

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

DER - 33
European Political and
Mau Mau Developments

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c/o Barclays Bank
Queensway
Nairobi, Kenya

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Fire has become the new Mau Mau weapon in Nairobi. After more than two years of fighting with guns and knives, Mau Mau now has turned to arson in its attempt to drive the Europeans from Kenya. A Mau Mau terrorist can be sentenced to death for carrying a gun or a bullet. But a match? That is a different thing.

A series of arson cases and cases of attempted arson have occurred in and around the city in recent weeks. One night the Mau Mau fired a stable belonging to Derek Erskine, a Nairobi wholesale grocer who is a leader of the multi-racial United Kenya Club and who has a reputation for being "liberal" and "pro-African." Two horses were burned so severely that they had to be destroyed. One, a famous jumper, belonged to Governor Sir Evelyn Baring.

A week later, Basil McNicol, 37, a railway employe, and his wife, Doris, 31, a barber shop receptionist, had just retired for the evening in their ground-floor cottage at the Salisbury Hotel. A Mau Mau arsonist splashed gasoline over the door to the cottage. Then he lighted it and disappeared into the night.

The McNicols were trapped by a wall of flame at the door. They turned to the window, but, like most windows in Nairobi, it was covered with a heavy wire grill---to keep the Mau Mau out. McNicol was lucky in that he was able to smash through the grill and he and his wife escaped. But they were seriously burned.

A number of other arson cases have occurred since then, involving European homes, parked cars and even the government African hospital. Several Africans have been stopped on the street, searched and found to be carrying bottles of gasoline and bundles of rags. There has been no loss of life and no one but the McNicols has been injured to date.

But the Mau Mau arsonists have had a chilling effect on Nairobi's Europeans. They have become used to being ready to defend themselves with guns if the Mau Mau comes around. But the stealthy arsonist is another matter and his weapon is harder to fight. The windows of most houses and of all hotel rooms are covered with bars or grillwork. They keep the Mau Mau out; they can keep you in.

The government has responded by decreeing a new law under the Emergency regulations. Any person in possession of "incendiary material" without "reasonable excuse" can be sentenced to up to 14 years in prison. The onus of proving reasonable excuse rests with the accused and

"incendiary material" is defined only as anything capable of starting a fire. Some settlers have been demanding the death penalty in arson cases.

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While Mau Mau has been busy trying to burn the Europeans from Kenya, another struggle has been going on in the European community itself. This struggle, too, raises the question of what the white settlers' position will be in the future.

The matter received an airing in October when delegates representing all shades of European opinion met to consider whether a political truce should be declared. European political unity had been shattered when multi-racial government for Kenya was embarked upon last spring.* Later, two distinct political parties had emerged.

With the implementation of the Lyttelton Plan for multi-racial government, three leading European elected members of the colony's Legislative Council crossed the floor to become unofficial---i.e., non-Colonial Service---ministers of the colonial government. Henceforth they were obliged to support government policy.

But the other 11 elected Europeans had no such commitment and they continued with their sometimes-noisy opposition to the colonial government. Later Michael Blundell, the settler leader who had become Minister Without Portfolio, formed the United Country Party, dedicated to multi-racial government but with a membership reserved initially for Europeans only.

Another group, called the Federal Independence Party, had been in existence for some time, but only as a splinter group outside the Electors' Union---which had been the agency through which European unity had been preserved in the past. With the formation of the UCP, the issues became more crystallized. The FIP picked up steam as the party opposed to multi-racial government. Meanwhile the once-powerful Electors' Union, lacking any positive program, dwindled in power and influence.

But neither the UCP nor the FIP seemed to have gained any mass followings. There was a third force in Kenya politics---the "anti-party" people. A majority of settlers probably felt this way. They maintained that party politics could only weaken the European position in Kenya---and they felt that this position had already been seriously undermined by the inclusion of Asians and Africans (but particularly a Hindu Asian) in the government. The "anti-party" people said that European unity must be preserved in face of rising African and Asian political demands.

