Repair Begins Within

Truth, re-membering and the reclaiming of our sovereignty

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About this revised edition

Given as the opening keynote on 21 October 2026, and revised after the convening for sharing

What is new

The fighters' children and the Kimaathi Charter; gender injustice; Kenya's case for reparation; the places we walked; community archives; the way forward

Drawn from

The testimony we heard; the Day Two session; the 'Fixing the Nation' interview; 'From Mau Mau to Ruto-Must-Go'

Honouring this land

Enkare Nyirobi

the place of cool waters

The Maasai name that became Nairobi

The peoples of this land

Maasai · Akamba · Gĩkũyũ

1899

The railway reaches Nairobi; colonial authorities forcibly remove the Maasai for white ranchers

1915

Settler laws reserve the ownership of land to white settlers

Kĩrĩnyaga: the name behind Kenya

Kĩrĩnyaga

Gĩkũyũ: the one with the white patches of the ostrich

Kiinyaa

Kikamba; Kirinyaga in Embu

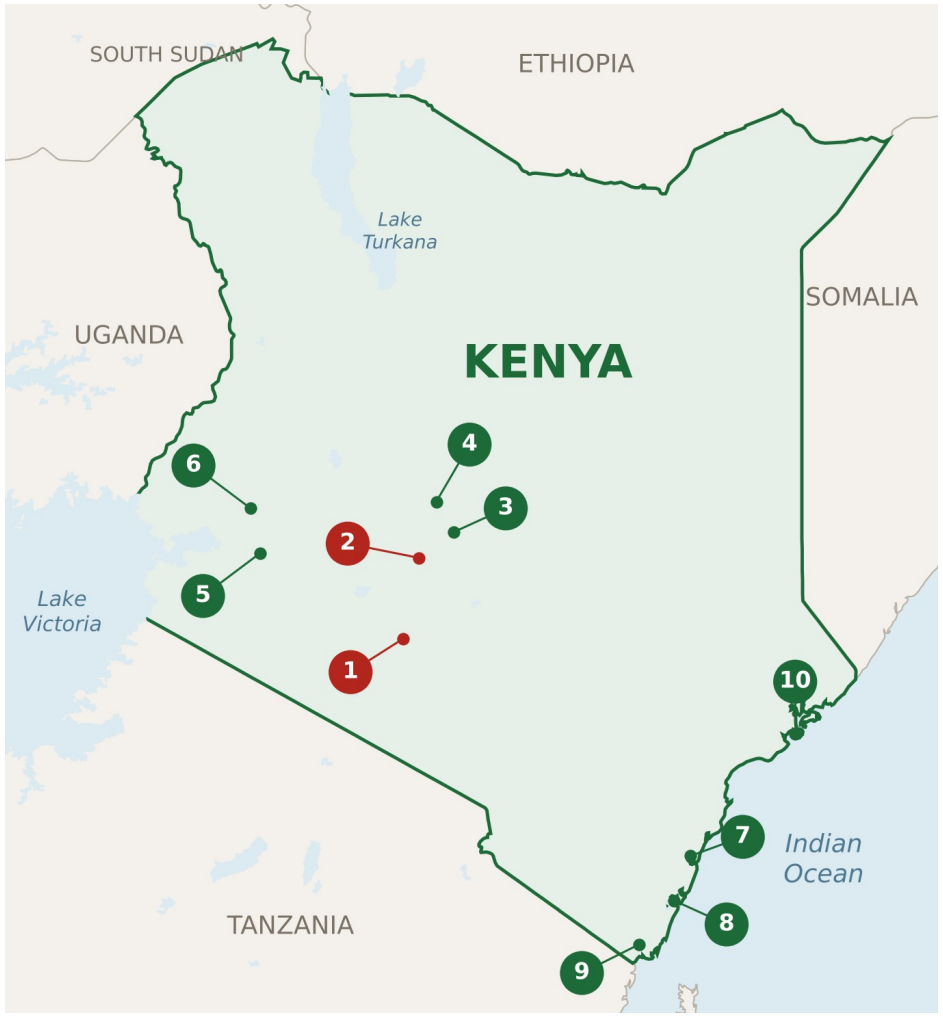
Ol Donyo Keri

Maa: the mountain of stripes

1849: Krapf writes 'Kenia'. **1920:** the British name their colony Kenya. **Azania:** the coast in the first century

Professor Makau Mutua (2021): the Republic of Kinyaa. Naming is part of repair.

Places in this keynote



Where we walked

1 Nairobi: Ufungamano House; Mwakenya House

2 Nyeri: Kahiga-ini; Field Marshal Mũthoni wa Kĩrĩma's home

Places in the keynote

3 Kĩrĩnyaga (Mount Kenya) and the Aberdares

4 Lolldaiga Hills, Laikipia

5 Kericho: Kipsigis and Talai land

6 Nandi: Koitalel arap Samoei

7 Kilifi: the Giriama resistance

8 Mombasa: Owino Uhuru

9 Kwale: Mrima Hill

10 Lamu

Honouring the people's struggles

1892 Waiyaki wa Hinga leads his people at Kabete against the Imperial British East Africa Company

1913 Mekatilili wa Menza and the women of Kifudi lead the Giriama resistance

1922 Mary Mũthoni Nyanjirũ leads the crowd at the Nairobi police station and is shot dead

1952 20 October: State of Emergency declared. Honoured as Mashujaa Day

1956 21 October: Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi captured at Kahiga-ini. Seventy years ago today

