of students in collaboration of the colleges and the Embassies which wee based in Cairo. Because they had their qualifications, it was easy to decide which colleges suited each applicant. The colleges also had their own way of ascertaining levels of students, after reaching the said colleges. The colleges administered suitability tests, to ascertain each student individually, one of such aperson was Bethwel Kiprono Lagat who went to Bulgaria and left in 1965 with no degree. He was not happy to have been asked to go back to high school in Bulgaria, a situation which forced him to come back to Kenya without a degree.¹³⁵

However, despite the above competitiveness on the course choice, the British and by extension the independent Kenya government thought of such trainees as ill prepared and some on return were made to study a course at the university in Kenya, a certificate in Philosophy.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Kurgat P.K[2013], *Education as A Foreign Policy: Kenya Students Airlift to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe 1954-1991*pp 124

¹³⁶Albert Okeyo oral interview on 14th March 2014 at Kajulu in Kisumu.

4.5 Kenya Office, Cairo and the eastern bloc struggle for Kenya's independence.

It's Odhiambo Okelo and Wera Ambitho who received the scholarships from the eastern socialist embassies based in Cairo and distributed them to the prospective students who had struggled to reach Cairo. Nicholas Olwana letter dated 25th October 1960 ref, *the alternative way to Khartoum without British Passport*¹³⁷.

The duo in Kenya Office, Cairo also sorted out the Universities each student was to attend, they also received recommendations and placed the students accordingly. They called various Embassies to tell them about the students already at the Kenya Office, Cairo informing them of their academic qualifications. The Kenya Office, Cairo before the expiry of three days was to inform the Egyptian immigration office of the arrival of any prospective student in Cairo.¹³⁸

The Kenya Office, Cairo also received money from the eastern socialist countries for the students' upkeep while in Cairo, as they waited for their scholarship processing. Such upkeep came from the Afro Asian Solidarity. Together with the Socialist countries they gave out funds to be used by the people already in Cairo and for the running of the Kenya Office, Cairo.

As the Kenya Office, Cairo was closed down in 1964, the closure meant that those who went to the eastern socialist universities were now to become the ministry of education responsibility. The biggest problem was how to disclose those in the Military academy in the iron curtain countries, this was because, other than being Odinga's initiative, the British who now had a military attachment with Kenya were definitely going to be against this.

¹³⁷ Letter by Nicholas Olwana to the secretary mission for External affairs of Kenya African National Union dated 25th October 1960, source Wera's Home Library.

¹³⁸ Letter to Egyptian immigration office, Wera's Home Library

When the Kenyan Minister of Defense Njoroge Mungai visited Czechoslovakia to know how many Kenyans were studying Military science in the country, he was told there was none¹³⁹.

This brought a lot of suspicion and a good reason by the capitalist leaning politicians to try and find out the real aim of Oginga Odinga. The rumors of the intention of the overthrow of the government intensified all manner of suspicion which characterized the cold war times. From thence on Oginga Odinga suffered one accusation after another.

The 1950's witnessed heavy Soviet technical, economic and military assistance to liberation movements particularly in Africa. This was meant to win the Africans soul and generate a match to socialism.¹⁴⁰

The other way the eastern communist world assisted in the Kenyan struggle for independence, was through the sustenance of the Kenya Office, Cairo and to allow other activities like the publication of *Kenya Now* which propagated the release of Kenyatta in the print Media to unprecedented level, which no other paper did or could do elsewhere in the world and especially in Kenya.

As the numbers of the eastern bloc bound students kept on swelling, the Colonial government started sending some people to pose as students to the Kenya office, Cairo, in order to spy. These people were denied entry to Egypt on suspicion of being spies, they were Vincent G. Mwangi Thegeya this was around February 1961, and Noah Mwani Samson, while others who managed to reach Cairo, got stranded there. On his return from a Cairo visit, Moi s complained to Oginga Odinga on the stranded students at the Kenya office, Cairo¹⁴¹ and in a quick rejoinder Mr Oluande Kodual castigated Moi's complaint asking him, why Kenyans should still be walking

¹³⁹ Oral interview Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo on 24th June 2014

¹⁴⁰. Kurgat P.K[2013], *Education as A Foreign Policy: Kenya Students Airlift to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe 1954-1991* pp78

¹⁴¹ *Daily Nation* on 12th November 1962

in order to get education, the other complaint by Moi was about the holding of passports of the stranded students, Olwande asserted that most of the students were without passport after being denied the same by the British colonial government.¹⁴²

The spying missions on those headed to the eastern socialist universities were intensified, especially for the Kenya office, Cairo officials. Their letters were also opened and the contents checked, this made the Kenya office, Cairo officials to use some aliases, for example Wera Ambitho was referred to as “Oke Nyang”, Kerungo was referred to as “Beshir”.. Odhiambo Okelo was known as “Rateng”, all these were meant to confuse the British who were very determined to stop them, and get to know their plan.¹⁴³

From 1964 the government poached students who had gone to the eastern socialist colleges to the western bloc countries mostly to USA as a way of discrediting the communist east studies, Joseph Kamotho is a classical example, and James Oleche Odola. The Baku University saga written on elsewhere in this work was a climax of the same.

Despite the colonial government talking of the eastern socialist Countries so negatively, the Kenyans increasingly continued to go to the eastern bloc. Their spying mission was soon discovered and means of going to Cairo became controlled. This made stringent vetting to be done at Khartoum before any body was issued with the travel document to go to Cairo.

4.6 Were the three officials of Kenya office, Cairo Nationalist or just Propagandist.

It has been generally agreed by scholars that nationalist are persons who in one way or another contributed to the efforts of decolonization of their countries¹⁴⁴. The struggle for political

¹⁴² File KPO/CIR/F.54[6]II Marked Oluande Koduol, Wera’s library

¹⁴³ Odhiambo Okelo oral interview on 7th April 2014 at Yaya Centre, Nairobi.

¹⁴⁴ Dr. Mildred A I Ndeda on the paper presented at Coesria’s 13th anniversary celebrations, Dakar, Senegal.

independence took many forms including arms struggle, forum discussions, articulation at international conferences in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This took place in very many countries in Africa. In Kenya the early nationalist movements were pioneered by the returning soldiers from Second World War. In Algeria for example, nationalist in their demand for decolonization people carried flags and banners reading “Down with colonization and live free Algeria” during the Setif Rising in May 1945¹⁴⁵. The above shows that nationalistic movements were never limited to bush arms struggle alone. In the above context where then do the Cairo three fall?

It is the belief of this paper that the Kenyan nationalism should not be confined to the arms struggle and political agitation from within the country alone but also from outside. The people who contributed to the attainment of our independence from outside the country by organizing for higher education from outside Kenya which was blocked by the colonial Government and by bringing in the support needed for independence and advocating for the release of Jomo Kenyatta can never be seen any less than Nationalist.

The Kenya office in Cairo did not work in isolation but worked alongside other nationalist from other countries who were as well given offices in Cairo to articulate liberation Movement.

According to Odhiambo Okelo, the chairperson of the Kenya Office, Cairo, which was first and foremost a liberation Office; they lobbied for these scholarships from the socialist countries, who were giving them help in struggle against the colonizers the British.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Assa Okoth pp 218

¹⁴⁶ Oral Interview Odhiambo Okelo on April 7th 2014 at Yaya centre in Nairobi 11 am

Thus, the eastern socialist assistance to Radio Cairo had an effective contribution to Kenya's struggle for independence and Africa in general; it also shows how both print and broadcast media contributed to the struggle for the same.

As the call on Kenyatta's release gained international attention, courtesy of the pressure from the eastern socialists led by Moscow, through the Kenya office, Cairo. In *The New Kenya* issue of July 1959, there were such bold agitations on the release of Kenyatta, a sample of the writing are below, - **Must Jomo Kenyatta die a prisoner!!He must be released now!!**¹⁴⁷ -Kenyatta's "Guilt" and "Crime" was his Work to Save His Country Kenya and his people. **Release Kenyatta Now!! Kenyatta to Attend Forthcoming Kenya constitutional Conference.**¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ The New Kenya July issue 1959 pp 7

¹⁴⁸ Ibid pp 16

4.4: A blank forms to be filled by Kenyan petitioners for the release of Jomo Kenyatta

**Jomo Kenyatta Remains
The Kenya African Leader**

DID YOU SIGN THE
"RELEASE JOMO KENYATTA" CARD?

KENYA OFFICE


Date _____ 19____

FOR INDEPENDENCE AND JUSTICE

CAIRO - U. A. R.

To

The Prime Minister,
of Great Britain,
10, Downing Street,
LONDON,
U.K.



JOMO KENYATTA

**FREEDOM AND RELEASE OF
JOMO KENYATTA**

For the sake of peace, security and humanity in Kenya, and in accordance with Article 9 of the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ;

Convinced of the injustice to the African people of Kenya in deporting and restricting Kenyatta ;

I/We _____ support fully the just and overwhelming demand by the Kenya Africans for the immediate release and freedom of Jomo Kenyatta and strongly appeal to you and the British Government to grant the demand.

Signature(s) _____
Address _____
Date _____

To be returned to :
Kenya Office,
5, Ahmed Heshmat Street,
Zamalek — Cairo,
U.A.R.

I/We have supported the release and Freedom of Jomo Kenyatta.
Name(s) _____
Address _____
Date _____

Africa Year 1960

THE "NEW KENYA" WISHES HER DEVOTED READERS HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR 1960, IN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

Source. Wera's home library

Forms were printed to be signed by Kenyans as a petition for the release of Kenyatta by the Kenya Office, Cairo. As this was picking up in an unstoppable move, the colonial government of Kenya through the Governor Sir Patrick Renison described Kenyatta in a very negative light saying that, he was an African leader to darkness and death.¹⁴⁹ The struggle for independence of Kenya was pioneered by the returnees of the Second World War veterans under the Kiama Kia forty, which developed into Mau Mau rebellion of early 1950's, which¹⁵⁰ ran up to Mid 1956, In October 1956, the Mau Mau resistance came to an end with the capture of Dedan Kimathi by the British forces. It had been a heroic effort and any British hope of Kenya being a white man's country was forever shattered.¹⁵¹

From then the struggle took a different dimension away from the arms resistance, which was somehow defeated. The next stage was based on wits, arguments in the public forum, like the rallies and in Legislative Council where the eight elected member sorted it out with the white counterparts. The other forum for the articulation of the struggle for independence was through international forums like the all African Conference and Peace Conference, Afro Asian Conference and the UN General Assembly where Kenyan issues were raised through other independent powers like United Arabs Republic.¹⁵² The Eastern Socialist World assisted the Kenyan delegations to internationalize the Kenyan struggle. The Cairo duo was very pivotal in

¹⁴⁹ Orwenyo J N [1973] *The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 66*, pp 108

¹⁵⁰ Ochieng W.R[1989] *A Modern History of Kenya 1895- 1980*, Evans Brothers Limited , London pp 137

¹⁵¹ Ibid pp 137

¹⁵² Gamal Abdi Nasser Letter to Cairo Office dated 30th April 1959, Wera,sHomeLibrary.

arranging the Kenyan delegations participations and in some conferences they represented the country themselves.

The Soviet Union distinguished herself as defenders of Kenya's right to self rule, by reaching the Kenyan masses through the radio in English and Kiswahili in the Radio Moscow broadcast.¹⁵³

In 1960 one of the greatest political development in Kenya closely related to the struggle for independence was the demand of the freedom of Kenyatta release and his colleagues. This was led by Aleksandr Vitmanovich, a member of the Board of the Soviet African Friendship Society, a professor at Moscow State University and an acquaintance of Jomo Kenyatta during the latter's student days in Moscow, is representative of most Soviet broadcasts to Africa during this period.¹⁵⁴

The approach of reaching the masses by way of radio service resonated well with most Kenyans, as many were reached unrestricted, this method made the British to be on defensive to the ever charming and determined Soviet Union. The Kenya office, Cairo also got a chance of airwaves in Cairo, Egypt, where matters affecting Kenyans were highlighted. The above opened up a front that could not be contained by the British, as the Moscow and the Cairo radio station were not under their control. The quotation below was put on the New Kenya Magazine. They were facilitated to do publication called The New Kenya [refer to figure 4.5 below].

CALLING YOU FROM CAIRO

Listen to the Voice of Kenya from Middle East on 16.15 meter band short wave

At 7.10 p.m (East African time) every Tuesday.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Ibid pp 106

¹⁵⁴ ibid

¹⁵⁵ The New Kenya vol. II January 1960 No 3 pp 17.