So the "anti-party" group, led by the Earl of Portsmouth, president of the tottering Electors' Union, called the October truce conference. The idea was to get the UCP and the FIP to go into low gear---or, better still, into cold storage. During the period of the truce, which Lord Portsmouth proposed should be for four months, attempts would be made to restore at least a measure of the old unity. Public political meetings would be banned. Political leaders would refrain from initiating or embarking upon public

* Discussed in DER-18 and DER-26.

controversy. They would refrain, too, from the old Kenya custom of sending irascible letters to the press. Meanwhile a committee embracing all shades of opinion would hold a series of meetings in an effort to sink all party differences and formulate a policy agreeable to everyone. It was hoped that agreement could be reached on all points. But, if not, then the aim was to secure as much agreement as possible.

When the truce conference opened on October 4, the issue before the delegates was: Should the Kenya settlers maintain white unity at all costs and present a united white front to the other races? Or should they agree to split into two or more camps, with one of them dedicated to multi-racial government and close cooperation with Africans and Asians?

* * *

The truce conference was a far cry from settler meetings during the halcyon days of the 1920s. In those days, colonial governors danced attendance at noisy sessions of the Convention of Associations, the predecessor of the Electors' Union. Fiery gentleman-farmers would voice impatient demands for "self-government"---i.e., self-government for the settlers, with the settlers governing the Africans and Asians. Because of settler pressure, the Imperial Government on more than one occasion had hastily changed its policy.

But the October 4 meeting was a different affair. The power of the settlers has waned considerably since the 1920s. A class of educated Africans has come into being, where before there had only been primitive tribesmen. Africans and Asians now have a share, though small, of the political power. The old cry of "self-government" is less often heard. Instead the settlers are on the defensive, fighting to keep the other races from making inroads on "parity"---the system under which the European settlers have one-half of the unofficial seats in Legco and the new Council of Ministers, with the Asians, Africans and Arabs sharing the other half between them.

In the old days, the Imperial Government probably would never have dared push something like multi-racial government down the settlers' throats. But the settlers are not the same wild men as of old. The ruggedly individualistic pioneer spirit is dying out in Kenya. The old settler may have shot two lions before breakfast---so that he could get out of his tent. But some of the newcomers in Kenya have never even seen a lion. Lions exist in the Royal Nairobi National Park just at the edge of town, but some of the newcomers are too busy living the life of Nairobi Suburbia to bother with Africa. They drive to work on a paved street, spend the day in a modern office and then return to a home equipped with modern conveniences. They are not the type of men to roar threats of rebellion in order to get their way. And all of the Kenya whites, whether newcomers or old settlers, are dispirited and dismayed by the way Mau Mau has managed to drag on month after month.

When Portsmouth opened the truce conference, he urged the delegates "to lay aside the superficial differences and find out the genuine grounds for agreement lying among all parties and individuals, and study the deeper cleavages dispassionately." As ever, Portsmouth was the calm, well-mannered gentleman, radiating charm and ease and

dropping frequent witticisms. He said that "four months or more of public silence cannot weaken our position. It will give us time to work agreement on how to seal this fissure and so end our fears. Perhaps, who knows, it will make time to renew real leadership as well." Portsmouth then moved the following prepared motion:

"That this conference agrees that discussions will be held between representatives of all European views in order to try to discover political solutions generally acceptable for Kenya.

"During the period of these discussions, which should be initially for four months, this conference agrees that no public meetings on constitutional matters should take place, nor should party officers or leaders of political groups and organizations initiate or embark on public controversy."

During the debate that followed, three attempts were made basically to alter Portsmouth's motion.

The first amendment was proposed by Major B. P. Roberts, a farmer at Fort Ternan who is chairman of the FIP. Roberts is a short, heavy-set, middle-aged man who habitually puffs on a big pipe. He speaks in a quiet and persuasive voice and manages to impart an air of superficial objectivity to what he says. To him the only real issue is "preserving white civilization" in face of attacks from Africans, Indians, Communists, Socialists, Egyptians and "misinformed" Englishmen. He is very much the realist and he has a lot of liking for the South African Nationalists.