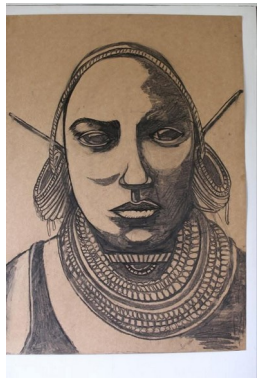
1992 Mothers of political prisoners on hunger strike at Freedom Corner

1999 A People's Commission of Kenya launched here at Ufungamano House

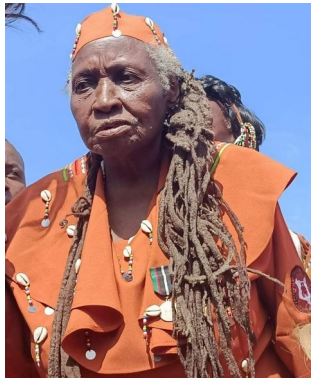
Faces of the freedom struggles



Mekatilili wa Menza



Mary Mũthoni Nyanjirũ (artist's impression)



F. M. Mũthoni wa Kĩrĩma



Mukami Kimathi (photo: Margot Kiser, 2012)



Mũthamaki Waiyaki wa Hinga



Koitalel arap Samoei



F. M. Dedan Kimathi



Bildad Kaggia

The Mashujaa we honour

Those who fought colonialism and its continuation, with the movements they built

Mekatilili wa Menza

With the women of Kifudi, led the Giriama resistance from 1912

Field Marshal Mũthoni wa Kĩrĩma

Nyeri. Kenya Land and Freedom Army; the only woman Field Marshal

Elijah Masinde

Bukusu. Founded Dini ya Msambwa; jailed by the colonisers, detained again after independence

Fred Kubai, Bildad Kaggia

Trade unionists; Kenya African Union; Kapenguria Six, arrested 20 October 1952

Field Marshal Musa Mwariama

Meru. Kenya Land and Freedom Army; 2,000 fighters; never captured

Makhan Singh, Pio Gama Pinto

Kenyans of Asian heritage; trade unions and the East African Indian Congress

We call their names

- Mary Mũthoni Nyanjirũ, East African Association
- Waiyaki wa Hinga, the resistance at Kabete
- Koitalel arap Samoei, the Nandi resistance
- Mukami Kimathi and the women who sustained the fighters
- Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi, Kenya Land and Freedom Army
- Wambui Waiyaki Otieno, Kenya Land and Freedom Army
- Kipchomber arap Koilegen, of the Talai
- Wamuyu Gakuru (Cinda Reri) and Rebecca Njeri
- The mothers of Freedom Corner
- Professor Mĩcere Gĩthae Mũgo
- Mwalimu Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Kamĩrĩĩthũ
- The Maasai, Akamba and Gĩkũyũ ancestors of this land
- Itugu, son of Kiburu, and all who were detained
- The unnamed dead of the camps and villages
- And the Mashujaa we have honoured

What the title means

Truth

The whole account of what was done to our people and is still being done, told unsanitised, including truths about ourselves. In our peoples' own justice, truth comes first

Re-membering

Mwalimu Ngũgĩ's word: putting back together what empire tore apart, by mourning and remembering together in our own languages

Reclaiming our sovereignty

The active work that follows decolonisation: our peoples deciding, on our own terms, our relationship with our land, ancestors, those yet to be born and one another

Naming is warfare



"It is a well-known fact that names and naming are part of warfare. Each side of the war tries to name the enemy, define them negatively, while defining themselves positively."

Mwalimu Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, preface to the new edition of 'Mau Mau From Within: The Story of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army' (Daraja Press, 2021)

The Maangamizi

From the Kiswahili ***-angamiza***: to cause destruction, to utterly destroy. The ongoing system of deliberate, systematic destruction perpetrated against Afrikan people, one continuum: racialised chattel enslavement, wars of extermination and conquest, colonialism and neocolonialism.

Its perpetrators set out to destroy:

Personhood and peoplehood

Many of us estranged from our Afrikanity and our people

Nationhood and culture

Knowledge systems, spiritualities, languages, names, time

Environments and ecosystems

Lands, waters, forests and fellow creatures

Definition: Maangamizi Educational Trust, crediting Professor Maulana Karenga (2001)

Opening the psychic tomb

Mwalimu Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 'Something Torn and New' (2009): the memory of enslavement and colonialism shut up in a crypt, a collective psychic tomb.



What keeps it shut

Unmourned dead

No burial, no rites, no remembrance

Shame and silence

The memory sealed away

Borrowed languages

A screen between us and our history

What opens it

Re-membering: mourning and remembering together, in our own languages, through art and memorials

Memory as a weapon



"This suppression cum repression of memory over people's struggles was/is a lethal weapon in imperialist psychological warfare."

What she called "systemically imposed socialized amnesia"

Professor Mĩcere Gĩthae Mũgo, Foreword to the New Edition, 'Mau Mau From Within' (December 2020)