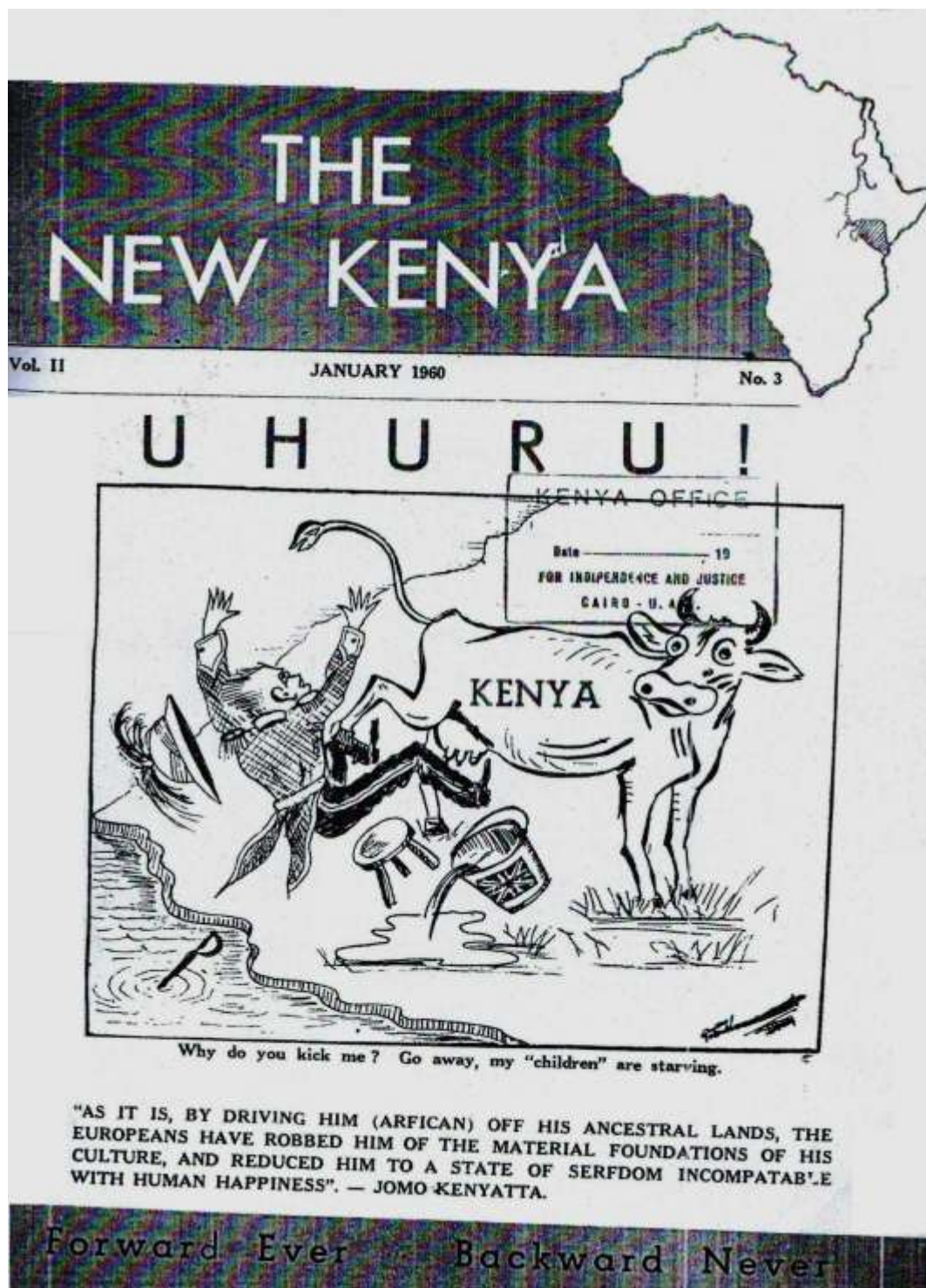
. The two organs were used; the Radio and the newspaper were both very popular. The Cairo Radio.

President Nasser (who at that time had welcomed three of our students who travelled by the same route to Cairo-namely Kamwithi Mwinyi, Rev James Ochwata and Okore Seda) offered his country's hospitality and Kenya office was opened in Cairo, from where it issued the publication, NEW KENYA and after the formation of KANU, broadcast Kenya news regularly over Cairo Radio, as the voice of Kenya, the Cairo office was later to play a vital role in helping students to travel out of Kenya to take up scholarship a board. It was in Cairo that we made our contact with liberation figures in other part of the continent, among them Felix Moumie of the Cameroon, Kenneth Kaunda, Chipembere, Simon Kapepwe, Joshua Nkomo and the Rev Sithole. Dr Mohammed Fayek, the UAR director general of African Affairs, gave us invaluable assistance in assembling a press and making Pan Africa contact.¹⁵⁶

The people offered offices at Cairo were all natiolist by the standard of other countries representation. It would be naïve not to reffer to them as such. they represented Kenya in international confernces as discussed else where in this project. It's us as scholars of the history department to see them as such or not.

¹⁵⁶ Odinga Oginga[1976]*Not yet Uhuru*, East Africa Publisher Nairobi. _pp186.

Fig 4.5 A front page of a magazine the New Kenyan Vol 2 January 60 No.3



Source. Wera's home library

The above was made possible by the fact that Kenyatta had a short stint of study of anthropology at Moscow State University and among those agitating for his release from Moscow were his former lecturer Professor Aleksandr Vitmanovich,¹⁵⁷. The paper confronted the British colonial government at point blank. Oginga Odinga and other socialist leaning politicians and other Kenyan nationalists, joined in the struggle which was highlighted by the paper *New Kenya*. Pius George Okoth in a write up entitled *In the footprints of great writers*, said that

When I arrived at the broadcasting house in Nairobi on February 6th 1963, I was met by an old friend Wera Ambitho known at the time as “Voice of Kenya in Cairo” Ambitho, a man of tremendous charm, put every spanner in the work in his struggle against colonial rule. A close friend of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Seko Toure and Kwame Nkurumah, he utilized the broadcasting system of Radio Cairo to pour Venom on Colonialism, urged the Mau Mau freedom fighter to wipe out the citadels of colonial rule, and called all Africans to stand behind their nationalist leaders.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Orwenyo J N [1973] *The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 66* pp 106

¹⁵⁸ The Sunday Times November 16th 1988 pp5

Figure 4.6 Wera Ambitho and his wife Peres Wera an Aeroflot graduage from Cuba



Source. Wera's home library

From thence the British relaxed the rules and opened the doors to some students to make the choice to go to the eastern socialist world, some of the very first people to benefit from this near open policy were Hezrone Manduku, Peter Wambura and Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo¹⁵⁹

The Egyptian government apart from giving them the much needed refugee status, also gave a good building to use free of charge, in articulating their issues as exiled nationalist. The full recognition by the Afro Asian and the eastern bloc leadership made these leaders improve their working relation. In a letter to the Kenya office, Cairo in the second paragraph Yousuf El Sebai says

We would like to express our best wishes, for the success of the new office and take this opportunity to wish our brethren in Kenya a quick victory over the forces of imperialism.¹⁶⁰

They had open visit to most of socialist eastern cities and the Arab world through the connection of Abdel Nasser. Under the United Arab Republic and the eastern socialist countries' cordial relation made life in Cairo comfortable.¹⁶¹ Two examples of Kenya office, Cairo representing Kenya at the Belgrade Conference on non aligned Nations on 1st September 1961 and a one man representation of Kenya at the World Peace Conference in Stockholm between 8th to 13th May 1959, by the chairman of Kenya office, Cairo Odhiambo Okelo,¹⁶² who gave a speech on behalf of Kenya. A second example was through a representation of grievances to the UN by the U.A.R, in a letter to the office by Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Hezrone Manduku oral interview at Kissi town on 4th July 2014

¹⁶⁰ Letter dated 26th April 1959 by the secretariat of Afro Asian people Conference signed by the secretary general Yousuf El Sebai, Wera home library.

¹⁶¹ Oral interview Nathan Ojunga on 23rd April 2014

¹⁶² *The New Kenya* vol ii July 1959 issue.

¹⁶³ Letter by Gamal Abdel Nasser dated 30th April 1959, Wera's Home Library.

b Kenyan nationalism is a subjective feeling of kinship or affinity shared by people of Kenyan descent. It is a feeling based on shared cultural norms, traditional institutions, racial heritage and a common historical experience

4.7 Oginga Odinga's Visit to Kenya office, Cairo and the Socialist bloc countries in 1960

Oginga Odinga was initially very reluctant to go to Cairo for fear of the British in particular and other capitalist leaning countries, led by the USA. Oginga Odinga had been under assault from the western countries which had continually referred to him as a communist agent. Despite the rebuttal statement by Oginga Odinga, the accusation continued. This was partly because of the two officials who were strongly pro eastern socialist countries and who were seen to be Oginga Odinga's personal representatives in the socialist countries. According to Odhiambo Okelo, it was the Cairo team that introduced Oginga Odinga to the communist world.

There is no reason at all why he should not visit these countries. I do not question nor does the government question, the right of the Hon member, or of any other member, to visit these countries if he so wishes. We accept that all Hon members of this council do indeed hold responsible positions, Mr Speaker, we expect them to behave responsibly and this the Hon Member for Nyanza Central has not done. He appears to have entered into certain arrangements which the government must regard, and does regard as a threat to our security; not perhaps as a threat to our security today, but as a threat to Kenya in the years ahead. Since the Hon member returned from his travels, there has been a sharp increase in number of African students who have left Kenya and who are now studying at educational institutions in Soviet bloc countries. Before the middle of this year the number of these students barely reached double figures. The number today is rather more than 50, more half of whom have left in the last few months, and there are indications that others are on their way. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the greater number of these students were inspired by, actively encouraged by and, in many cases, financed by, the Hon Member for Nyanza Central.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ The New Kenya "Uhuru na Vumbi" March April 1961 no 8 pp 15

The Minister of Internal Security and Defense G.J. Ellerton, further accused Oginga Odinga of planting the seed of communism by helping Kenyan students to go to Soviet bloc,¹⁶⁵ G.J Ellerton further said that these students would come and infiltrate the country with communist ideas. He was contributing to a motion by Tom Mboya on the withdrawal of Oginga Odinga's passport upon his return from his visit to the communist countries; Oginga Odinga in his reply in the house told the Minister that he had received some £10,000 which he had used to take students abroad for studies. He told the Minister to his face that he hated colonialism and imperials and if he had a force, he would use such force to eject them.¹⁶⁶Oginga Odinga further said that the Minister had accused him of introducing communism.¹⁶⁷Oginga Odinga while contributing to a motion moved by Tom Mboya on the withdrawal of his passport by the British Colonial Government, after coming back from his tour in East Germany, USSR, and China, he denied the accusation.

While in Egypt, Odinga was introduced to several personalities in the Abdel Nasser government and several heads of missions of Embassies of Eastern European countries accredited to Egypt¹⁶⁸ but under the watchful eye of Britain and CIA.

Oginga Odinga was aware that the British and the CIA were closely monitoring his movements and he had a pre notion of what awaited him back at home.

¹⁶⁵ Orwenyo J N [1973]*The Soviet Union And Communism As Factors Among Kenyan Intelligentsia in Kenya's Internal Problems 1957 to 66*pp207

¹⁶⁶ The New Kenya vol ii March April 1961 pp 19

¹⁶⁷ Ibid pp 20

¹⁶⁸Odera Odinge[2010] *My Journey With Jaramogi* - African research and resource forum. Nairobi ,Pp 62

but despite this attitude by the government towards him regarding the Visit to Cairo and his contact with the communist countries, Odinga felt that he had now been initiated to the socialist ideals and his relationship with Eastern countries was fully cemented¹⁶⁹

Odinga had this to say on his Cairo's visit, that he saw the Kenya office, Cairo in action on his way home from 1960 Lancaster house conference, where Odhiambo Okelo, Wera Ambitho, Abdalla and him had a talk together, which helped him clear his mind about Kenya's next steps and strategy for Independence and Kenya's vulnerability to imperialist intrigues¹⁷⁰

Odinga Odinga was two years later forced to give a statement on his visit to the eastern socialist countries, where he also talked about the students in the eastern bloc. In a press release entitled *Let The Of Kenya, Africa And The World Know*, given on 28th June 1962 at Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch, London W. 1

I was a teacher before I joined politic and it is still in my blood to assist students. It is in this vein and realization of the urgent need of our people to train for independence that I decided to send our student to Socialist countries. This need not imply my preference of Socialism. In fact I have also send tens of students to study in America and other Capitalist. We must strike a balance in dealing out friend in the East and West. In order to attain this our must study in both East and West so as to know them better¹⁷¹

According to some declassified materials, on 16th October 1960 Odinga left Kenya for London with a brief stop in Cairo on the 17th October 1960. While there he met Wera Ambitho of Kenya office in Cairo. Ambitho who had organized for a meeting between Odinga and Mr Khalifa, for Odinga to provide answers to certain issues the Egyptian intelligence service wanted him to

¹⁶⁹ ibid pp 63

¹⁷⁰ Ibid pp 187

¹⁷¹ Odinga Odinga Press Release *Let The Of Kenya, Africa And The World Know*, given on 28th June 1962

clarify. It turned out the issues that needed clarifications were to do with the money the communist had sent him through Cairo.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the Kenya office, Cairo proper has been introduced, what role it played was enumerated, the officials working in that office introduced. The paper has strived to highlight the importance of the office in securing the much needed scholarships. The connection this office made with the eastern socialist countries has been put to light. The climax of it was the visitation of Oginga Odinga a Kenyan highranking official from Kenya whose invisible hand was behind all the happening in Cairo and the eastern communist colleges. Cairo was seen as the centre of activities connecting Kenya and the eastern bloc, this chapter has emphasized on the journey from Kenya to Cairo, which was a must route of the prospective students. The chapter has noted that the route followed was almost the same as was corroborated by most of those interviewed. The trek had its best and worst moments as well. Newton Ochieng Ongiro son of one of the beneficiaries of the Aeroflot remembers a story told by their father David Otedo Ongiro that he once spent on a tree top.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Newton Ochieng Ongiro oral interview 21st June 2014 at Kandege'

CHAPTER FIVE

STUDYING IN THE COMMUNIST EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

5.0 Introduction.

In this chapter the types of degrees offered have been discussed. Generally it talks about reaching the envisaged colleges in the socialist Eastern colleges. The most popular universities and the country where they are situated have been stated in this chapter. Both academic and social life are discussed here. The subjects on offer have been clearly written on. Some notable students have been listed, together with the degrees they attained, from which university and the country. This chapter shows in details how the technical subjects were offered to the students who merited them. It clearly shows that most early Doctors came from the eastern colleges and Engineers, who went on to be very successful. In essence this chapter is a show case of the technical and the prestigious courses offered to Kenyans.

5.1 Arrival At The Colleges And The Subject Offered To The Students

Some prospective students travelled alone while a few lucky ones went in company of Kenyan counterparts in the same plane and started new life as a team from Kenya, which made it more bearable, the students experiencing a totally new life in a far off foreign country, where the culture was quite different from the one in Kenya.

The Kenyan students were poorly informed on communist doctrine, because the British colonial governments were unwilling to give room for the communist ideology. According to Professor Peter Odhiambo Ndege.

The British had a higher regard for their education system and had less respect for education quality of other European countries and the American as well but could hear

nothing of the communist system of education and by offering scholarship to Kenyans the Socialist wanted to prove the British wrong¹⁷³

Russia took the lead in the provision of the scholarship chances, they went further to have a special University called Friendship University, which was latter named Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, ostensibly to take care of the growing number of African students, which rose considerably from merely 72 at the beginning of the 1959-1960 academic year, the number of foreign students from sub-Saharan Africa climbed rapidly to over 500 by 1961 and some 4,000 by the end of the decade.¹⁷⁴

Most of the subjects offered in the east were in technical fields. They trained technicians, in the field of agriculture, Engineering, Military Science, Economics and most importantly Medicine. Very important was Mathematics and topics like Algebra and Geometry were tested for dmission purposes. Some students failed such administered exams and were referred to otherlower vels.¹⁷⁵

Other subject offered were Engineering majorly civil and mechanical, which were very much needed for independen counry whose industrialization take off was still very low, agriculture and Economics were given much empasies for the envisaged economic development. Colleges such as Patrice Lumumba formerly Friendship Universiy were tasked to prepare tailor made courses to suit African special needs. The courses were availed, what mattered was how to reach the Universities. Prospective students struggled to reach Cairo once cleared by the Kenyan committee.