Roberts proposed an amendment under which all 14 European elected members would be called upon to resign their seats if it became apparent that no agreement on "solutions generally acceptable for Kenya" could be reached in the four months. By-elections would then be held.

It was a bold political move on Roberts' part. He knew that the UCP has evoked little sympathy among the Kenya Europeans. The settlers as a whole have never supported the FIP in the past, but they might flock to it now as the only alternative to UCP "multi-racialism." Multi-racialism is anathema to large numbers of them.

Four elected members rose to oppose Roberts' amendment. No elected politician likes to expose himself to the rigors, expense and uncertainty of another election campaign and this may well have influenced their attitude toward the amendment. But aside from that, the purpose of the conference had been to call a political truce and try to restore unity---not to pave the way for a possible election with all its attendant political strife. Roberts might disagree with anything suggested as a generally acceptable solution so that he could get his elections.

Blundell was one of the elected members who opposed Roberts' amendment. He said he had promised Lyttelton that he would not press for early elections and that he could not go back on his promise. Roberts' amendment was defeated.

A second attack on Portsmouth's motion came from Blundell and his UCP followers. Blundell is a big, bluff Yorkshireman in his late 40s, who came to Kenya as a youth. He can be quite jovial but this time, when he addressed the delegates, he was dead serious. He said he rejects the whole idea of European unity on "narrow, racial lines." If European unity can only be achieved that way, then it should be abandoned. Nothing could be more dangerous to European interests in the long run. He rejected, too, Portsmouth's contention that differences between Europeans were "superficial."

"Parties have come to stay," Blundell told the delegates. "I don't believe this conference will achieve anything unless it faces realities. You cannot by a conference destroy the ferment in men's minds. We have great political power in our hands today and on a narrow racial front we can stand firm for a considerable time.

"But that is not the problem before us. What is going to be our relation with the African people in 25 years' time? The real problem is how to capture the imagination of the African so that in 25 years' time he will be with us, and not against us.

"The problem is our attitude toward what I may call the growing emotions and demands of the East. Can we meet that element in isolation or can we meet it by bringing along the Asian community among us.

"These issues won't be resolved on the basis of unity. I distrust the slogan of European unity. You can only get unity on the basis of a narrow racial front. If we are going to reduce things to a racial front, then we are going to tilt the odds against us. If the European denies his responsibilities today he is denying his leadership and isolating himself in a minority group of bitter and frustrated people.

"Unless we solve these problems, it is my belief that European enterprise will wither in isolation instead of flourish in cooperation with the other races."

Blundell said he would not put the UCP into cold storage. He might agree to a cessation of political bickering and mud-slinging, he he intended to keep the UCP organization intact.

A UCP member then moved an amendment to Portsmouth's motion. In its final form, the UCP amendment called for a straight six month ban on political strife. The significance of the amendment was that no meetings would be held during that time to try to find Portsmouth's "political solutions generally acceptable for Kenya." The UCP delegate said it would be a waste of time. The cleavages were too deep.

Portsmouth opposed the UCP motion. "If we are going to have a cessation of public controversy, it would be more practicable to couple it with a period during which talks should take place," he said.

After much debate, the UCP amendment was defeated by a vote of 67 to 61. The conference had rejected Blundell's plea to "face realities." It was a victory for Portsmouth and the anti-party

group.

The third and last attempt to alter Portsmouth's motion came from some uncompromising anti-party people. They proposed an amendment that would have put political parties in complete cold storage for at least four months. Both the UCP and the FIP opposed it vigorously and Major Roberts said:

"Let's face the facts. Two parties exist. Both the parties have gone to great trouble and expense and neither would be willing to cast aside what they have been working for. It does not matter what this meeting decides, we are not bound by their ruling. I strongly urge that we don't waste any more time on this amendment and get down to the (original) motion (by Portsmouth)."