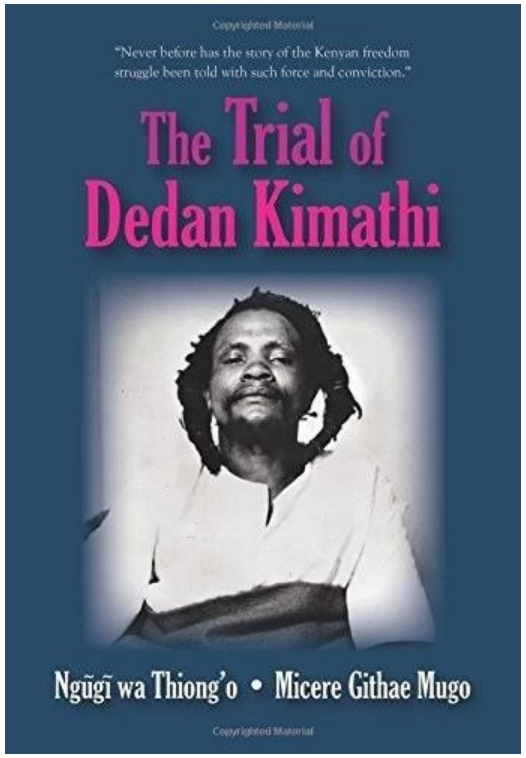
Artists and scholars opened the tomb



Professor Mĩcere Gĩthae Mũgo



Mwalimu Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o



'The Trial of Dedan Kimathi', 1976



Kamĩrĩĩthũ: concentration camp, then people's theatre

Repair begins with the whole truth

Truth told in part

UK statement on the 2013 settlement, 6 June 2013: regret for torture, "violence committed by both sides", praise for the colonial service, liability denied, and the hope to "draw a line under these events"

Truth told whole

'The Trial of Dedan Kimathi' (1976): the masses as the true makers of history · Field Marshal Mũthoni wa Kĩrĩma and the women fighters · truths about ourselves, including loyalism rewarded with land · in Kamba justice, truth comes before repair

Women fought and led the struggles

Professor Mĩcere Gĩthae Mũgo (2020): the account gives "limited attention to the role of women" in the Kenya Land and Freedom Army

Muthoni Likimani

'Passbook Number F.47927: Women and Mau Mau in Kenya' (1985)

Wambui Waiyaki Otieno

Intelligence and organising women in Nairobi; detained at Lamu; 'Mau Mau's Daughter' (1998)

Jane Muthoni Mara

A test claimant in the case against the British Government (2011)

Freedom Corner, 1992

Mothers of political prisoners, with Professor Wangari Maathai: all 52 freed within a year

Reparation and decolonisation are gendered work

Unsung women of the struggle

Women who fought, organised, supplied and were detained; many remain unsung

Wamuyu Gakuru (Cinda Reri)

Nyeri. Took the batuni oath in 1951; ran guns via the railways; Hika Hika battalion

Field Marshal Mũthoni wa Kĩrĩma

Nina wa Thonjo, the weaver bird. 'Kenya is my only child'

Rebecca Njeri

Kiambu. Built independent schools; held without trial at Kamiti until 1960

Mukami Kimathi

Organised the fighters' supply networks; sought her husband's remains until 2023

8,000 women detained

Under the Emergency Powers, 1954 to 1960, most of them at Kamiti

The cooking pot and spoon

Women War Council veterans, 1966, writing of their neglect

Gender injustice, then and now

What colonial rule did to Afrikan women continues in Kenya today

Sexual violence in the camps

Jane Muthoni Mara, about 15, sexually assaulted at Gatithi screening camp in 1954

Land in men's names

Colonial registration named the eldest male; women individually hold title to about 1% of land

Erased from the record

8,000 women detained, yet the fighters' accounts give 'limited attention' to women

On the tea estates

BBC, 2023: more than 70 women sexually abused by managers on British-owned estates

Agnes Wanjiru

Killed near Nanyuki in 2012; a former British soldier arrested in London in 2025

Femicide

At least 97 women killed in three months of 2024, police records show

We charge genocide

"Colonial military expeditions led to genocide and forced migrations"

Professor Peter O. Ndege, Moi University (2009): among the Agikuyu, Abagusii, Nandi, Ababukusu, Giriama and all who met colonial force with force

1905

Koitalel arap Samoei, Orkoiyot of the Nandi, shot at a meeting called as a truce

The Emergency, from 1952

Nearly a million Gĩkũyũ in detention camps and concentration camps; at least 100,000 dead (Elkins)

Lemkin's two phases

Destroy the national pattern of the oppressed; impose the oppressor's

We charge ecocide

About 46% of Kenya's montane forest cover was lost in the colonial period, largely to plantations and agricultural projects (Max Planck Institute of Geoanthropology, 2025)

The coloniser still here

British Army training burned the Lolldaiga Hills in 2021; UK paid 7,500+ Kenyans

Owino Uhuru

Lead poisoning. Supreme Court, 2024: KSh 1.3 billion and clean-up. Still unpaid

Lamu

Save Lamu organised for a decade; the court upheld the coal licence's cancellation, 2025

Whose definition?

The International Criminal Court proposal tests single acts. Afrikan scholars say colonial history must count

We charge ecocide



Kĩrĩnyaga and the Aberdares



Owino Uhuru (illustrative)



Save Lamu marching



Lolldaiga Hills burning, 2021

Legacies in Kenya today: land and economy

Land and inequality

Settler alienation of the White Highlands; tea firms still lease land the Kipsigis and Talai say was taken

An export economy

A narrow base of tea, coffee, pyrethrum and flowers; dependence on outside powers

Railways and towns

The railway from Mombasa built for colonial commodities; development concentrated in a few towns

Land and forests

Colonial commodity production and forest concessions drove environmental degradation

Source: Professor Peter O. Ndege, 'Colonialism and its Legacies in Kenya', Moi University (2009)

Legacies in Kenya today: state and politics

Borders

Drawn from Berlin: over forty peoples joined; Maasai, Somali, Luo and others divided

Divide and rule

Ethnic identity institutionalised by colonial rule and still mobilised in politics

The inherited state

Centralised, authoritarian rule and British law and administration, inherited at independence