¹⁷³ Oral Interview Peter Odhiambo Ndege at Moi University, on 26th May 2014 at Moi University.

¹⁷⁴ Hessler J, (Jan. - Jun., 2006), *Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War*, EHESStable pp 35

¹⁷⁵ Oral Interview Geoffrey Momany 3rd June 2015.

5.2 The Most Popular Universities and Countries

The most popular colleges were,

Moscow State University,	Russia
Friendship University (latter Patrice Lumumba)	Russia.
Baku University,	Russia
Leningrad University	Russia
Kiev University	Russia
Universidad de Oriente, Santiago..	Cuba
Universidad Central de las Villas	Cuba .
Hipezig college	East Germany
Karl Marx,	East Germany
Fritz Hecht (FDGB)	East Germany.
Budapest Technical University	Hungary
Hungary State University	Hungary
Bucharest University	Romania.
The Federal Institute for International Technical Cooperation	Yugoslavia,
Ljubljana	Yugoslavia,

The Zagreb University,	Serbia
Belgrade University,	Serbia
Technical School Number 30,	Czechoslovakia.
Universita Leisotipada	Czechoslovakia.
Stresdiska Universita	Czechoslovakia. ¹⁷⁶

5.3 The Nature of the Scholarships

The scholarships were mostly meant for the countries which were colonized by the British, whose hatred of the communism was known. They propagated the negative side of communism. Hence the need through education opportunities to show what communist truly was¹⁷⁷. The more the British talked against communism, the more Kenyans went to the communist bloc universities.¹⁷⁸

Other than Cairo, some scholarships were applied for directly from Kenya and from London, but before the closure of the Kenya office, Cairo in 1964, all the prospective students had to pass through this office. For example Raila Odinga received his recommendation and ticket from Nairobi, traveled to Tanzania by road then flew to Cairo in 1962, and went to study in east Germany. He was spared the long trek others endured. The other persons from those interviewed who did not walk were Jeremiah Ogindo Yamo, Geoffrey Joel Manduku and Hezrone Manduku. The same case with Peter Wambura, who went through Entebbe, Uganda. He too flew directly

¹⁷⁶ The students individual files from Wera Ambitho's home library

¹⁷⁷ Oral Interview Patroba Owiti Otiende 14.04. 2013

¹⁷⁸ ibid

to Cairo. The independent Kenya leadership had an approach which included accepting both the western and eastern blocs' scholarships equally, should the opportunities be availed. Hezrone Manduku admitted that, he was spared the trek when he managed to get a passport which was difficult to be given to anybody intending to go the socialist bloc then.¹⁷⁹

The scholarship to the eastern bloc made Oginga Odinga to be seen in a negative light by the British. What was his motive? Was what occupied the minds of the British and the Americans. They had no worry to the scholarship to the west, it is then safe to say that the scholarships to both sides of the cold war divide were only meant to further and perpetuate the difference in ideology, thus Kenyans in particular and Africa in general benefited from the cold war associated scholarships. Tom Mboya was given many chances to America for his loyalty to capitalism while Oginga Odinga was rewarded with scholarship to the eastern communist countries for slightly bending to the socialist east. The end results were the benefit to Kenyans and the production of educated elite.

5.4 Some of the notable Aeroflot graduates

Dr Naftali Enos Odundo Ambitho, From 1963 to 1968, who after Cambridge School Certificate, which he sat for at Maranda Secondary School in Bondo Sub County, briefly worked with Kenya Railways before resigning, to go to Hungary in 1961. He went through the Cairo route, studied Economics at Hungary state University, graduating with a PhD in Economics, on full scholarship for 8 years. He was recruited in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, by a team of Officers from office of the President, who had flown from USA, when he come back Kenya in Mid 1968

¹⁷⁹ Oral Interview Dr Hezrone Manduku, on 4 07.2014, in Kissii town at Hema Hospital.

and joined the Ministry of planning, rising to the position of Deputy Director of Statistics, before retiring in 1993.¹⁸⁰

Figure 5.1: Dr. Enos Odundo extreme left standing, with his college mates, Hungary Technicial University



Source. Wera's home library

Dr Oburu Odinga, studied Economics in Russia, upon his return worked in Western Province as Planning Officer, before seeking election as a councilor in Kisumu. He was further elected as

¹⁸⁰ Oral interview to Dr Enos Ambitho on 10th April 2014 at Muhoroni.

the Mp of Bondo, and became Assistant Minister for Finance in Kenya Coalition Government and now a nominated MP.

Okoth Alambo 1962-1969, studied industrial Economics in Bucharest University in Romania, graduating with a Master's degree. He came back to Kenya in 1969. He then became one of the most distinguished economists, at the East African Community. He was an industrial economist until EAC collapse. He was made the Director of Trade and Training in East and Central Africa, the headquarterd at community centre, Nairobi. After the collapse of East Africa Community he got employed by COMESA, where he rose through the ranks to the highest position. He was sent for specialized training in Switzerland. When he came back he introduced the containerisation of goods at the ports which became better for transportation on roads. On retirement Okoth Alambo built a school cum college named after him, where he was buried when he died in 1994.¹⁸¹

Dr Otieno Oyoo 1960-studied Economics in East Germany. Upon his return, he joined politics and became the first MP for Winam, before his death on a tragic road accident, along Ahero-Kisumu road.

Paul Muok Handa, went to Kiev University and studied Economics.

Dr Godfrey Osir, went to Kisii high school, and sat for Cambridge School Certificate. He joined Hungary State University and studied medicine, came back in late 1960s, and after brief employment by Government, went to join private practice in Kisumu.

¹⁸¹ Oral interview Professor Richard Odingo on 28th August 2014 at the University of Nairobi

Dr Julius Onyango Nyawanda, studied Medicine in East Germany. Was posted to Kenyatta hospital where, he established the first cancer Centre, in his capacity as the First Radio therapist in Kenya. He is now in private practice in Kisumu.

Dr Lawrence Nyakeri, studied Medicine at Hungary State University after working with the government, he went to Private Practice.

Dr Geoffrey Joel Momanyi 1959-1966, of Masaba Hospital, was a student of Kisii high school, before joining Kamagambo Medical school, a course which he didn't complete, because he got a place, at the Aeroflot scholarship programme. He joined Leningrad [St Petersburg] University in 1959, took one year studying language, then 6 years studying Medicine. On his return was posted to Kenyatta hospital for internship, After registration, he was posted to Kamiti prison, as a medical officer for one year, then joined the army medical section as a medical officer in 1969, worked in Gilgil, Nakuru, Nanyuki and finally to Forces Memorial which he and Colonel Waruru formed, rose to the position of Major, retired after thirteen years of service. 81 - 86 private clinic, then started Masaba hospital in Nairobi and then late on started Masaba hospital in Chulaimbo near Kisumu.¹⁸²

Dr Stephen Odhiambo Olel, 1960- 1968, studied Medicine at Friendship University Russia He studied medicine for 6 years at the Peoples Friendship University, qualifying as a Doctor, came back in 1968, posted to Kenyatta Hospital then Doctor in charge of IDH (Bagadhi) MOH Kirinyaga, then Laikipia before retiring to private practice in Kisumu, where he practices to date.

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¹⁸² Oral Interview Geoffrey Momanyi 3rd June 2015.

¹⁸³ Oral interview Odhiambo Olel on 3rd June 2014 at Kisumu Sifa House

Dr Pius Achola, 1959- 1967, after his secondary school at Mumias, he then joined Strathmore School. He joined Leningrad University in Russia where he studied Medicine, upon his return to Kenya; he did his internship at Kenyatta National Hospital, then called King George Hospital. He then proceeded to the Netherlands for post graduate degree in public health. When he came back he was employed with the Ministry of Health, then joined the Nairobi City Council in the department of Public Health, he rose to become medical officer in charge of Public Health. He was later transferred to the Ministry of Health in the position of the Deputy Director of Health, before being forced to retire early. He then went to private practice before he died.¹⁸⁴

Dr Hezrone Manduku, From 1963-1969 5th July, studied Medicine at Friendship University in Russia. Upon his return, he did his internship, was posted to Nyanza provincial hospital from 1970, then to Kakamega hospital then to Meru as MOH where he worked up to 1975 when he resigned to venture into private practice and that is when he started Hema hospital which grew to become a level 4 hospital and has a big work force. He has twice been elected as a Member of Parliament and risen to become an Assistant Minister.¹⁸⁵

Dr Said Ahmed, after his secondary school joined Hungary State University, did medicine now practicing in Thika town.

Dr Alfred Machage, became Medical practitioner after his medical training in Russia. Now Senator Migori, after serving as MP for Kuria Constituency. He is the senior most politician in Kuria land now.

¹⁸⁴ Oral Interview Geoffrey Momanyi 3rd June 2015

¹⁸⁵ Hezrone Manduku oral interview at Kissi town on 4th July 2014

Teressa Achieng Oduol, was wife of Olwande Kodual, who was the organizing chairperson of the Aeroflot study program in Kenya, she worked at Pumwani in Nairobi and became the hospital Superintendent.

Dr Josep Misoi after his secondary school, he joined the Aeroflot programme, on coming back he joined the government as a veterinary Doctor, then joined politics and became MP for Eldoret South and rose to the position of Assistant Minister in Moi's government.

James Atteng, After his secondary school he went to Belgrad, in Yugoslavia to study Youth Movement, between 1963 upto 1964. He was later among the three officers who formed the National Youth service and rose through the ranks to become a Commandant of N.Y.S. He is now retired at his Fort ternan farm after his service was abruptly terminated.¹⁸⁶

Joel O.Midhune, After completing his secondary school, joined the trek, through Cairo and joined Friendship University in Russia. Upon his return, he joined the Ministry of Land and became a Provincial Lands Suprintent, before his retirement.

Joseph Kamotho, 1963 - 1964 Joined Baku University and left during the riot of 1965, then defected to the USA

Martine Yaya Ochieng, 1961-1970, after his senior secondary school, went to study Textile Engineering in Czechoslovakia. He is now teaching at Moi University in Eldoret.¹⁸⁷

Moses Kiprono after secondary school education joined in the rush for further education in the Aeroflot programme and studied Economics in East Germany. He later became MP for Kipkelion and Speaker of the National Assembly.

¹⁸⁶ Oral interview James Arruwa Atteng 25th August 2014

¹⁸⁷ Oral Interview Martine Yaya Ochieng at Moi University on 26th May 2014

Ondiek Kabouyu Nginja, after secondary school, he went to study Bio Technical at Ljubljana University in Yugoslavia, on completion, got a job at Mexico under Professor Barlough of Rock Fella Foundation, which specializes on seed, fertilizer and pesticides. On coming back to Kenya, he was employed with the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute [KARI] as a senior researcher.

Patroba Otiende Owiti 1960- 1963, took a Diploma in cooperatives, was employed in the Ministry of Cooperative and Development, rising to the position of Senior Cooperative Officer, a position he served until his retirement.¹⁸⁸

Peter Wambura 1962 -1968, was one of the most successful socialist trained individuals outside politics. He went to Maseno School and sat for his Cambridge School Certificate. He travelled to Uganda and flew from Entebbe and then to Cairo, where he was given a scholarship to Budapest Technical University in Hungary. He studied Civil Engineering. On his return to Kenya in 1968 he joined the Ministry of Roads. In 1972 to 1975 he was a superintendent of road ,1975 to 1978 he was promoted to senior superintendent of road,1978, 1979 chief roads engineer,that time he become the registrar of engineers in Kenya,1983 to 1993 he was permanent secretary transport and communication ,1993 to 1996 he was moved to the ministry of agriculture then retired .He was appointed the chair of Marsabit plane crush,he was appointed the commissioner in the public service commission later on, he was appointed the chair of Sony Sugar Company and finally he quit in 2003 and retired at his farm in Yimbo in Bondo sub county.¹⁸⁹

Raila Odinga 1963 – 1970, studied at Maranda Secondary School, traveled to Dar es Salam, flew to Cairo, from where he joined, the University of Leipzig East Germany, where he studied

¹⁸⁸ Oral Interview Patroba Owiti Otiende 14.04. 2013

¹⁸⁹ Oral Interview Peter Wambura through Cell phone on 24th May 2015

Mechanical Engineering. On his return, he was employed at the University of Nairobi, Department of Mechanical Engineering, then Kenya Bureau of Standards, before getting to politics. In politics, where he was elected as the MP for Langata from 1992 upto 2013, from 2007, he became a co principal in Kenyas Coalition Government, now head of Kenya opposition party CORD.

Okoth Rawo studied at Budapest Technical University in Hungary where he took Technical Education. He taught in other Kenyan Technical colleges, like Thika, Kabete, and Kaiboi Technical schools and rose to become Deputy Director of Education in Kenya.

Barrack Onyando Waseka, after secondary school, he went to Romania, through Cairo, to study civil Engineering at Bundachrest University in Romania. Upon his return he joined Chemelil Sugar Factory as a resident civil engineer, until his retirement.¹⁹⁰

Professor Andrew Achola Ayayo, 1961-1967, was one of the Aeroflot graduates, he came back and taught at the University of Nairobi institute for population study, rising to the director of the institute before he died suddenly.

Kamwithi Mwinyi, one of the earliest Kenyans to go to the socialist world. He became politician and a minister in Moi's government

Herbert Oloo, After his Secondary school in Kenya, he went to Ukraine, where he studied Law. On his return he tried to secure employment with the Government, but in vain. He is now working in one of Eldoret law firms as an Administrator.

Perez Akoth Owala, 1960- 1964, Studied social work in Cuba, later became the wife of Wera Ambitho, while retired at home in Muhoroni, became involved in lots of Social Work and church developments.

¹⁹⁰ Oral Interview Mary Waseka at Karos village in Fort Ternan on 18th June 2014 at 3.00pm

Figure 5.2 Perez Wera in Cuban military uniform with unknown white lady



Source. Wera's home library

5.5 Life at the Eastern Socialist Colleges

From Cairo in Egypt, the prospective students flew directly to the cities that hosted their colleges armed with the letters of scholarships. The flights were part of the scholarship package. Once in the hosting city airport, they were met at the airport and taken directly to their colleges.

