



Contents

Maps	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Preface	xi
Glossary	xiii

BOOK ONE: State & Class

One

Introduction

An Encounter in Unhappy Valley

BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

1

Part I

Conquest

11

Two

The Conquest State of Kenya, 1895-1905

JOHN LONSDALE

13

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

Contents

Three

The Politics of Conquest in Western Kenya, 1894-1908

JOHN LONSDALE

45

Notes

72

Part II

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

75

Four

Coping with the Contradictions:

The Development of the Colonial State, 1895-1914

77

BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

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

78

Our foundations in Kenya's historiography

82

Peasant production and the foundations of political control

84

Private capital, settlers and the state

88

African labour and the contradiction between estate and
peasant production

91

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

94

Notes

95

Five

Crises of Accumulation, Coercion & the Colonial State:

The Development of the Labour Control System, 1919-29

101

BRUCE BERMAN & JOHN LONSDALE

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

101

Settler production, state coercion and African labour

104

Notes

122

Contents

Part III

Capitalism & the Colonial State in Theoretical & Comparative Perspective	127
<i>Six</i>	
<i>The Concept of 'Articulation'</i> <i>& the Political Economy of Colonialism</i>	
BRUCE BERMAN	
Notes	138
<i>Seven</i>	
<i>Structure & Process</i> <i>in the Bureaucratic States of Colonial Africa</i>	
BRUCE BERMAN	
Introduction	140
The colonial state as an agency of economic change: articulation and accumulation	145
The colonial state as an agency of political domination	151
Conclusion: centralization, development and the decline of the colonial state	163
Notes	167

Part IV

Pasts and Futures	177
<i>Eight</i>	
<i>Up From Structuralism</i>	
BRUCE BERMAN	
Dependency theory and the temptations of structuralism	179
From systemic categories to historical processes: the colonial state as the product/determinant of contradiction and struggle	185
Beyond the limits of structuralism: culture, ideology and historical experience	198
Notes	201
<i>Nine</i>	
<i>African Pasts in Africa's Future</i>	
JOHN LONSDALE	
Notes	219
Index to Books One and Two (In Book One only)	

Contents

BOOK TWO: Violence & Ethnicity

Part V

Unhappy Valley

- The State, Mau Mau & the Path to Violence 225

Ten

Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence:

- Colonial Administration and the Origins of the 'Mau Mau' Emergency* 227

BRUCE BERMAN

- The Kenya Administration: discretion and rigidity 230

- The administrator and African politics: protecting the 'man
in the blanket' from the 'man in trousers' 237

- Economic growth and the crisis of colonial administration 242

- The Provincial Administration and the KAU: the escalating
conflict 248

- Incumbent authorities and collective violence 252

- Notes 257

Eleven

- The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: The Problem* 265

JOHN LONSDALE

- Purpose 265

- Problem 269

- Historiography 282

- Notes 303

Twelve

The Moral Economy of Mau Mau:

- Wealth, Poverty & Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought* 315

JOHN LONSDALE

- Argument 315

- Evidence 317

- Imperialism and nationalism 322

- Nation and tribe 326

- Tribe and class 350

- Religion and politics 367

- Terror 401

- Past, present and future 461

- Notes 468

- Index i