Elites

Power kept through corruption and ethnic mobilisation

Foreign troops

Land and Freedom Army veterans demand Kenyan jurisdiction over British forces (2026)

Repair unmet

Liability denied in 2013; over 8,000 survivors with no offer; the 2018 case dismissed on time

Sources: Ndege (2009); Mau Mau War Veterans Association (2026); UK Government (2013)

Corporate capture

Land after independence

About a sixth of former European properties sold cheaply to the Kenyatta family and allies (UN-backed commission); TJRC, 2013

Pandora Papers, 2021

Kenyatta family: at least 7 offshore companies, Panama and British Virgin Islands, over $30 million

Family empires

Kenyatta (Brookside, NCBA, Northlands: 12,000+ acres), Moi, Odinga and Ruto business groups

Foreign corporations

Airport to India's Adani Group for 30 years: cancelled in 2024 only after US bribery charges

TJRC: Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission. Sources: ICIJ (2021); Nation; Citizen Digital (2024)

Ithaka na wĩathi: land and freedom

The aims of the Mau Mau War of Liberation, stated in the army's own title

The army named its aims

The Kenya Land and Freedom Army. The British named it Mau Mau, probably from muma, the oath of allegiance binding fighters and their networks of support

Name what they fought for

"It is time that Kenyan, African and all progressive scholars started calling the movement and the soldiers of liberation by names which correctly reflected what they were fighting for"

Mwalimu Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, preface to 'Mau Mau From Within: The Story of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army' (Karari Njama and Donald L. Barnett; Daraja Press, 2021)

What the fighters demanded

From the Kimaathi Charter, issued by the Kenya Defence Council

Our economy

'Authorities of gold, markets, roads, co-operative societies, and auctions to be in the hands of Africans'

Foreign forces out

'European foreigners, rascals, troops and police should be withdrawn from Kenya African Reserves'

Our own law

'We reject the foreign laws in Kenya, for they were not made for Kenya and are not righteous'

Our own courts

'We reject criminal or death cases to be judged by foreigners'

Women's freedom

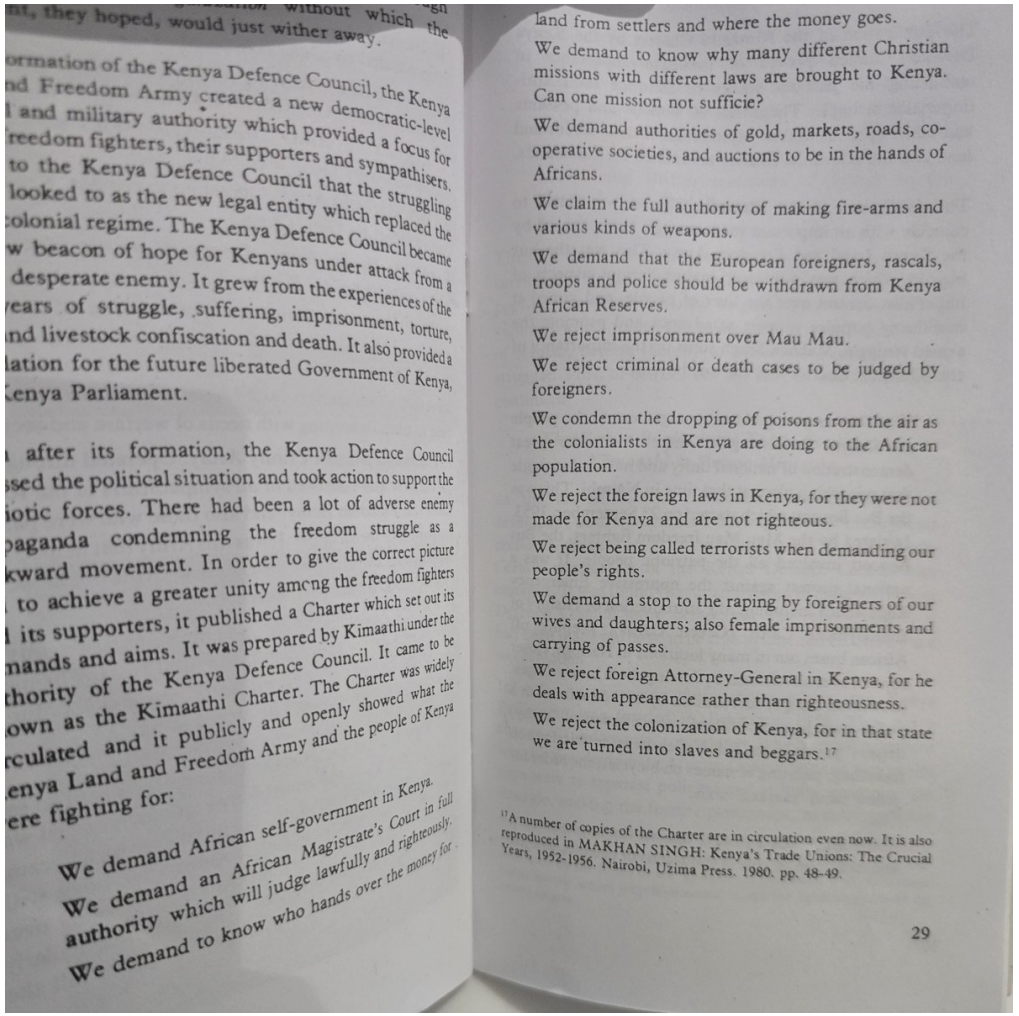
'A stop to the raping by foreigners of our wives and daughters; also female imprisonments and carrying of passes'