Some delegates grunted with outrage at Roberts' threat to ignore anything they might decide. But after more discussion, the "cold storage amendment" was defeated. It was a small victory for the two parties. Thus, after tortuous turnings, the conference had worked its way back to Portsmouth's original motion.

It was becoming late in the afternoon---time for tea, time for the upcountry settlers to start home. Anyway, everyone was getting tired of talking.

It had become apparent to the UCP and the FIP that the delegates desperately wanted some sort of a truce. They were not prepared to accept Blundell's challenge; they would take the risk of withering in isolation. But neither would they join Roberts in an all-out partisan attack on the idea of multi-racial government. They just wanted to hang on, desperately, to the idea of unity.

Neither the UCP nor the FIP really wanted a truce. But, as a UCP leader remarked later, it would have been "politically unwise" to hold out against what seemed to be the majority opinion. So both parties threw in the towel.

The UCP declared it would support Portsmouth's motion and would name delegates to any committee that might be set up to search for "generally acceptable" political solutions. Roberts followed suit for the FIP. Portsmouth's motion was put to a vote. It was adopted unanimously. Only Humphrey Slade, who is anti-party and who is usually a maverick on any issue, abstained.

The conference then named a Standing Committee to hunt for the political solutions and to police the truce. Only Slade opposed it, saying that it was silly to appoint such a committee. Any effort to consolidate the Europeans should be made through the elected members, he said.

With that, the conference broke up. Not a few people were left asking, "What happened?" Portsmouth said to me that he was just as surprised as everyone else by the sudden capitulation of the UCP and FIP.

The chairmanship of the Standing Committee went to peacemaker Portsmouth, as an anti-party person representing the Electors' Union. The members of the committee would be:

- Four anti-party Electors' Union officials.
- Two anti-party (and especially anti-UCP) right-wingers.
- Two FIP representatives.
- Two UCP representatives.
- All European elected members (ex-officio), with the exception, presumably, of Slade, who said he would not participate.

Reaction to the conference was anything but enthusiastic. The East African Standard said the composition of the Standing Committee was not "impressively impartial" and said prospects of any real agreement are not particularly bright. The Kenya Weekly News said, "It is idle to pretend that the initial membership of the Standing Committee will evoke the confidence of all elements within the European community; and there would certainly be qualms about entrusting the committee with negotiations with other races."

In another article, the magazine declared:

"Recently a group of holiday makers in Malindi decided to form a party to fight for 'leave with liquor,' a slogan guaranteed to win any election. It will be a grave disappointment if this brilliant group is not invited to send two representatives to brighten the proceedings of a rapidly-swelling body which clearly stands in need both of a sense of proportion and a sense of humor."

Undaunted, the Standing Committee formed six "working parties" to work out acceptable solutions to (1) the Emergency, (2) constitutional matters, (3) fiscal problems, (4) African affairs, (5) immigration and (6) planning & development.

The working parties have held a series of meetings, but it is reported that few solutions have been unearthed. It is said that the only thing the Emergency Committee has done so far is to complain to the government about hospital conditions for members of the Kenya Regiment and the Kenya Police Reserve.

It seems that little agreement will be possible on constitutional matters. You either are for multi-racial government or you are against it. It would be difficult, too, to get agreement on the handling of the Emergency. The question immediately arises whether you are going to seek the cooperation of the other races in putting down Mau Mau.

On the whole, if any agreement is reached it probably will be on unimportant points or in such a watered-down fashion that the result will be meaningless. The Standing Committee's final report, should one be written, will be published after the truce ends on February 4.