The students were now able to see for themselves what the two opposing ideologies were, having come from Kenya where capitalist practice was in place. The books on Karl Marx were free readings and the world revolution in Russia in 1917, were fully read, something which was not allowed in Kenya. The other communist ideas were put into practice. According to Enos Odundo the life at the university was full sponsorship, hence it was very enjoyable and during the first

year the students learnt the languages, which were the medium of communication. From then on, is when the courses commenced. Some students and lecturers from the host countries were very supportive of the foreign students. They assisted in the mastery of the language used. The language course could take up to two years for one to gain mastery, from then one could choose a suitable course. Some courses that people applied for were not manageable to them and some Students changed courses. He went on to say that the period that one was not in class, they took a walk to different site as an exposure to the students¹⁹¹ Countries like Bulgaria, Hungary and even part of Russia, had very good rapport with African students. From then on he took his studies seriously and went for a degree course in civil Engineering, from Diploma. Both married and the unmarried, were involved in relationship with the white ladies.¹⁹² The scholarships were inclusive of the stipend. According to David Otedo Ongiro the East wanted to outdo the west in the upkeep of the African students. Over and above the students were involved in studies which were their mainstay in the east colleges. One had to work in order to pass his or her exams. Too much indulgence in over drinking made some students to fail. This made most of them to take longer period to graduate more than the expected time, some took up to 12 years to graduate with a bachelor's degree. Some students other than changing courses, changed colleges and sometimes even countries. Some never got any qualification and came back without any degree.¹⁹³ Dr Benjamin Gome who went to Russia to study Veterinary Medicine, The students had their unions uniting the whole student's body, there were separate countries student union, the African countries union, at each University and the whole student body to the socialist bloc, whose chair

¹⁹¹Oral Interview Martine Yaya Ochieng at Moi University on 26th May 2014

¹⁹² ibid

¹⁹³Kurgat P.K[2013], *Education as A Foreign Policy: Kenya Students Airlift to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe 1954-1991* pp 124

.at one time was Geoffrey Joel Momanyi.¹⁹⁴ These foreign languages were the medium used to teach, the other problem was Cultural misunderstandings which was surely inevitable under such circumstances: the students came from diverse cultural backgrounds and most suffered culture shocks, while Soviet citizens had little or no prior exposure to non-European ways of life. Since those going to attend colleges were young men and ladies, they got involved in some romantic life with the local ladies and this was a real source of friction between Africa students and the local men. The issues of racial discriminations in some universities led the leaders of the self-styled Union of Black African Students in the USSR to send a letter to Khrushchev asking for energetic measures to be taken against racial harassment. Their first example was an incident at a Moscow State University (MGU) party, when four Russian students allegedly assaulted a Somalian student for trying to dance with a Russian girl.¹⁹⁵

Figure 5.3: Interview with Mary Waseka at Fort Ternan on 18th June 2014



¹⁹⁵ Hessler J, (Jan. - Jun., 2006), *Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War*, EHESStable pp 36

Most of those interviewed confessed that wine and women formed part of everyday student lives. According to Mary Waseka the widow of Barrack Waseka who went to Bucharest University in Romania, between 1966 to 1968, her late husband talked fondly of the general life at the eastern Universities.¹⁹⁶ She further asserted that her husband was forced to lessen drinking and concentrate on books, when his picture was taken while drunk and sleeping on his alcoholic vomit.

Some students married the foreign ladies; the late Dr Otieno Oyoo got married to a Russian lady, however upon his return to Kenya the Russian lady went back to Russia. The above also happened to Patrick Magutho also a Russian trained in Metrology who also married a Russian woman who stayed for a while then went back, the above named person upon return got so much into taking the whisky and this affected his ability to engage in meaningful development.

¹⁹⁷ Okoth Alambo who went to study in Romania came back to Kenya with a Romania wife.

An African's "lack of culture" or Soviet racism? The authorities, in this instance, had valid reasons for adopting the first explanation. Hussein had been a trouble maker ever since his arrival in Moscow in fall, 1959; his six months of study were punctuated by brawls and drinking bouts, at least one police citation for the violation of public order, and expulsion from the dormitory for rowdy behavior and noisy scenes.¹⁹⁸

In an interview with Dr Hezron Manduku at his level 4 hospital in Kisii town on 4th July 2014, he talked well of the life at Friendship University which was created for the Africans and other third world countries, he said the university they went to had a culture diversity which had students from India, Pakistan and other third world countries. The University was named Patrice

¹⁹⁶ Oral Interview Mary Waseka at Karos village in Fort ternan on 18th June 2014 at 3.00pm

¹⁹⁷ George Opiyo Oral interview on 18th August 2014 at St Augustine Kandege at 1.30 pm

¹⁹⁸ Hessler J, (Jan. - Jun., 2006), *Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War*, EHESStable pp 36

Lumumba an icon of struggle in Congo whose death was blamed on the western countries. He said that there was no racial discrimination at all. Manduku said he enjoyed every bit of life in Russia from 1963 to 5th July 1969, when he returned to Kenya the day Tom Mboya was assassinated. To show his confidence on what he achieved in Russia, he sent one of his sons to study surgery in Russia, who works as surgeon in his hospital Hema.¹⁹⁹

Religion in the eastern bloc was not very much cherished, the people of the eastern socialist countries equated religion to the capitalist west, which they claimed was being used in suppressing the Africans through colonization. They felt that religion was the opium of the poor. Thus the west in return claimed that communist was the axis of evil.

Another student in this category who took up drinking and changing universities and courses was Amos Odongo Ambitho a younger brother of Were Ambitho, who did not complete his studies and used the excuse of his father's death to come back to Kenya never to return to Europe. Too much drinking had made him fail to cope with academic life. Dr Benjamin Gome who went to Russia to study Veterinary Medicine, got too much into drinking as was exhibited on his life style upon his return. Some Students came back with second wives other than the ones they left when they went for their studies.²⁰⁰

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the life of the students while in the eastern socialist countries. Colleges and countries are identified and some specific courses are discussed. The academic life was discussed here and the challenges faced while there. The life outside academics was fully discussed, thus

¹⁹⁹Oral interview Hezrone Manduku on 4th July 2014 in Kissii town at Hema hospital at 10 am

²⁰⁰ James Odero Hongo, Oral Interview on 31.07. 2014 at Shirika Centre, Fort tenan

wine and women, were the luxury of the full scholarship in the socialist world. The Patrice Lumumba friendship university becomes an admiration of the students in the eastern bloc, the depth with which the communist countries went, to show their hospitality to the student is highlighted and the challenges of some students faced are also discussed.

CHAPTER SIX

EASTERN QUALIFIED PERSONNEL IN KENYA'S DEVELOPMENT FROM 1962

6.0 Introduction

This chapter basically analyzes the content the Kenyans who got from their education in the eastern bloc had. There were much prejudice on the east trained, were they indoctrinated by the communism ideology or had they been radicalized. The study syllabus is scrutinsed and their aims are put in the right context. The above is the focus of this chapter, where extreme cases are documented.

6.1 Were the students indoctrinated by communism or radicalized

The former students showed mixed reaction to their supposed indoctrination to communism. Some of them like Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo, showed a very strong tendency of being pro communism. This was motivated by the fact that he was among the military science trained, who never got jobs on their line of training, while others like former permanent secretary Peter Wambura showed very little to do with communism. In his oral interview, he confirmed to have learnt nothing on communism, while studying civil Engineering at Hungary Technical State University.²⁰¹

Most of the African students were in USSR; because it was the country which was at the fore front of the ideological war or as the de facto leader of commmunism as a mode of production. As a leading proponent of communism, they tried to do what they could to upstage the west in general in the world. This project did refer to the students as “political students” given the

²⁰¹ Oral Interview Peter Wambura through Cell phone on 24th May 2015

timing of the scholarships. Indeed some students got enmeshed in political activities back at home by way of writing some pieces, more so those in Russia and Cuba.²⁰²

Some of the returned graduates showed some very strong communist tendencies and were very complacent with life, Wilfred Bamori Mutai who worked with Barack Onyando Waseka at Chemelil Sugar factory for over 20 years said that, Barack Onyando Waseka was never in a hurry to acquire much wealth, nor was he aggressive to get a promotion at his place of work. He further asserted that even the land where he eventually retired, was almost given free of charge to him by a Mrs Abura, Bamori attributes this to the communist tendency, of not wanting to acquire much wealth.²⁰³

Some of the students in the socialist eastern colleges were radical in nature and as some materials were literally meant to radicalize the students, for example a Moroccan paper observed that "Soviet foreign policy has during the past few years been aimed mainly at disintegrating NATO. The African body of students in socialist countries had called for the creation of a Union to mobilize them for struggle. Courses on explosives and sabotage, weapon training, and guerilla warfare were conducted. In March 1959, after a meeting at the World Peace Council at which the Chinese pushed their line on mass struggles for peace. For example a Cameroonian student wrote in his notebook " Terrorist activities must be carried on ... carrying the struggle into the country.

A Kenyan student Pius Zebedeo Omwadhho who was in Cuba, in a letter to Odhiambo Okelo of Kenya Cairo Office, showed a strong radicalized stand while contributing his view to the Kenyan struggle for independence should take, he expressed a strong opinion for a revolution the Cuban

²⁰² Zebedeo Pius Omwadhho letter to Odhiambo Okelo, Wera Ambitho Home Library

²⁰³ Wilfred Bamori Mutai oral interview on 18.08. 2014 , Nyangoma,

way, as a panacea to Kenyan political problem.²⁰⁴ In yet another letter Omwadhho wrote to Cairo Office, saying that,

Kenya is facing the weakest and the most reactionary government. It would seem that since his release Mzee has leaned heavily on Mboya. All this together with the imperialist maneuvers and determination to keep Kenya as their everlasting stronghold in Africa, we consider that we have been too hopeful that things will be worked out alright after independence.²⁰⁵

The first question that faces the wielders of Kremlin power is that of defining the Soviet interest in detaching the third world from its ties with the "imperialist bloc" and attaching it to the "camp of socialism and peace." Put in this bald form, the question can have only one answer: The triumph of Communist-led revolutions everywhere is desirable and "inevitable." The indoctrination was clear in some colleges, Scholarships for training in the Soviet Union and in particular at the Patrice Lumumba University was strongly oriented towards ideological indoctrination.²⁰⁶ The above will be taken in view of the University itself, being named after the slain Congo leader who was clearly pro east, hence their former students, were mostly seen in negative light, by the Kenyan state actors.

The Communism propagated by the western bloc and the communism practiced by the eastern bloc, were very different, same as the capitalism talked of by the eastern bloc was something else, the Kenyans who visited the eastern socialist countries had a different story to tell, they were full of praise of the system. The biggest question remains why the silence in the eastern socialist countries' connection, was it a blunder or was it a tactful retreat?

²⁰⁴ Z.P Omwando letter dated 22.5.1962, Wera Ambitos Home Library

²⁰⁵ Z.P. Omwadhho letter dated 31.7.1962, Wera Ambitho,s Home Library

²⁰⁶ OAU with supper powers pp 22

The purpose of this research was not to compare the two scholarships but in terms of the type of the courses, it is acknowledged that the eastern college admitted Kenyan to offer courses like medicine, engineering, agricultural engineering which are considered to be more prestigious, and further allowed them to their best colleges unlike in America.²⁰⁷ Such were the courses offered at the eastern socialist universities, example are Stephen Odhiambo Olel, Owino Kamariwa, Hezrone Manduku studied medicine, Raila Odinga, Ngeso Okol, Barrack Waseka and Peter Wambura studied Engineering, were among the people who benefited from such courses. Peter Wambura did indicate that when he joined the ministry of road in 1969, he was asked to keep his notes well for the ministry.

The USA was offering mainly humanities, for example Peter Kibisu who was sponsored by the AFL-CIO to study at Harvard University's Graduate School for Business Administration, Arthur Ochwada who also went to Harvard in Trade Union. Odinge Odera one of the 81 beneficiary of the first airlift, to America in September 1959, who went to South Dakota University where he graduated with Political Science and Journalism. These are some few comparison, not that all those who went to the eastern bloc were getting such prestigious courses, but those whose qualifications were good, got the courses they merited, as indicated in their applications for scholarships.

The other biggest difference was, on the full board of the eastern bloc scholarships unlike the USA scholarships which were not fully funded, and students were made to work to supplement their studies. For example Zaphania Nthiga in his letter dated July 1st 1963 to Cairo office wanted a place at the eastern socialist countries because of lack of upkeep money, while studying

²⁰⁷ Oral Interview Peter Wambura through Cell phone on 24th May 2015

in the US²⁰⁸. Mr. Lawrence Gathinji Mwithi of Inter American University in his letter to Cairo office on May 2nd 1963 wanted a chance to further his education at Moscow University in Economics.²⁰⁹.

6. 2 Monitoring of Eastern Bloc Educated Kenyans

The eastern educated returnees were viewed with some suspicion by the authority, they were spied on, were given lowly placed jobs and in cases .where there were no alternatives they got what they deserved, while the western educated were given good jobs as their education was not doubted the way the eastern education was. President Jomo Kenyatta had mandated Kimani Wanyoike to do a human resource recruitment of the western educated Kenyans, in his letter to Cairo dated August 10 1962, in which he wanted to know, the figures, or names, numbers of those studying in the socialist states²¹⁰

The government of Jomo Kenyatta started showing ideological cracks, Jomo Kenyatta felt very insecure with the communist east continued influence with Oginga Odinga as their point man, the education which was first considered as beneficial to Kenyans, were now considered Odinga's personal initiative, which was to serve his personal interest. Erastus Agalochieng said that the government did not like the eastern socialist trained, largely on suspicion that they were not well trained and also being seen on political prism, as Oginga Odinga's project. He was in full praise of the former permanent secretary Peter Wambura, a graduate of the Aeroflot, whom

²⁰⁸Zaphania Nthiga in his letter dated July 1st 1963 to Cairo office wanted a place at the Eastern Socialist countries. Wera private library.

²⁰⁹Mr. Lawrence Gathinji Mwithi of Inter American University in his letter to Cairo office on May 2nd 1963 wanted a chance to further his education at Moscow University in Economics. Wera Ambitho private library.