Our true name

'We reject being called terrorists when demanding our people's rights'

Source: Shiraz Durrani, 'Kĩmaathi: Mau Mau's First Prime Minister of Kenya' (Vita Books)

The Kimaathi Charter



they hoped, would just wither away.

ormation of the Kenya Defence Council, the Kenya
nd Freedom Army created a new democratic-level
l and military authority which provided a focus for
reedom fighters, their supporters and sympathisers.
to the Kenya Defence Council that the struggling
looked to as the new legal entity which replaced the
olonial regime. The Kenya Defence Council became
w beacon of hope for Kenyans under attack from a
desperate enemy. It grew from the experiences of the
ears of struggle, suffering, imprisonment, torture,
nd livestock confiscation and death. It also provided a
lation for the future liberated Government of Kenya,
enya Parliament.

after its formation, the Kenya Defence Council
sed the political situation and took action to support the
iotic forces. There had been a lot of adverse enemy
paganda condemning the freedom struggle as a
kward movement. In order to give the correct picture
to achieve a greater unity among the freedom fighters
its supporters, it published a Charter which set out its
nands and aims. It was prepared by Kimaathi under the
thority of the Kenya Defence Council. It came to be
own as the Kimaathi Charter. The Charter was widely
rculated and it publicly and openly showed what the
enya Land and Freedom Army and the people of Kenya
ere fighting for:

We demand African self-government in Kenya.
We demand an African Magistrate's Court in full
authority which will judge lawfully and righteously.
We demand to know who hands over the money for
land from settlers and where the money goes.
We demand to know why many different Christian missions with different laws are brought to Kenya. Can one mission not sufficie?
We demand authorities of gold, markets, roads, co-operative societies, and auctions to be in the hands of Africans.
We claim the full authority of making fire-arms and various kinds of weapons.
We demand that the European foreigners, rascals, troops and police should be withdrawn from Kenya African Reserves.
We reject imprisonment over Mau Mau.
We reject criminal or death cases to be judged by foreigners.
We condemn the dropping of poisons from the air as the colonialists in Kenya are doing to the African population.
We reject the foreign laws in Kenya, for they were not made for Kenya and are not righteous.
We reject being called terrorists when demanding our people's rights.
We demand a stop to the raping by foreigners of our wives and daughters; also female imprisonments and carrying of passes.
We reject foreign Attorney-General in Kenya, for he deals with appearance rather than righteousness.
We reject the colonization of Kenya, for in that state we are turned into slaves and beggars.[17]

[17] A number of copies of the Charter are in circulation even now. It is also reproduced in MAKHAN SINGH: Kenya's Trade Unions: The Crucial Years, 1952-1956. Nairobi, Uzima Press. 1980. pp. 48-49.

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The charter opens

'We demand African self-government in Kenya'

'We demand to know who hands over the money for land from settlers and where the money goes'

And closes

'We reject the colonization of Kenya, for in that state we are turned into slaves and beggars'

Issued by the Kenya Defence Council. Shiraz Durrani, 'Kĩmaathi', pp. 28–29

How our peoples overstand repair

Our own law and thought show what repair is and means for our people

Molato ga o bole

A crime does not rot: time moves in cycles, and a remembered wrong is present (Setswana, Sesotho)

Ma'at

Holistic justice from Kemet (Ancient Egypt): a wrong weighed against the balance it broke

Ubuntu · ũmũndũ · utu

A person is a person through other persons; humanness (Gĩkũyũ); humanity (Kiswahili)

Kihooto

The Gĩkũyũ moral principle of right, upholding integrity and harmony

Githaka ni ngwatira

Land is a loan, held by the mbari across the generations

Ithaka na wĩathi

Self-mastery through land: the Kenya Land and Freedom Army's watchword

Repair within the peoples' own structures

Kenya's peoples have always set wrongs right in their own institutions

Ameru

Njuri Ncheke: council of elders making peace to this day

Kalenjin

Kokwet: neighbourhood council settling disputes and allocating land

Akamba

Truth first; compensation restores relations across the clan

Somali

Xeer: a whole lineage shares compensation owed for a life

Maasai, 2016

Elders set repair for the Delamere family: repair first, forgiveness last

Kipsigis and Talai

All the clans meet again: the land back, in the clans' names

Kenya's Constitution, Article 159: courts must promote traditional dispute resolution

Decolonising Kenya's law

The coloniser's test

Judicature Act 1967, s. 3(2): customary law only if 'not repugnant to justice and morality'

Decolonising jurisprudence

Dr Willy Mutunga: Article 159; Supreme Court Act 2011, s. 3, Kenya's history and traditions

The law schools

Rachael Kipkoech (2024): bring Indigenous knowledge systems into what they teach

Repair from within includes the law itself

The 2013 settlement: look past the money

£19.9 million

About £6 million to the law firm Leigh Day; about £2,600 each for 5,228 people

Struggles among Kenyans

Firms competed for veterans' names; veterans turned away; 8,000+ received no offer

Mukami Kimathi's case

Brought for 40,000+ people; stopped by the High Court in London in 2018 on time

What was demanded

Field Marshal Kimathi's remains brought home for burial, and the land they fought for

PARCOE (Pan-Afrikan Reparations Coalition in Europe), 2013: objected to CARICOM retaining the same firm

Children of the fighters

Left off the list

Fighters and their families were left off the 2013 list of 5,228 claimants, they told us, while some who never fought were on it

Itugu, son of Kiburu

Detained from 1954 to 1961. His daughter, Wacera Itugu, spoke at the convening to draw attention to his plight