Meanwhile neither the UCP nor the FIP has gone to sleep. Both are continuing to recruit members, though not publicly. There have been no public meetings and, with one exception which will be mentioned, no irate letters have been sent to the press. But both sides are quietly mustering their strength. Both plan to enter candidates at the next general election to fight for and against multi-racial government. Under the Lyttelton Plan, Kenya will revert to the status quo ante if persons are elected to Legco who refuse to serve as ministers. Leo Vigar, an FIP leader, says that

FIP candidates will refuse to serve. He says that if the FIP wins the majority of seats---i.e., eight or more of the 14---then it will demand a return to the status quo ante.

A truce has come, but party politics apparently are here to stay. They may flare up again in February, when the Electors' Union is to hold a colony-wide conference.

The truce appears to have gone off smoothly so far, but there have been two discordant developments.

The first occurred in early November when Brig. C. J. K. Hill, former executive officer of the Electors' Union, revealed in a letter to the East African Standard that the appointment of an Asian as a Parliamentary Secretary is imminent. The Lyttelton Plan provides that there shall be three to five Parliamentary Secretaries---or "assistant ministers"---of whom two must be Africans and one an Arab. (*1) In his letter to the Standard, Hill took his old political enemies, Blundell and Wilfred B. Havelock (Minister for Local Government, Health and Housing and also a UCP supporter) to task for not blocking the Asian appointment.

By good sources, I was told that a Hindu, C. B. Madan, who is an Asian elected member of Legco, is slated for the post. Lyttelton had extracted a promise from the Governor to appoint Madan to the job. Blundell got wind of it in April and insisted that the fifth Parliamentary Secretary be a European and that Madan's appointment be delayed so that the announcements of the appointments could be simultaneous.

To date, no European has been found who wants the job. The Governor has delayed Madan's appointment till December and European leaders hope he will wait until after the truce ends on February 4. They seem to accept the fact that the Governor is committed to making the appointment. "We can't expect him to go back on a gentleman's agreement," one said. But they nevertheless feared that the appointment of a Hindu would blow apart the whole truce and plunge the European community into another wrangle over multi-racial government.

However, Hill's letter seems to have provoked no response. Yes, these arn't the same breed of settlers as in the days of old.

The other discordant development in the truce arose when Blundell, in his capacity as a member of the War Council, flew to London to speed up the supply of manpower for Kenya's police and prisons. (*2) While there he held a press conference at which he declared that

(*1) Parliamentary Secretaries need not be members of Legco. Those already serving are (1) James Jeremiah, an African of the Taveta tribe and member of Legco who has become secretary to Havelock (Minister for Local Government, Health and Housing); (2) Sheriff Abdulla Salim, an Arab appointed unofficial member of Legco, who has become secretary to the Chief Secretary, and (3) Wanyutu Waweru, a Kikuyu, who has become secretary to the Minister for Education, Labour and Lands.

(*2) Blundell's War Council seat was taken by L. R. M. Welwood, European unofficial Minister for Forest Development, Game and Fisheries. Apparently Asians and Africans are out of the Council, even temporarily.

multi-racial government has "greatly reduced the temperature" of the Mau Mau Emergency because it put members of all races in positions of governmental responsibility. He also said, "We have had a call-up of Asians, but there have been difficulties over standards of education and health. They have produced four combat teams. All are doing well, and two especially well. The Asians in Kenya have put their weight behind the government."

A number of Kenya Europeans roared in anger at these statements. They said that multi-racial government has had no appreciable effect on the Emergency. Blundell, they felt, had committed "multi-racial treason." His optimistic assertion would only serve to rivet multi-racial government on them for all times.

Portsmouth as usual remained unruffled, but he said to me that the Asian combat teams are doing poorly and that Blundell's statement would make it exceedingly difficult ever to improve them. In my own opinion, Asian response to the Emergency has been unenthusiastic and one is reminded of N. S. Mangat's remark that: "The disabilities under which the Indian has been obliged to live in Kenya are not an incentive to the love of country or patriotism."

Kenya being what it is, it was not long before a settler suggested at a public meeting that the immigration authorities deny Blundell a re-entry permit into Kenya. That suggestion was laughed off by all concerned, but there were two developments of a serious nature.