²¹⁰ Kimani Wainyoike letter to Cairo Office dated 10.8. 1963 got from Wera's Home Library

he described as keen and serious in his work. He further stated that some eastern graduates remained lowly placed in service, such as Engineer Mbatia ²¹¹ Engineer Agalochieng benefited straight from Kakamega School, from the commonwealth scholarship which took him to Auckland University, in Newzeland, where he studied civil Engineering, upon completion, was employed as a civil Engineer with the Ministry of roads where retired as officer in charge of roads and national tall stations in 1994. The eastern socialist graduate returnees, though given jobs were spied on all over.Falling in this category were those trained in Military techniques, the above was confirmed by Henry Ochieng Obiero, who was among the first African to be promoted to the rank of inspector by 1950, just before emergency, who in 1960 benefited from the commonwealth scholarship, he said that the east trained were put under 24 hours surveillance and their letters were opened by a special unit of National Intelligence based at the post Office.²¹²

The stage was set for the subordination of the Aeroflot graduates, led by the west leaning politicians and the west trained top civil service, this dichotomy created division of ‘them vs us’ and bred feelings of contempt and deep hatred. It is these feelings that were manipulated through a carefully crafted propaganda using parliament and political party KANU.

They were treated with much suspicions as the west intensified their propaganda that such people were bent to overthrow Jomo Kenyatta’s government, among them were Onyango Arigi, Masara Kunga, Musungu Festus, Isaac Otieno, Odera James, Simidi Mutama, Adeya Oloo, Ojunga John, Alando Moro and Oyamo Ogindo all of them in a signed Memorandum to Kenya Government complained of discrimination in employment while some of their colleagues were

²¹¹Erasto Agalochieng Oral Interview on 26.8.2014 on cellphone .

²¹²Henry Ochieng Obiero Oral Iinterview at Kisumu, Ofafa Hall on 17th / 9/ 2014

indeed employed, such as Abdalla Karungo who was posted as District Officer in Thomson Falls, Arnold Njenga District Officer at the Coast, Peter Kimani as security officer and Nicholas Gatitu in the armed forces.

It was the work of the dreaded Special Branch to watch over the eastern bloc educated and those who were seen to be close to Oginga Odinga. This period marked the intensification of opening of private mail suspected to be of bad content; the post office was staffed by the officers of the special branch with clear instructions to open certain mails.²¹³ In a Sunday Nation documentary on 9th October 2016, highlighting on content of a declassified documents by the British, Odingas movements were closely watched and pictures of his important documents taken without his knowledge by the British intelligence officers.

6.3 The Scholarships: Educational or Mere Political Advancement?

The two scholarships, namely Aeroflot and Airlift were basically to advance the type of ideology a country practiced. Odhiambo Okelo in his oral interview did admit that they turned to the eastern communist world for scholarships in order to counter Tom Mboya growing political influence in Kenya because of the Airlift to America.²¹⁴ In what is titled political student, that most of students in recent past have been at the forefront of political agitation, it goes further to state that,

None of the students knew he was receiving money from the CIA. It was transferred to the association from a foundation used as a CIA cover. ICFTU and WFTU are both liable to communist or other influence, especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America. ICFTU, in particular is obviously assisted by an extremely wealthy source²¹⁵.

²¹³ Henry Ochieng Obiero Oral Interview, Kisumu, Ofafa Hall on 17.9.2014.

²¹⁴ Odhiambo Okelo Oral Interview on 7-04.2014 at Yaya Centre

²¹⁵ Kenya Weekly news No 2142, Friday March 3, 1967 pp 7

The USSR on the other hand tried tirelessly to have student go to their country for studies as the struggle on the control of the future intelligentsia continued.

In the early 1960s, these conflicting agendas and channels of influence affected the Soviet response to foreign students' political activism. Government-to government scholarship programs were typically premised on Soviet political neutrality? The USSR's putatively disinterested commitment to helping train "national cadres" in useful professions? but many of the first African students to arrive were supported by Soviet "public" organizations, such as the Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity (SKSSAA), an affiliate of the Cairo group; the Committee of Youth Organizations (KMO); the Committee of Soviet Women (KSZh); or the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VTsSPS). Ostensibly unofficial bodies (in practice, their leading officials were chosen by the Communist Party Central Committee apparatus), these organizations openly applied political criteria in awarding stipends, and relied on known "progressive" parties and youth movements in Africa to vet candidates on their behalf. This could occasionally create embarrassing situations for the Soviet foreign policy establishment, as it did in 1964 when Cameroon's Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested detailed information on Cameroonian students in the USSR. Virtually all 87 of them had arrived illegally in 1960-1962, with passports from the radical African states of Guinea, Mali, and Ghana; and naturally all had been recommended for, and received stipends from, Soviet "public" organizations on the basis of their political activism.²¹⁶

6.4 The products of Aeroflot compared to Kenyan educated

Because the Kenyans who went to the local universities were first class achievers at Cambridge certificate of education, they were held with high esteem. However, there were some Aeroflot graduates who had second division at Cambridge School Certificate, people like Peter Wambura, who proved that they were no push overs, when they joined the Ministry and rose to the highest level in civil service, thus Permanent Secretary.²¹⁷ It would be right to argue that once employed individuals had an open opportunity to prove themselves and rise along their career. Dr Geoffrey

²¹⁶ Hessler J, (Jan. - Jun., 2006), *Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War*, EHESStablepp 40

²¹⁷ Oral Interview Peter Wambura through Cell phone on 24th May 2015

Momanyi, was among the two doctors who started the Memorial hospital.²¹⁸ The fame of going to study abroad in some of the most prestigious universities also carried some weight, the level of studies and what one studied.

After completion of their studies, most of the students opted to come back to Kenya, with Certificate, Diploma, Degrees, Master degrees and PhD. The urge to return was great since most of them had left their families back and needed to reunite with them, the need to apply what they had learnt at the colleges and the enthusiasm to fill in the positions in the civil service being left behind by the British after the attainment of Kenya's independence. For example David Ongiro was posted to the Ministry of Land and Settlement where he worked in Sotik, Muhoroni and Ainabokoi. While serving in Sotik, a District Commissioner of Kericho District accused David Ongiro of being a communist, Ongiro confirmed and this led to his transfer²¹⁹. The British were leaving and the returning students were assured of at least some form of employment, even those with Diploma certificates were directly employed. Some of Aeroflot scholars were not fully accepted from the onset of their employment, but only proved themselves at their work place. The west scholars already in the government system presided over the discrimination of such scholars. Peter S.O Amuka aptly puts it; because the West disliked the East scholars they fought pitched ideological battles in writing in the literary world. Sonyika's bitter exchanges with leftocrats is but one of the many examples.²²⁰

Some of the socialist Eastern European educated elite and nationalists were radically ignored by the government of independent Kenya.

²¹⁸ Oral Interview Geoffrey Momanyi 3rd June 2015.

²¹⁹ Daniel CA Kenduywo Oral Interview on 5.8. 2014

²²⁰ Okoth G.P [2000] *Africa At The Beginning Of Twenty- First Century*, Nairobi University Press, Nairobi. pp 13

Odhiambo Olel thought that, it was better to go into private business than be in the suspicion that the government had treated them to. It will be recalled that it was under the care of Dr Odhiambo Olel that that the opposition leader Oginga Odinga died in 1994. This is proof enough of the trust Oginga Odinga had in him as one of the people he mentored through the eastern education.

Any literature on communism and Karl Marx were not even allowed in Kenyan public universities. The environments were never conducive for such communist writing and contribution.²²¹ It is this glaring academic and historical gap that this paper intended to open up.

Only students trained on technical fields where the socialist countries were known for were readily accepted. An example was Martin Yaya Ochieng a textile engineer from Czechoslovakia, who did not get employment in the government; instead he went to the private sector working for an Indians. Currently he is teaching at Moi University at the textile department. The other person who failed to get a job was Herbert Jackson Oloo who became an administrator at law firm in Eldoret, having failed to get a permanent job with the government.

Figure 6.1: Picture of Dr Manduku and the researcher at his hospital in Kisii Town



A classic example here was Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo, who had benefited from Military training in Czechoslovakia Military Academy in Brno, which he said was the best military school in that country, where he learnt with personnel from the Soviet Union, Syria, Cuba and other foreign students. He was sent to this school through a scholarship from Cairo Office at the recommendation of Oginga Odinga, who convinced him to leave the colonial police to join Military College. He upon return in 1964 and refusal to work in the army became the head of Oginga Odinga's security details and later worked as an elected councilor of Onjiko ward.

Professor Frederick CF Otieno a lecturer at the department of Medicine at the University of Nairobi argues that the good work done by Oginga Odinga was later trashed by the independent Kenya government as not of national importance, but a personal adventure.²²²

The government from 1965, when the political temperatures rose, saw the eastern socialist graduates in a negative angle and were it not for the technical training they received, the Kenyan government would have simply ignored a of them.²²³

Figure 6.2: Researcher together with Jeremiah Ogindo Oyamo and His Wife, 24th June

2014



6.5 Conclusion

The spying of the communist / socialist was a thing of common occurrence and knowledge. The independent Kenya became favorable to the capitalist bloc and the Kenya government of Jomo Kenyatta from mid 1960's had little respect for anything eastern bloc. Daniel Arap Moi took the suspicion of the communist east a notch higher, where traveling to the eastern bloc alone would land one in problem and reading Karl Marx material earned people jail term.

This chapter also has also brought out the connection between the communist world led by the USSR and the struggle of the Kenyan independence. The USSR interest in Kenyatta's freedom, was based on the fact that he was most a senior most politicians and as one of their own when Kenyatta was a student at Moscow state University.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 CONCLUSION

In this last chapter the whole work has been summarised, with the question as what were the real motives of the scholarships keep on begging for answer. The scholarships remain a very important contribution of the white men to Kenya, but their reason remains elusive. The conclusion below, therefore, attempts to summarise all that has been covered. It looks in general if what has been put as a problem, objectives and the hypothesis have been answered or confirmed. It attempts to see if the work has indeed added on the stock of knowledge and if the work has closed any academic gaps. In the conclusion, the theory chosen and methodology is assessed if each served the work well.

As the research went on, certain fundamental questions were creeping along the way, but since they were not part of this project's objective, attempting to answer them in this work could have widened the objectives unnecessarily. They have been outlined below as recommendations.

This research found out that, Kenya was not only colonized physically by the British, but was influenced in their thinking to an extent that, the independent Kenya in the process was no better than the colonizer's in their approach in running of government affairs. Though Kenya was not actually part of the cold war at the eve of independence, its subsequent behaviors was not different from that of imperialist Britain and their friend the USA, this is what has been referred as neo-imperialism.

The two systems of scholarship programmes were never aimed to empower the Africans but were for political expediencies. The capitalist west having seen the growing influence of the

communist decided to train Africans in order to have an upper hand in the elite class, hence be able to control the political discourse of the future independent Kenya.

That the airlift scholarship was a tool for the western bloc to check the influence of communism and the eastern bloc to further their entry into Africa, while the Aeroflot was to influence the Kenyan to think of communism as a better option.

The travel to the eastern socialist countries before independence had hurdles to be cleared as no passport to the eastern socialist countries was easily given. This travel embargo goes on to run through this project as being propelled by fear of communism, the socialist east also made very bold steps to assert themselves in Kenya by way of scholarships provisions in many academic fields which were indeed more prestigious than those offered by the West. Thus in the field of Engineering and Medicine, the former students made very good strides in Kenyans development.

The exact number of the eastern socialist trained could not be easily ascertained as the very first lot to go for studies were traveling mostly without proper documentation from Kenya. Some travelled alone or in small companies, thus the pre and post colonial governments could not have a clear numbers, only the Kenya Office, Cairo had them and they did not declare them to the government.

That the government policy was not to discriminate the eastern socialist educated but this was only paper policy as the West educated were given the first preference. There were some very visible discrimination of the eastern socialist countries educated, more so those who did military science, were openly denied a chance to do what they were trained on, despite the fact that their skills were badly needed. If there is anything that runs through the project, then it is the discrimination of the Eastern trained. It's what Samuel Makinda calls Russo Phobia by the

colonial government and the Kenyatta government²²⁴. The military pact made between Kenya and Britain in 1964 made it even more impossible. ²²⁵Martin Ogindo Oyamo had to make it outside military job despite having got the best training as an officer. This work wondered why the students who studied military science were blatantly denied a chance to be in the barracks if not for the British patronage of our military, right from pre independence time and after they were called in to quell the 1964 East African army mutiny.

This research was a culmination of a desire to know in details of the people who defied all odds to go to the eastern socialist countries, in order to get the rare Education then, their endurance in order to achieve this, the time to study their endeavor is now that our country has a look East policy and with the collapse of communist bloc.

The work striving to bring out very clearly the various personalities and their achievements in both public life and private sector. Chapter five of this work selected some notable personalities of the Aeroflot, some of whom were highly placed. Some of them who were discriminated are also mentioned above, the study enumerated some happenings which were prevailing then, which contributed to such discriminations, coming up handy was the cold war politics, which was very active at the period of study.

The use of two Kenyan personalities thus Tom Mboya by the the west and on the other hand Oginga Odinga by the East has clearly been spelt out.

This being the case, surreptitious journeys out of the country had to be organized...both organizers were in a hurry to make an impact in there education schemes and a sense of

²²⁴ Samuel Makinda pp311

²²⁵ Samuel Makinda pp 302

competition developed between rival camps of donors and organizers, plus an element of patronage by which political support was rewarded by scholarship. However, it is appreciated that many of the product of the program later on filled in important positions in both private and public sectors and therefore made positive contributions to the development of the country.²²⁶

The research accomplished its objectives and answered the research questions. By the end of it, the research had a clearer picture of what happened to the east educated which came out clearly to enable people to read their contribution to the nation in different capacities, they served and some continue to serve in the public service. The work documented the Aeroflot scholarship programme which was the first objective of the study, showing how the study commenced, the facilitators and how the prospective students struggled to make it to Cairo and finally to eastern socialist colleges.

The researcher encouraged the eastern socialist educated to tell their story more clearly for the academic world to pick it up for further research. This was particularly stated to Odhiambo Okelo as the chair of the group.