The colonial record

A 1961 list of a detainee's belongings, taken at Mackinnon Road Detention Camp in 1954, 'and no receipt was given'

Kenya's own commission

In 2013 the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission named land the leading driver of conflict; its report awaits implementation

Testimony at the convening, October 2026. Many who sacrificed most live today in abject poverty

The Commission of Inquiry and Kenya's survivors

Global Britain

The Commission takes global Britain as its subject: what the British state did here and across its empire, Kenya included

Beyond the 2013 settlement

Liability denied in 2013. The Commission would investigate what has been and is being done, and recommend solutions, redress and repair

Kenyan heritage communities

It centres Afrikan heritage communities in Britain, joined by family ties to the survivors; testimony from Kenya is the vision still to be won

Lessons from Kenya

Recommendations need a way of being carried out that the implicated cannot rewrite; survivors have a say in who decides

Commission of Inquiry for Truth and Reparatory Justice (CITARJ) · stopthemaangamizi.com/citarj

The right to reparation takes five forms

UN Basic Principles (2005): compensation is one of the five

Restitution

Return what was taken: land, looted treasures, ancestral remains

Compensation

Payment for damage. On its own it leaves the truth untold

Rehabilitation

Medical, psychological, legal and social care

Satisfaction

Truth-telling, apology and memorials

Non-repetition

Guarantees that the harm will not happen again

Test every offer

London, 2013: regret, no liability. State House, 2026: a fund, no apology

Test every offer against all five, and against cessation first

Kenya's case for reparation: a timeline

1895 British protectorate declared; the railway from Mombasa opens the land to settlers; the Maasai moved off Laikipia (1904, 1911)

1915 Crown Lands Ordinance declares Afrikan land Crown land; kipande passes follow; the White Highlands confirmed in 1934

1952 The Emergency: detention camps and concentration camps, more than 1,000 hanged; land consolidated for loyalists (Swynnerton Plan, 1954)

1963 Independence: settler farms sold to Kenyans on loans repaid over 30 years; the Kenya Land and Freedom Army stays banned until 2003

2004 The Ndung'u Commission documents public land illegally allocated to the politically connected

2013 £19.9 million settlement, liability denied; the Truth Commission names land the leading driver of conflict, and awaits implementation

2024 Gen Z rises: at least 128 killed and 83 forcibly disappeared in 2024–25 (Amnesty International)

Kenya's case for reparation: land stolen twice

Ithaka na wĩathi: land is at the centre of the case

Stolen by colonialism

Maasai Agreements (1904, 1911); Crown land (1915); the White Highlands; Kipsigis and Talai evicted for tea

Stolen again

The fighters' land handed to home guards, who became the new ruling class

Bought back with debt

Settler farms bought with nearly £12.5 million in British loans, repaid by those settled

Grabbed by elites

Settler farms and coastal plots taken by the ruling family and the politically connected

Landless today

65% of arable land held by 20% of Kenyans; 67% own less than an acre each on average

Extraction continues

Ogiek and Endorois evicted; carbon conservancies ruled unconstitutional (2025)

Source: Shiraz Durrani, 'Land is the Key Issue in Kenya', in 'From Mau Mau to Ruto-Must-Go'

The land was never returned

‘Failure to return the land stolen in colonial times is, for millions of people, the most serious in the string of broken promises’ (Kenya People’s Union, 1969)

Land and freedom unmet

The fighters’ demand for land and freedom was never met: the struggle continues

Land and food

Land reform is integral to food sovereignty: the Njaa (Hunger) Revolution of 2022 and today’s streets

What flowed from the taking of land

Kenya's case for reparation, continued: one continuum, from colonisation to Gen Z

Political violence

Emergency camps and hangings; torture after independence; Gen Z protesters killed and abducted

Gender injustice

Sexual violence in the camps; land in men's names; women erased; femicide today

Ecocide

Forests cleared for plantations and bombed; Lolldaiga burned; Owino Uhuru poisoned

Suppression of memory

The movement banned until 2003; colonial files destroyed or hidden; monuments neglected

Ancestors' remains

Koitalel arap Samoei's head taken to London; Field Marshal Kimathi in an unmarked grave

Extraction and debt

An economy built for colonial commodities; corporate capture; the debt Gen Z rose against

The Maangamizi in Kenya: why only full repair will do



"Reparations is a process of the repairing and remaking of a people who are in the process and practice of repairing, renewing [and transforming] and remaking the world."

Professor Maulana Karenga

[and transforming]: Esther Xosei's addition

Defining full repair

Full repair wipes out all the consequences of the wrong: it stops the harm still being done, returns what was taken, restores what the perpetrators set out to destroy, and sees our sovereignty reclaimed. For the Maangamizi, that is world remaking.

International law, read in our interest

Reparation must "wipe out all the consequences of the illegal act" (Permanent Court of International Justice, Chorzów Factory, 1928)

The order of full repair

1

Stop the harm

Cessation stands within reparation and comes first

2

Restitution

Return what was taken; our people reclaim our land

3

Restoration

On our own terms, resourced by those who owe it, without their direction

4

Sovereignty

Reclaimed; self-determination exercised in full

Defining decolonisation by what it is for

Dr Frantz Fanon

The restoration of nationhood to the people; the creation of new people

Amílcar Cabral

Every people's right to its own history, usurped by imperialism and regained

Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah

Sovereignty with substance, beyond its outward trappings

Mwalimu Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

Re-membering what empire dismembered

Kenya Land and Freedom Army

Ithaka na wĩathi: self-mastery through land

Professor Kwasi Wiredu

Conceptual decolonisation: thinking in our own languages

Reparation and decolonisation

Decolonisation is part of reparation, when reparation means full repair

A means

Decolonisation clears the ground

Towards an end

On that ground we reclaim our sovereignty and exercise it in full

Land and life, on our own terms

Decolonisation and reparation are holistic: both are about the return of land and of life

On whose terms?