The rational choice theory fitted the research well given that the period saw what other scholars have referred to as a period of scholarship invasion of Africa. The colonizers would not allow the Kenyans a free choice of their preferred study destination, contrary to the choice of Kenyan prospective students. The route to the east had blocks put on the way, while the west was the preferred destination. The study opportunities in Kenya and in East Africa were really scarce and a mismatch existed between need for education and chances available.

The research hypotheses were both confirmed. Two, was that first being that the two dominant scholarships then were cotted with a lot of cold war politics. This was confirmed as the whole

²²⁶ Sifuna D.N et al(2006)An Introduction History Of Education, University Of Nairobi Press, Nairobi Pp231

scholarship programme to the east was majorly seen in political prism. Many of those interviewed alluded to that. The treatment of some of the east graduates also attested to that. Jeremiah Ogingo Oyamo said it all, he was one of the military science trained who never saw the gate of military barracks in Kenya.

The second was similarly confirmed that programmes were not entirely out of humanitarian concern but were largely out of the concerns of the providers, who wanted to control the high positions in government, hence control the policy of Kenyan government. Its this papers expectation that it will change or add the much needed value in the stock of knowledge, which is the main reason why researches are done in the first place.

The Kenya Office, Cairo as said earlier was like a nerve centre, it facilitated the scholarship to the eastern socialist countries, by getting the scholarship from the eastern bloc and at times getting applications of those who wanted to change to the eastern bloc from the west universities. Studies should be done to ascertain whether it was a KANU mouth piece as letters bearing KANU's letter heads were more often used. Their loyalty to Kenyatta and the several appeals made for his release was noted. Their connections to other countries, to join hands in asking for attainment of independence are very clear. Their closeness to the eastern socialist Governments more so China and USSR [Russia], their ability to manipulate the Sudan and UAR [Egypt] to give them traveling documents to the prospective students, a political office and space to air news in National Radio station and to allow publication *The New Kenya 'Uhuru Na Vumbi'* whose contributors came from Kenyans and from all over the World. It became a popular reader. Was it serving Ogingo Odinga's personal interest or the Kenyans struggle interest? The position of the paper is that Ogingo Odinga effort to attain eastern bloc scholarship was laudable; it remains the duty of other researchers to prove otherwise.

7.1 The findings

There existed some kind of discrimination of the eastern socialist educated upon their return to Kenya, in terms of general perception. Some officials thought that they were not properly trained.

Two that those who went for military trainings were never allowed into the army, their training went to waste as the government failed to recognise them.

The subjects offered to the eastern socialist colleges were technical in nature, which were never easily availed to the students that went to the US. Such were Medicine, Engineering, law and Economics.

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Peres Akoth Owala	Home at Kandege	21 st February 2013
Nathan Ojunga Odongo	Fort ternan	23 rd April 2014
Barack Chiedo	Nairobi	24 th April 2014
Odhiambo Okelo	Yaya Centre, Nairobi	7 th April 2014
Dr Enos Odundo	Muhoroni	10 th April, 2014
Martin Yaya ochieng	Moi University Eldoret	26 th May 2014
Professor Peter Odhiambo Ndege	Moi University Eldoret	26 th May 2014
David Otedo Ongiro	Home in Kambi Kidi	22 nd June 2014
Patroba Owiti Otiende	Shirika Centre	14 th April 2013
Dr Odhiambo Olel	Sifa house in Kisumu	3 rd June 2014
Adonija Oginga Otieno	Muhoroni Town	24 th June 2014
Dr Hezrone Manduku	Hema Hospital Kissii	4 th July 2014
Albert Okeyo	Kajulu Kisumu	14 th March 2014.
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Mary Ongewe	Muhoroni	
Mrs Mary Onyando Waseka	Karos Village Fort Ternan	18 th June 2014
Steve Onyango Gumo	Nairobi	18 th July 2014
James Arruwa Atteng	Kandegge	25 th August 2014
Newton Ochieng Ongiro	Kandegge	21 st June 2014
George Odeny	University Of Nairobi	18th July 2014
James Odero Hongo	Shirika Centre	31 st July 2014
Daniel CA Kenduywo	Shirika Centre	5 th August 2014,
Henry Ochieng Obiero	Kisumu Ofafa hall	17 th September 2014
Professor Frederick CF Otieno	Muhoroni	16 th August 14
Professor Richard Odingo	University of Nairobi	28 th August 2014
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Key oral informants

1] Odhiambo Okelo in his capacity as the chairman of Kenya Cairo Office

2] Peter Odhiambo Ndege of history department Moi University in Eldoret

3] Nathan Ojungo Nephew of Wera Ambitho the Custodian of the valuable home library of the
Cairo Secretary.

4] David Otedo Ongiro, himself a beneficiary of socialist scholarship.

Appendix ii: A KANU letterhead used by the official of Kenyan Cairo office

MISSION FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF
KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
(K. A. N. U.)

National Headquarters
Consulate-General, ~~xxxx~~ Mandara Building
Box 12394, Jesvanjee Street
NAIROBI — KENYA

KENYA OFFICE
5, Ahmad Heshmat Street
Zamalek — Cairo
U.A.R.
Tel. ~~87758~~ 807658

Ref: KOP/CIR/E-50(a) Cairo, 23.12.61

The President and Secretary
Kenya Students Association in DDR
Leipzig - DDR.

Dear Comrades,

Greetings of Uhuru na Umoja!

We are writing to you on a matter which we consider to be of paramount significance and importance for the present and future of motherland.


Enclosed, please find a copy of a letter dated 11th December 1961, written and signed by Mr. F. Michael Gitau, one of your comrade students in the DDR. As the letter speaks of "I and on behalf of the other Kenyans", we have presumed that this letter has been written with the full and appropriate knowledge of your Association.

As you can probably realise, the issues raised in the said letter are serious and may result in serious consequences, there is urgent need, to have a clear understanding of their veracity or otherwise, sources of their origin and confirmation thereof.

For these and other reasons, we would be much obliged to have a full and detailed report concerning this matter from your association at an early date. As you may realise, in cases like this we must report fully to the National Headquarters with the necessary recommendations. So we look forward to hearing from your Association at the earliest possible time.

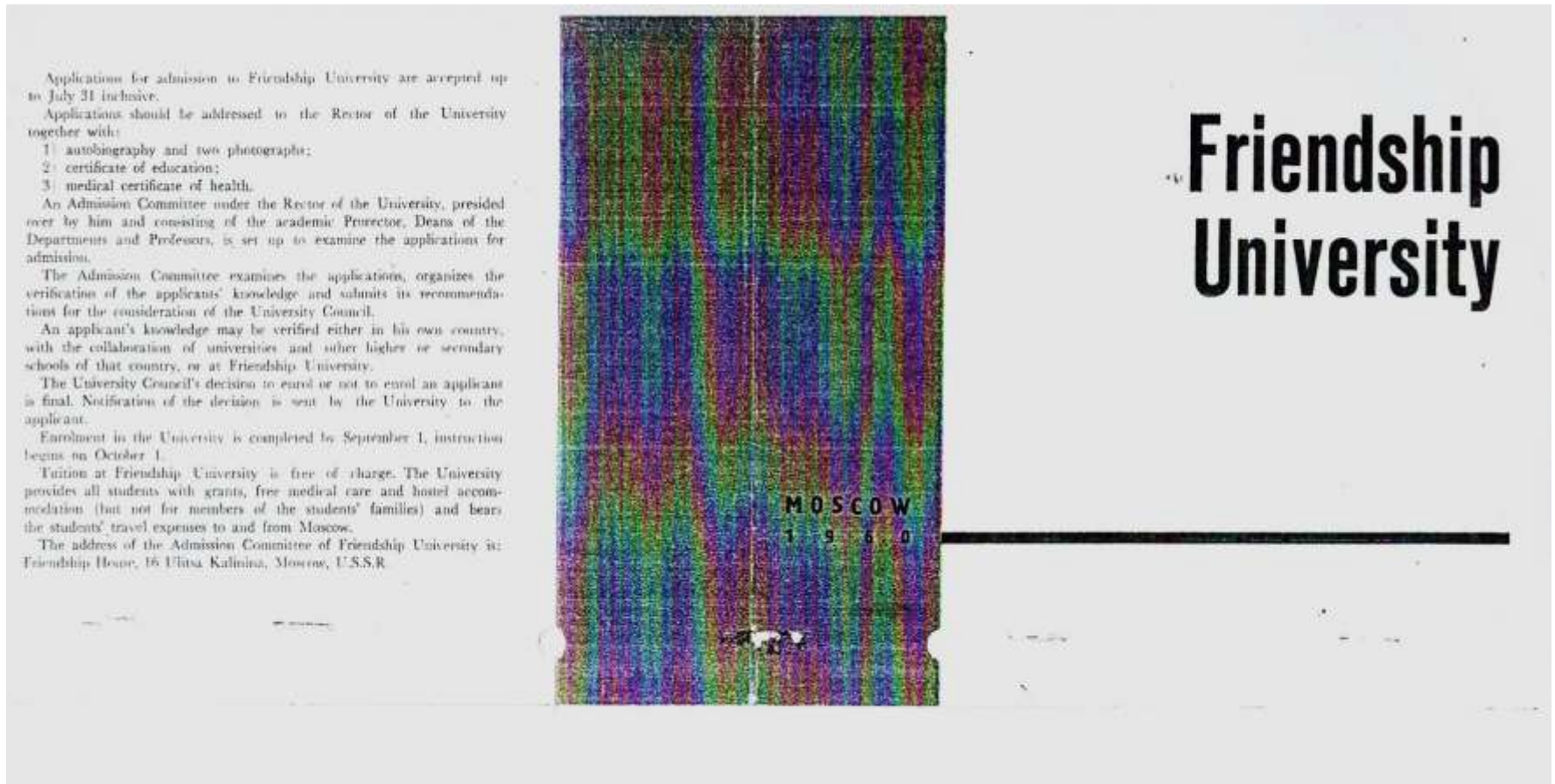
We have not also received your report concerning the letter by Mr. George Ganyua dated 24.2.61.

Yours in the struggle for
Motherland,
Wera Ambitho
Wera Ambitho
(Secretary).



c.c. Mr. F. Michael Gitau,
Chairman, Kenya African Education Society, Kenya. ✓
Mr. Kamau Ikama, DDR.

Appendix iii: Patrice Lumumba Friendship University brochure



Friendship University Opened

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions—the Founders of Friendship University—have, at a joint meeting, appointed Professor Sergei Rumyantsev Rector of the University.

For a number of years Professor Rumyantsev, Doctor of Technical Sciences, headed a chair and was in charge of an institute. From 1955 to 1959 he was Deputy Minister of Higher Education of the U.S.S.R. and then Deputy Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the U.S.S.R.

The Founders of the University have formed a University Council from representatives of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the U.S.S.R. Committee of Youth Organizations and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the U.S.S.R.

The Founders resolved that the University Council shall also include the Proectors, the Deans of the Departments and members elected by the teaching staff and the students of the University.

The University Council examined and approved the Rules of Admission to Friendship University for 1960 which are published below.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. is providing Friendship University with premises for its departments as well as with housing and other amenities in Moscow and is allotting the necessary funds for the equipment of its laboratories and study rooms.

Rules of Admission for 1960

Friendship University will enrol students in the following departments: engineering (specialities: construction and operation of machinery; building; prospecting, extraction and utilization of minerals); agriculture (specialities: agronomy and zootechny); medicine (specialities: medical treatment and pharmacy); physico-mathematical and natural sciences (specialities: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology); history and philology (specialities: history, literature, Russian language); economics and law (specialities: economics and national-economic planning; international law).

Men and women up to the age of 35, irrespective of race, nationality or religion, are eligible for admission to the University.

The period of studies in the University's Department of Medicine is five years. In the other departments it is four years.

Citizens of Asian, African and Latin-American countries may send their applications for admission directly to the University or through the embassies and consulates of the U.S.S.R. abroad.

Applicants with a general secondary education received in their respective countries are admitted to the first year of studies at Friendship University by decision of the University Council after verification of their knowledge.

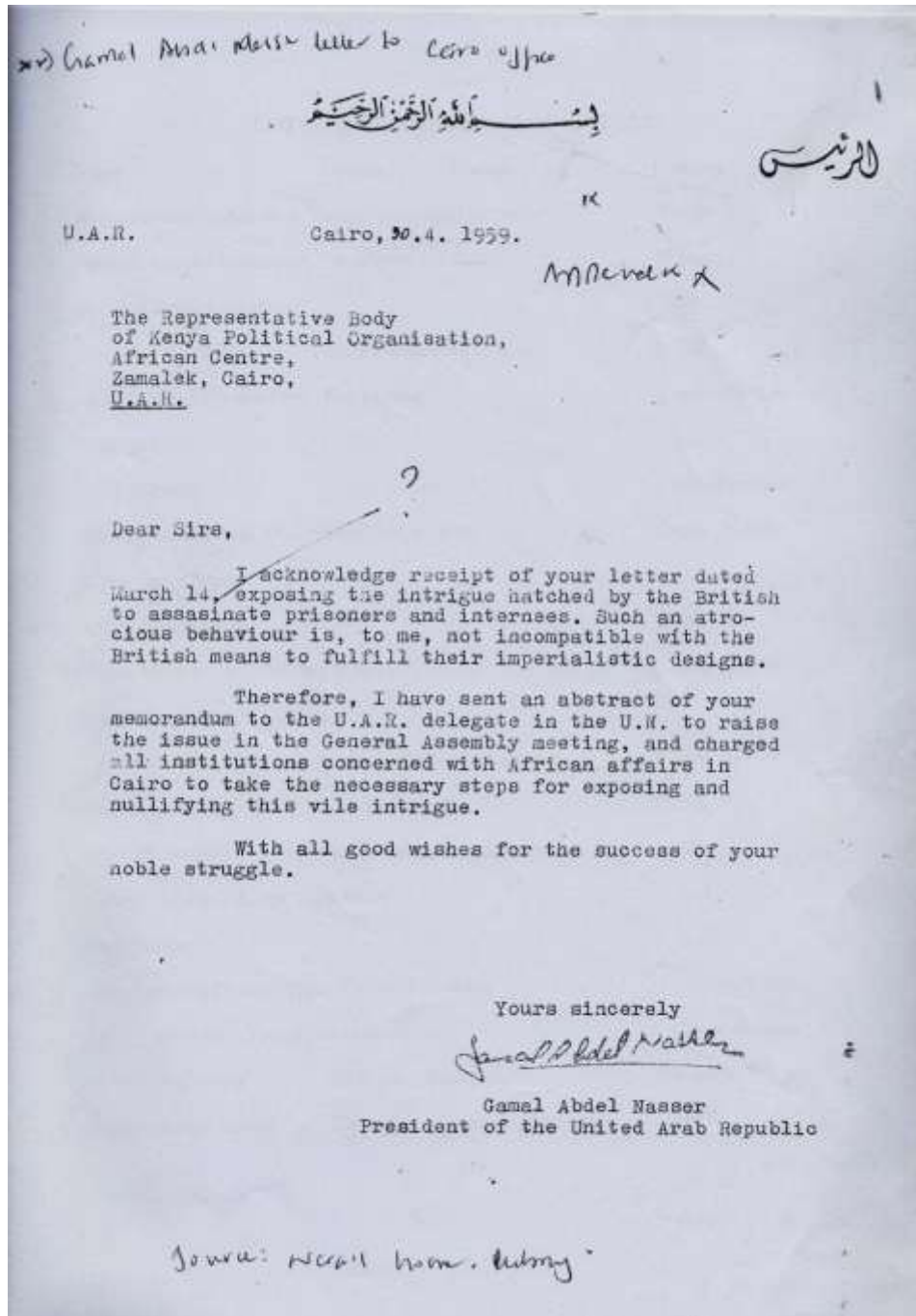
Persons lacking the required grounding may be admitted to the University's Preparatory Department in order to complete their general secondary education during a period of one to three years.