'There is no "uniform" theory of reparations that fits all cultures, all nations, and all peoples' (Professor Rebecca Tsosie)

Not a metaphor

'Decolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life' (Professors Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, 2012)

The link, made plain

1

The Maangamizi broke worlds

Personhood, nationhood and environments; colonialism and neocolonialism continue it

›

2

Full repair remakes them

Stop the harm, return what was taken, restore what was destroyed

›

3

Decolonisation lives within it

The return of land and life, our languages, our knowledge and the power to decide

›

4

Sovereignty restored

Maatubuntuman in Ubuntudunia: one vision, named from two sides

Full repair, here in Kenya

1

Stop the harm

End the killing of young people; Kenyan jurisdiction over foreign troops; stop ecocide

2

Restitution

Land back to the Kipsigis, Talai and all dispossessed; Koitalel arap Samoei's head and Field Marshal Kimathi's remains home

3

Restoration

Redress for survivors and their children; archives, languages and sites such as Kahiga-ini protected

4

Sovereignty

Peoples' councils renewed, women and young people deciding equally: ithaka na wĩathi

Sovereignty: which meaning?

The Westphalian model

Supreme authority within a territory, held by the state alone, inside fixed borders (Peace of Westphalia, 1648). Imposed on Afrika with the borders drawn at Berlin.

Asante

The Golden Stool: the soul of the nation, never sat upon. Yaa Asantewaa defended it, 1900

Borana and Oromo

Gadaa: leadership passes on every eight years

Gĩkũyũ

Land is a loan across the generations; self-mastery through land

Indigenous Americas

Professor Taiaiake Alfred: 'Sovereignty: An Inappropriate Concept'; food sovereignty, Nyéléni 2007

Restoring our sovereignty

Decolonisation clears the ground. Restoring our sovereignty is the active work that follows, on our own terms.

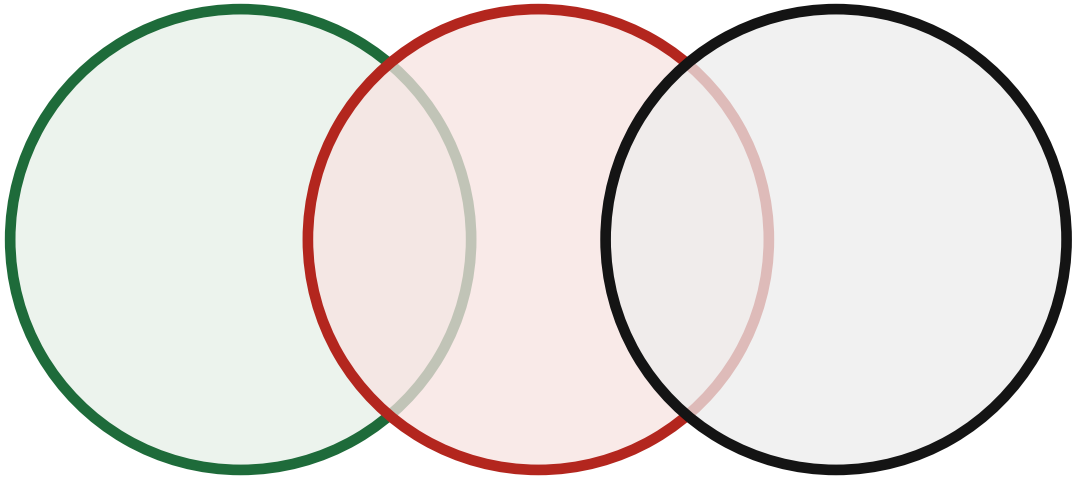
Sovereignty as relationship

With the people, the ancestors, those yet to be born and the land, exercised as responsibility

Ubuntudunia is pluriversal

It recognises many conceptions of sovereignty, each on its own terms, in solidarity

Planet Repairs



The nexus of

- **Cognitive justice**
- **Environmental justice**
- **Reparatory justice**

"Planet Repairs refers to the need to proceed from a standpoint of pluriversality that highlights the nexus of reparatory, environmental and cognitive justice in articulating the need to repair holistically our relationship with, and inseparability from, the earth, environment and the pluriverse." (Frith and Stanford-Xosei, 2021)

Economy: its first meaning

Underdevelopment

Professor Walter Rodney, 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa' (1972): wealth extracted

Maldevelopment

Professor Samir Amin (1990): growth that fails the needs of the peoples it claims to serve

Oikonomia

Oikos, the household as the whole unit of life, and nemein, to manage and allot: stewardship of what life needs

Ogonize: defend ecologically and culturally vital territories from extraction. For Ogoniland, a restoration boom in place of another oil boom (Oilwatch and 51 organisations, 2026)

Sovereignty reclaimed: the world we are building

Maatubuntuman in Ubuntudunia

A self-repaired Afrika, a Pan-Afrikan Union of Communities embodying Ma'at and practising Ubuntu, within a multipolar, pluriversal, anti-imperialist world of global justice for all

Rematriation: the return to the Mother

Physical return to the Motherland Afrika for those who choose it, alongside historical, cultural and spiritual restitution owed to the ascendants of those forcibly removed, and our return to our Indigenous knowledge archives

Rematriation in Kenya

The memory of the Mother

The Gĩkũyũ trace their origin to Gĩkũyũ and Mũmbi, and the clans carry the names of their daughters to this day

Patriarchy imposed

Colonial registration put land in the eldest male's name. Women head about a third of households, yet individually hold title to about 1% of land

Writing themselves back in

January 2024: thousands of women marched across Kenya against femicide, with the cry 'Stop killing us!'