Persons with a general secondary education but lacking a knowledge of Russian will also be enrolled in the University's Preparatory Department for a period of up to one year.

Appendix iv: 45th USSR Anniversary of 17th October Revolution, at USSR Embassy Cairo, on the right Camara Mamady of Guinea, at the centre Dr Maksudov of USSR and Wera on the left.



Appendix v: Letter from Gamal Abdi Nasser to Cairo Office



Appendix vi: British Embassy in Cairo, surprise letter to Wera Ambitho

British Embassy,

Cairo.

October 22, 1963.

Dear Wera,

I told you over the 'phone that I had received a telegram from Nairobi in reply to one I had sent about the students who were alleged to be in difficulties in Cairo. The text of the reply is as follows:

"Minister of Education has ruled that Ambitho should be asked to assist all students including Kimani and Githuka."

While this telegram gives you authority to be of assistance, I think perhaps your best move might be to write yourself to the Minister of Education in Nairobi explaining the various difficulties in the way of finding something suitable for Kimani and Githuka.

Yours ever,

J.W.G. Ridd

(J.W.G. Ridd)

Mr Wera Ambitho,
Kenya Office, African Association,
5, Ahmed Hishmet,
ZAMALEK.

Source: Wera home library

Appendix xvii: List of Kenyan Secondary Schools in 1960

African Secondary Schools.

1. Kangaru School - Embu
2. Catholic Secondary School - Kabaa -
3. Kagumo School - Nyeri
4. Kakamega School - Kakamega.
5. Friend's Secondary School - Kamusinga.
6. Kapsabet School - Kapsabet.
7. Kisii School - Kisii
8. Machakosi
9. C.M.C. Maseno School - Maseno
10. Meru School - Meru
11. Shimo La Tewa School - Mombasa
12. Nkubu Secondary School - Nkubu.
13. Nyeri Boys' Secondary School
14. Holy Gost College - Mangu
15. Thika High School.
16. St. Mary's School - Yala.

GIRLS

17. African Girls' High School - Kikuyu
18. Limuru Girls' School.
19. Loreto Convent - Limuru.
20. Coast Girls' High School - Mombasa.

EUROPEAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1. Prince Of Wales School.
2. St. Mary's School.
3. Duke of York School.
4. Duke of Gloucester School - Nairobi
5. Delamere Boys' High School
6. Loreto Convent Eldoret.
7. Highlands School Eldoret
8. Loreto Convent - Mombasa
9. Kenya High School
10. Loreto Convent - Msongari
11. Loreto Convent Valley Road.
12. Delamer Girls' High School
14. White Sisters' Boarding School - Thika

ASIAN AND GOAN SCHOOLS

1. Dr. Riberiro Goan School
2. St. Teresa's Girls School - Nairobi
3. St. Teresa's Boys' School.
4. Menengai High School - Nakuru.
5. Aga Khana Girls' School - Nairobi
6. Vasin Gishu Secondary (Asian) School - Eldoret.
7. Kisumu High School
8. Goan High School - Mombasa
9. H.H. Aga Khan Boys' School - Mombasa

LIST OF SOME THE AEROFLOT STUDENTS

Name	Course	College	Country
Abdulreheman Mohammed	Patrice Lumumba University		USSR
Abdulallaziz Hussein Sheik Musa	Technical Training		Czecholavia
Abraham Edward Muketsetse	Bundapest university		Hungary
Abraham Syamba Mulanga			GDR
Absalom D. Olango	Patrice Lumumba University		USSR
Adhola Kinywa George Peter	Engineering		Czechoslovakia
Achacha Agar			
Agutu Achacha			Czechoslovakia
Agola Margaret			Czechoslovakia
Ahmed Muniaka Abdi Adam	StrediskoUniversity		Czechoslovakia
Ahram Siniya Segero			
A.J.Owino Ombundo			China
Alanda Moro	Military Science		Czechoslovakia
Alex Obiero Onyango			
Alex Omondi	Patrice Lumumba University		USSR
Allan Kamau	Technical School No 30	USSR	
Alfred M. Wanjohi	Patrice Lumumba University		USSR
Alphayon Mango Abungu	Agriculture		
Amos Odongo			
Amos Frederick Owuor Taggo	Karlova Universita		Czechhoslovakia
AndrewB.Ochola	Technician on electricity		Czechoslovakia

Andrew Kavulya Muai		Czechoslovakia
Andrew Nyamweya	Medicine Budapest	Hungary
Andrew Mungai Ngumi	Economics Friendship University	USSR
Apollo Dianga		
Arthur Okiya Mbalanya	Mechanical Engineering	GDR
Arthur Owuor	Electro Technical	Yugoslavia
Arthur Wasa		
Audia Okelo	Agriculture	Czechoslovakia
A.K Mulei		
Arch Oluoch	Technical school No 30	USSR
Bakari Shambi	Engineering	
Barnabas Gideon Muthhoka	Stredisko University	Czechoslovakia
Barack Arch Oluoch	Electrical Engineering	Korea
Barrack Colly Ogola		
Benson Njugoma	Law Ljubljana University	Yugoslavia
Bernard M. Oduol	Technical school No 30	USSR
Boniface Karanga	Karl Marx University	GDR
Boniface Mutahi		USSR
Bernard Antony Muhoro	Stredisko University	Czechoslovakia
Benjamin Muga	Agriculture	
Benjamin Ombuoro	Patrice Lumumba	Russia
Boaz Walter. Ogone. Adhao		Cuba
B.S Odera Ojwang	Cultural	GDR

Caleb Ouma Oyalo	Cultural		GDR
Charles Adavaji. Malenya			
Caleb Ouma Owalo			
Charles A. Malenya			Romania
Charles Mburu Mwayi			GDR
Charles E. Manyara			
Charles Okoth Misiani	Technical School No 30		USSR
Charles Otara	Leipzig Univesity		GDR
Christopher J.B. Ojuok	Medicine Belgrade Univesity		Yugoslavia
CosmasCharlesOchielObok	Universita Leistopadu		Czechoslovakia
Cypranus Okoth	Medicine Radiology		Bulgeria
Dickens Shhadrack Abukuse	StrediskoUniversity		Czechoslovakia
David Livingstone Olala	Technical	GDR	
David Stevens Ogot	Patrice Lumumba University		USSR
Daniel Kipkurui Arap Langat	B.Sc		Czechoslovakia
Daniel Ephantus Njuguna	Ariculture	Friendship	USSR
Daniel Ongoro Otugha			Romania
Daniel Charles Bube	Arts	Czechoslovakia	
Daniel Ngila			
David Mzigo	B. Sc	Moscow	USSR
David Otedo Ongiro	Political Economy	Frits Hecter,	East Germany
Dorcas Njeri			
David Mwengei Mbiti	Technical		USSR

Demacy Pius Onyango			Hungary
Dishon Christopher Okeyo Patrice Lumumba University			Russia
Dr Mbarua			
Dr Lawrence Nelson Nyakeri	Medicine		Yuoslavia
Dr Geoffrey Joel Momanyi	Medicine	Leningrad university	Russia
Dr Geoffrey Oyolo Osir		University Of Medicine, Pecs	Hungary
DrHezoneManduku	Medicine	Patrice Lumumba	Russia
Dr Pius Achola	Medicine	Leningrad	Russia.
Dr Edna Katenyi	Medicine		Hungar
Dr WalterOdipoAdongo		UniversityOfMedicine,Pecs	Hungary
Dr Alfred Machage	Medicine		,Russia
Dr Joseph Misoi	Veterinary Medicine		
Dr Julias Onyango Nyawanda	Medicine		East Germany.
Dr Ongewe	Medicine		”
Dr MikeAloo Gumbi	Medicine		Yugoslavia
Dr Benjamin Onyango Gome	Veterinary Medicine	Budapest	University.
Dr Oburu Odinga	Economics		USSR
Dr Otieno Oyoo	Economics		East Germany
Dr Stephen Odhiambo Olel	Medicine	Friendship University	Russia
Dr Enos Odundo Ambitho	Economics	Hungary state University	Hungary
Dr Omboke	Medicine	Hungary State University	Hungary
DrMary Odosi, Medicine		Hungary state University	Hungary
Dr Ambera	medicine	Kiev University	USSR

Edward Esanyia Ambeva	Pharmacy	Lumumba Univesity	USSR
Edward Njenga Kamau			
Edward Njoroge Kamau	Public Health		Poland
Eliakim Wilfred Apput Adhoch	Technical		GDR
Eliud Miraguri Kibugi			
Elijah Kariuki Nganga	University Of Medicine,	Budapest	Hungary
ErickJacobOgweenoKamau	TheFederalInstituteforInternationalTechnicalCoopertion		Yugoslavia
Ernest Gitau Muni	EngineeringUniversitat Central De les Villas	, Santa Clara	Cuba
EiludeErastus Mburu. Ibau		Cuba	
Eliud Ngire	Economics	Friendship	USSR
Eliston Mandete	Medicine		
Everline B.A Ganyuma			USSR
Erastus Mburu Wainaina	Slov. Vys Technical School		Czechoslovakia
Etta Chepngetich Ezekiel	Nursing		GDR
Evinson Mbogwa	Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.		GDR
Ezekiel Winjo	Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.		GDR
Fanuel Adala Otuko			
Fanuel Okoth	Technical		USSR
Felix Makau	B.Sc		Czechoslovakia
Felix Marango	The Federal Institute for International Technical Coopertion		Yugoslavia
Festus Musunu			
Francis Abudi Aluli			

Francis Joseph Ouya Meroka	Economics	Friendship University	USSR
Francis Mathore Kamau	The Federal Institute for International Technical Cooperation		Yugoslavia
Francis Musyoki Munyi	Economics	Friendship University	USSR
Francis Simeon Okal Oyoo			Romania
Frederick Otieno Oyaya		Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Frederick Maina Ndungi			
Frederick Vallantyne Opwapo			
Frederick Ogonji Lelo			
Francis Akech Nyothach		Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Francis Maingi Kingau	Arts		Bulgaria
Francis Mwaura Federik	Electrical Engineering	The Zagreb Univesity	Yugoslavia
Francis Okal Oyoo			Poland
Francis Peter Nganga Kamau	The Federal Institute for International Technical Cooperation		Yugoslavia
Francis Tito Oyugah			
Francis Abudi Olulo Kamau	The Federal Institute for International Technical Cooperation		Yugoslavia
Florence Weke			
Florence Awuor	KAPE	High School	
Gabriel Siengo	Civil Engineering	Friendship University	USSR
Gady Osire Okelo		Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.	GDR
Gatiuku Elias Njagi		Belgrade Univesity	Yugoslavia
Gatumba Muiruri	Natural Science and Maths	The Zagreb Univesity	Yugoslavia
George Owuor Agandi	Electro Technics		Yugoslavia
George Richard Adeya	Military Science		Czechoslovakia

Gordon Nyagudi	Electrical Engineering	
Godwin W. Wachira	Trade Union	Yugoslavia
George Kamau Kamiti	Medicine Belgrade University	Yugoslavia
George Karanja	Technical School No 30	USSR
George Kinyariro Mwaru Kamau	The Federal Institute for International Technical Cooperation	Yugoslav
George Karanja Kiambuthi	The Federal Institute for International Technical Cooperation	Yugoslavia
George Hannington Odongo Owino	Medicine Friendship University	USSR
George L. Oonyu		
George Njoroge	Technical School No 30	USSR
George Onyango Nyandugu	Leipzig University	GDR
George Onyina Nyaduga		
George Booker Ochieng Adala	Stredisko University	Czechoslovakia
George Marege	Friendship University	USSR
George Mirulo Okelo	Friendship University	USSR
George Ngugi Muniya	Universita Karlova, Prague	Czechoslovakia
George Osingo Migure		
George Anzigale Kewohne	Vysoka School Of Economics	
George Seda	Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.	GDR
George S. Ongwenyo	Technical School No 30	USSR
George Wycliffe Alando Odongo		Czechoslovakia
Geoffrey Osir Oyolo	Medicine	
Geoffrey Odongo Achola		Czechoslovakia

Geoffrey Gathecha		USSR
Godfrey Mbugua Mbanya	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
Gibson Maina	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Gideon Barack Ogendo	Medicine Friendship University	USSR
Gideon G.Ochiel	Friendship University	USSR
Gideon Sillas Gwela	Public Health Lumumba University	USSR
Grace Otuko	Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.	GDR
Hassan Wani Kimani	Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.	GDR
Henry William Okelo	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
Henry W. Wambiji	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Herman Kombo		
Harris Muhoro		
Hesbon Gitongo		
Hezrone Monda Teya	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Hermance Charles Randiek Wanjare		
Hillarrious Boniface Ngweno	Science Friendship University	USSR
Humprey Bedan Kaggunda	Stredisko University	Czechoslovakia
Hunter Onyoya OngomaSilabeya	Bundapest University	Hungary
Hurein Haji Abu	Technical School No 30	USSR
Ibraim Sabit Rajab		USSR
Imbisi Jumba	Technical School No 30	USSR
Ishmael Owako Apul	Ecomonics Friendship University	USSR
Isaac Otieno		