A practical programme

Women holding title to land, women's safety, and women deciding in our councils and our movements

Sources: FIDA Kenya; Human Rights Watch (2024). Full repair includes what colonial rule did to Afrikan women

Who decides? Whose right is it?

The survivors of the Maangamizi are the holders of the right to a remedy and reparation

State capture

Governments set the terms on their own interests

Elite capture

Platforms used to speak for us without a mandate

Movement capture

Leading without recognising the grassroots before them

Anything about us without us will be against us

Places of memory and struggle



Ufungamano House



Field Marshal Kimathi's statue

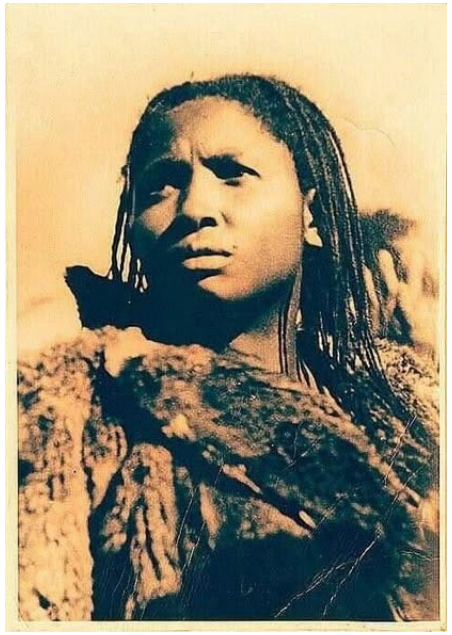


Freedom Corner: the 2015 memorial



Remembering Kimathi, with Mukami Kimathi

Walking with the Mashujaa, October 2026



Field Marshal Mũthoni in her forest coat



The coat today, at her home



The original Land and Freedom Army flag



Kahiga-ini: the bare ground where he was shot



Tea grows all around it

Archives of struggle, kept by the people

Mashujaa Heritage Archives & Library

Mwakenya House, Lower Kabete: a home gifted by a Mashujaa family, becoming a community library, research space and hub. Its mural traces Kenya's movements, from the Nandi resistance to the Gen Z uprising, each built on those before

ISMAR/Pan-Afrikan Reparations Movement Archives

Being developed under the Maangamizi Educational Trust: a public digital archive of the grassroots organising of the International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations, from the late 1980s to the present



Mwakenya House, Lower Kabete, home of the Mashujaa Heritage Archives & Library

Pan-Afrikan internationalist solidarity

Glocal: rooted in our local struggles, joined to our people's struggles everywhere

Haiti, 1804 and 1825

The first free Black republic; France forced Haiti to pay for its own freedom

Kenyan police, 2024–2026

US-funded mission, ruled unconstitutional by Kenya's High Court; ended underfunded, with abuse allegations

Solidarity

Kenyans and Haitians together against the powers that indebted, occupied and policed us both; Haitians deciding their future

Gen Z: each generation discovers its mission

June 2024: young Kenyans rose against the Finance Bill and entered Parliament. More than 120 have been killed across the movement

Astute and politicised

Thinking hard about their future, youth unemployment and the society they want; naming the malevolent patriarchy

Cessation comes first

A 2026 compensation fund, with no apology and almost no convictions. Stop the killing

What we can do, from the ground up

Artivists

Open the tomb: tell the whole truth in the people's own languages; make the songs, stories and memorials

Activists

Build the people's mandate; defend the land; Ogonize; convene people's commissions

Scholars

Conceptual decolonisation; research with and for communities; return what you learn

Universities and archives

Keep the records close to the people, alongside community archives such as the Mashujaa Heritage Archives & Library

All of us: the Tri-Sectoral Network for Reparations and Decolonisation

The way forward from Nairobi

Survivors and their children first

Redress for the fighters and the families left off the 2013 list; their testimony recorded, heard and acted on

Commissions that deliver

Implement Kenya’s Truth Commission findings; in Britain, a Commission of Inquiry for Truth and Reparatory Justice

Bring our ancestors home

Koitalel arap Samoei's head to the Nandi; Field Marshal Kimathi's remains to his family; Kahiga-ini protected

Keep the people's archives

Resource community archives such as the Mashujaa Heritage Archives & Library, and connect them through the ISMAR/Pan-Afrikan Reparations Movement Archives

Join the Tri-Sectoral Network for Reparations and Decolonisation · stopthemaangamizi.com/citarj

Questions to carry: how do we know?

1. How do we know the truth? Which truths are still sealed in the tomb, including truths about ourselves, and whose archive holds them?

2. How do we know whose terms we are on? Who drafts the demands, and do women and young people decide equally?

3. How do we know repair from capture? Test every offer against the five forms of reparation, and cessation first

Questions to carry: how do we know? (continued)

4 How do we know decolonisation is happening? Have our peoples reclaimed the land, who decides, and where does the wealth go?

5 How do we know self-repair when we see it? Which practices of repair in our own languages should guide us?

6 What outlasts us? What will we build, beginning now, that continues after Ufungamano House?

Molato ga o bole

A crime does not rot

"A struggle doesn't drop from the sky; it has roots, it has been going on for years."

Professor Walter Rodney