John Mwirabua		Cuba
Jactson N. K. Mulwa	Engineering	Bulgaria
Jarry Isaye Maose	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
Jalango Omboko		Hungary
Joseph Gaita Theuri	B. Science	
Jason Simbi	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Joram Peter Mwangi Moori		GRD
Jackson Kituu Kajambo		
Jackson Herbert Oloo	Law	Ukraine
Joel Ngui Mwema	The Federal Institute for International Technical Coopertion	Yugoslavia
John Olewa Owade	Medicine	Poland
John Opala Otieno		
John Ouko	Technical School No 30	USSR
John Sereman	Technical School No 30	USSR
James Andrewson	Railway Engineering	Hungary
James Anyama	Medical Belgrade Univesity	Yugoslavia
James Atteng	Youth Movement	Yugoslavia
James Joas Asembo	Technical	USSR
James Gori		Poland
James Kanjame		Yuoslavia
James Masellus Were	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
James Onyango Arigi	Military Science	HeliopolisAcademy Cairo.
John Odero Owala	Medicine	Poland

John Peter Owiti	Technical	USSR
John Mark Ojunga Nyaryanya		
John Mugech		
John Frederick Oyugi	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
JohnKithinjiMotorMechanicalTheFederalInstituteforInternationalTechnicalCoopertionYugoslavi		
John Oloo Henry	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
John Onyango Okumo Henry Veterinary The Zagreb Univesity		Yugoslavia
John Sanda Civil Engineering		Czechoslovakia
JohnMwirabua		Czechoslovakia
Jorewe Oshibe Tindi	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
Jacob Opala Otieno	Economics Poland	
Jacton Walter Onungah	Economics	USSR
Jecktone Charles Omwodo	Technical	USSR
Jeremiah Apiyo Belgrade University		Yugoslavia
JeremyAbury Mechhanical Engineering BelgradeUnivesity		Yugoslavia
Joram Peter Mwangi Noori	Technical	GDR
Julius N.Waiguchu		
Julias Onyango		Czechoslovakia
Jimmy Ndala Muindo		
Joiyce Odinga		
Joseph Kamotho	Baku University	Russia
Joseph Barnes Marlow Otieno	Mathematics	
Joseph Chege	Agriculture	Poland

Joseph Odongo Langi	Military Science	Czechoslovakia
Joseph Oyugi Moturi		Romania
Joseph Kanyi	medicine Komenskeo, universita	Czechoslovakia
Joseph Kiprotich	Sciences	
Joseph Otieno Ongor	High School	Bulgaria
Joseph N. Nzioki	Science	Czechoslovakia
James Boaz Osaga Odak		
James Odera		
James Gitata Kaera	Leipzig Univesity	GDR
James Peter Kimani	Slov. Vys Technical School	Czechoslovakia
Joseph John Ogutu		
Joseph Owino	Bundapest University	Hungary
Johnson Kituu Kajambo		
Joel Ndiga Wilfred		
Joel O. Mithune	Survey Friendships University	USSR
Johnson Marwa	Moscow state University	USSR
J.M. Ojunga		
J.C.Sanda Ombogo		
Joshua Kipngeno Arap Kosgey		
Joshua Ondiek Okelo	Economics Friendship University	USSR
Julius Ongewe	Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.	GDR
Julius Onyango	Leipzig Univesity	GDR
Karioki Kigo	Military Science [Pilot]	Czecholosvakia

Kaman Gatibaru	Bio Technical Bio Technical	Ljubljana University	Yugoslavia
Kamau Ikama	Veterinary		USSR
Kamau Mutogue			
Kamau Nijihia Wainaina	Stredni Tecnical Secondary School		Czechoslovakia
Kamwithi Mwinyi			
Karilus Olang Nyasaka	Cooperative		GDR
Keffa Nguli	Lab Technician		USSR
Kerema Maharia	The Federal Institute for International Technical Coopertion		Yugoslavia
Kogo Karanga	Technical School No 30		USSR
Kerry W. Wasike	Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.		GDR
Kombo Kironda	Technical		USSR
Leah Wanjiku Mbogwa	The Federal Institute for International Technical Coopertion		Yugoslavia
Lutta Wabucheli			
Laban Osoro	Architecture		Poland
Lawrence David Kiguru	Friendship University		USSR
Lawrence Kerugo Chege	Motor Engineering		Poland
Manasseh Tindi			Czechoslovakia
M.A Odondo	Leipzig Univesity		GDR
Mburu Mwayi Miano			Czechoslovakia
Makokha Nabwera	Leipzig Univesity		GDR
Magellan Josepjh Lache	Technical School No 30		USSR
Mango Kabungu	Technical School No 30		USSR

Mangara Gikonyo		Czecllovakia
Mary Adhiambo	University of Economics, Budapest	Hungary
Mary Akinyi Langi		USSR
MartineYaya Ochieng	TextileEngineering	Czechoslovakia.
Mary Annetta Njeri	Medicine	USSR
Mary Awuor Konya		
Margret Joshua	Nursing	
Margret Agola	Medicine, Universita Karlova	Czecoslovakia
Masara Kunga	Military Science	Czechoslovakia
Mohamed Rashid Bakus		Czechoslovakia
Micahh Eshilwaye Otondo	Technical	USSR
Michael Gitau	Leipzig Univesity	GDR
Molo Owuor	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Monica Hilda Oluade	Friendship University	USSR
Moses Naaman Auma Ogalo	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
Moses N. K. Naluma	Medicine	
Moses Ngugi Titos	The Federal Institute for International Technical Coopertion	Yugoslavia
Miss Joan Jaoko	Medicine	USSR
Miss Josephin Elenor Moikuhr	Medicine Friendship	USSR
Miss Monica Agure	Bundapest University	Hungary
Miss Mary Wanjiru		USSR
Miss Nerreah.Margaret Otengo	Leipzig Univesity	GDR
Miss Risper Anyango	Technical	GDR

Moses Kiprono	Economics	GDR
Moses N. Longo	Arts	Bulgaria
Moses Naoman Auma Ogalo		Czechoslovakia
Moses Lango	Patrice Lumumba	USSR
Mohamed Athmani Mwaazi	University Of Medicine,Budapest	Hungary
Mrs Terresa Omwadhho		Cuba
Mujwuko Murwa	Friendship University	USSR
Muiunde Jimmy Ndaka	Medicine Bio Technical Ljubljana University	Yugoslavia
Mwaro Bwogo Wango	Civil Engineering	Czechoslovakia
Mwaso Wiyo		Yuoslavia
Mwaniki Mwangi	MedicineKomenskeo,universita	Czechoslovakia
Neison Nyamu	Agriculture The Zagreb Univesity	Yugoslavia
Newton Ambayi	Friendship Univesity	USSR
Ngeso Okol	Engineering	East Germany
Ngira Wanjohi	Youth Movement Leipzig Univesity	GDR
Nginja Ondiek Kabonyo	Agriculture	USSR
Njoroge Njina Getyago	Printing Engineering Graphic School	Yugoslavia
Njiha Wainaina Kamau	Printing Engineering	Yugoslavia
Noah Aloo Kamidigo	Economics	USSR
Noah Manas Olali		
Odinga Alego		
Ogodo Oluoch	Veterinary Vys School,Brno	Czechoslovakia
Omar Adequine Nassar	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR

Omolo Kamawira	Medicine	USSR
Ongoro Otugha		USSR
Onyando Waseka	Engineering Bundachrest Romania.	
Onuge Okuuge	Bundapest University	Hungary
Okach Ogada Ondiek	Cooperative	GDR
Ondiek Kabouyu Nginja	Bio Technical Ljubljana University	Yugoslavia
Okoth Seda		
Okoth Alambo ''		
Okoth Rawo	Technical EducationHungary	
Oliver Ouma Owila	Leipzig Univesity	GDR
Onunga Okuoga		Hungary
Otieno Oswago	Friendship University	USSR
Ouma Olwa Karl Marx University, Institute for foreign Students.		GDR
Osire Okelo		
Osman Ramadham	Technical School No 30	USSR
Owino Ombado	Friendship	USSR
Robert Keige	Technical School No 30	USSR
PatriceOriatoOchina	Komenskeho,Universita	Czechoslovakia
Patroba Otiende Owiti	Diploma in cooperatives	GDR
Paul Tumbi	TechnicalYugoslavia	
Paul Ogula	Military Science HeliopolisAcademy	Cairo.
Paul O. Awiti	Leipzig Univesity	GDR
Paul Owiti	Karl Marx University	East Germany

Paul Mutunga Thyakah	Arts	Czechoslovakia
Paul Richard Oudia	StrediskoUniversity	Czechoslovakia
Perrie Abura	Friendship	USSR
PhilipKariuki	Natural Science Komenskeo,universita	Czechhoslovakia
Philip Mutisya Kiilu		
Philip Onyango		USSR
Protasius Maurice Ajuoga	Medicine	
Perez Akoth Owala	Social Work	Cuba
Peter Wambura	Civil Engineering Hungary Technical University. Hungary	
Peter Karuga	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Peter Mark Ouma	do	USSR
Peter Murira	medicine universita J.E.Purkyne, Brno	Czechhoslovakia
Peter Ngigi Gitau		
Pharis Oluoch	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Phellgona Wycliffe		
Pius Francis Oderra		
Professor Walter Achola Ayaya		
Proffesor Edward Oyugi	Political Science	
Raphael Joseph Kalla		Yugoslavia.
Raila Odinga	Mechanical Engineering, Leipzig	East Germany
Randiek Wanjare	Universita Leistopadu	Czechoslovakia
Rev James Ochwata		
Refuel Obbeyi	Education	Czechoslovakia

Richard Kiprono Arap Mitei	Jounalism	
Risper Anyango	Radiography	GDR
Tobby Christopher Addero	Law	Poland
Robinson Bero Ogora	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Roseline Atieno		USSR
Richard Radier Arigi		Czechoslovakia
Richard Geoffrey Ruma	Economics Friendship	USSR
Robert Keige	Technical School No 30	USSR
Sammy Paul Kimani	Technical School No 30	USSR
Samuel Masoka Kiboba	Technical School No 30	USSR
Samuel Ngeny		
Samuel Jakinda	Technical	USSR
Samuel K. Ngutu		
Samuel Okech		
Samuel.E.Amolo. Nam	Bundapest University	Hungary
Samuel Nyamai Ndemange	Economics	Czechoslovakia
Samuel Jakinda	Textile	USSR
Samuel Makenzia Kialo		
Samuel Washington Taita	Economics The Zagreb Univesity	Yugoslavia
Saul Olindi Omufwoko	Leipzig Univesityl	GDR
Sarah Wanjiru	Friendship University	USSR
Sebastian Kalama	Agriculture	
Samson BosireNyabwari	Economics	Hungary

Silas Nyamato	Economics	Poland
Simeon Hywa		Poland
Simeon Miriti Mesullam	Bio Technical Ljubljana University	Yugoslavia
Solomon Gitobu Muthamia	Technical	GDR
Solomon Kimu Friendship University		USSR
Said Ahmed Said	Engineering	Hungary
Said Kilinga Rashid	Medicine	Hungary
Samson Bosire Nyabwari		”
Stephen Kariuki	Engineering	
Stephen K. Milo	Leipzig University	GDR
Stephen Kimani Maina	Technical School No 30	USSR
Stephen Mwenda Agronomical the Federal Institute for International Technical Coopertion		Yugoslavia
Steven T. Macharia		
Silvester Nelson Onyango	Economic	Bulgaria
Sinidi Mutama		
Shadrack Dikens Abukuse	Biology	Czechoslovakia
Shadrack Booker Odera Ojwang		
Stanley Keranga Karari	Stredisko University	Czechoslovakia
Sylvan John Oluoch	Medicine	Bulgeria
Sylvester Nelson Onyango		
Sylvester Obanda	Machnary Slov. Vys Technical School-Bratislava	Czechoslovakia
Tabitha Aoko		
Tobias Joash Oyuga	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR

Tobias Ochola Ogur	Press Mechanics	
Tom A. Obura	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Tomas Kamau Kisiumi	Graphic School The Zagreb Univesity	Yugoslavia
Teresa Achieng Oduol		USSR
Wanjoki Wacicuma	Friendship University	USSR
Wango Mwaro Bwoga	Pysics	Czechoslovakia
Walter Were Ogara	Military Science	Czechoslovakia
Wanjiko Muthemba	Patrice Lumumba University	USSR
Wasike Kokubo	Leipzig	GDR
Wilfred Eliakim Aput Adhoch	Textile Engineering	GDR
Wilfred John Ngija	General Agriculture	
Wilfred Peter Ngigi		
Willis Odipo		USSR
Wilson Solomon	Universita Karlova, Prague	Czechoslovakia
W.J. Olusala	Leipzig Univesity	GDR
Wycliffe Eddy Achacha	Universitat de la Habana	Cuba
Zedekiah Chek Orot	Military Science	Czechoslovakia
Zacharia J. Odero Kongoro		
Zebedeo P. Omwando	International law Universidad de Oriente	Cuba
Zephaniaah Nyakoni Masongo	Faculty of Language Foundation	Czechoslovakia

APPENDIX III

The Semi Structured Questionnaire.

I am SUNGU FRED ONYANGO a MA Research student at the Department of History and Archeology, Faculty of Arts. University Of Nairobi {UON}

My research topic is:

AEROFLOT: EASTERN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SCHOLARSHIPS TO KENYANS-1958-

1970 AND THE COLD WAR CONFLICTS.

Sample questionnaire,

Name..... [Optional]

Age.....

Highest certificate attained.....

Name of University.....

Country.....

Years of Study ?.....

- 1) Which year did you leave Kenya?
- 2) What route did you take?
- 3) How did you learn of this education prospect?
- 4) What were your qualifications for joining?
- 5) How long did you to reach your college?
- 6) What course did you take?
- 7) Was communism part of your course content?

- 8) When did you come back and what job did you get? Was it in the public or private sector?
- 9) How long did you take to get a job? Why?
- 10) How was the general government treatment on your return?
- 11) What about treatment in private agencies?
- 12) What would you say was your special contribution to Kenya?