Six European elected members notified a London newspaper which had described Blundell as the "leader" of the settlers, that Blundell was "no longer leader, official or unofficial, of the European settlers." The signers were all anti-party and had parted company with Blundell long ago, but this action served to finalize the break.

Portsmouth himself cabled Blundell that his statements were tending to exacerbate the settlers at a time when they were trying to settle their differences. Portsmouth told Blundell the statements had "threatened to destroy the political truce in Kenya." The decision that Portsmouth cable Blundell was taken by the Standing Committee on a vote of 7 to 1. A UCP representative cast the lone opposing vote. In a reply to Portsmouth, Blundell said: "Strongly deprecate any action by your organization which tends to damage reviving confidence in U. K. regarding future of Kenya."

Judging from press reports, Blundell's statements have been well received in England. But what represents "enlightened thought" in England is "heresy" in Kenya. Blundell's political standing has declined again.* He even drew criticism from some Kenya Asians, though for different reasons. They felt he did not go far enough in the direction of multi-racialism in his London statements.

* His only possible rival, Humphrey Slade, has also lost ground because of his "politically unwise" opposition to the truce. Slade, too, has disassociated himself from his strange honeymoon with the FIP (reported in DER - 18).

The Electors' Union has revived somewhat since the truce. But the recovery seems to be like that resulting from benzedrine---it lasts just so long.

The union has received a lot of publicity as the truce agency and is receiving public attention again. But contributions to the Central Office from the constituency organizations are low. The Rift Valley and Mau constituencies, whose elected members (Blundell and Crosskill) support the UCP, are reluctant to forward funds. Ukamba, whose elected member is anti-UCP, has not raised any. It is waiting to see what happens to the Electors' Union.

With the rise of parties, people are reluctant to contribute both to the "neutral" Electors' Union and to the UCP or FIP. At any rate, it would be difficult for any negative body to retain its power and influence, trying to embrace all views in a turmoil of partisan strife.

Lord Portsmouth reportedly will resign as president of the union at the February conference, to devote his full time to his farms. Lt. Gen. N. M. S. Irwin, chairman of the executive committee, also reportedly plans to resign. There are no likely choices as successors. The Kenya settlers are all but leaderless.

Some of those opposing Lyttelton's multi-racial government have been trumpeting an "alternative" plan. It is called the Londiani Plan---because three farmers near the town of Londiani cooked it up---and it calls for regional autonomy.

Kenya would be divided into three types of areas---one ruled by Europeans, one ruled by Africans and the Colonial Office and the third (consisting of the urban centers and the coastal strip) where multi-racial rule would exist. There would be a weak inter-racial government at the center. The central legislature would consist of 19 Colonial Service officials, 11 white settlers, 11 Africans, 6 Asians and 2 Arabs.

After decades of settler cries for "self-government" for all of Kenya, the Londiani Plan is something of a confession of defeat. The Europeans would retire into their comparatively-tiny White Highlands, there and only there to rule supreme. The principle of multi-racial government at the center is acknowledged. Even "parity" would be abandoned---the settlers would be outnumbered 19 to 11 by unofficials of other races. The colony would be saddled with the financial burden of one central and several regional legislatures. Duplicated effort could easily result. Such a process of white entrenchment in the highlands might intensify African and Asian demands for at least a slice of it. The Londiani Plan was born of a desire to have as little as possible to do with the other races. It was the support of the FIP.

The "anti-multi-racialists" also have been demanding that the three European unofficial ministers resign their constituencies. The demand is aimed particularly at Blundell and Havelock, the UCP sponsors. The third European unofficial minister, Mr. Welwood, is anti-UCP.

Those demanding the resignations say that it is all right for them to continue as ministers. But their constituencies should still be represented on the unofficial side in Legco. The argument is that since the three unofficial ministers must accept the government whip, their constituencies are denied unofficial representation.

But if the three ministers were to resign their constituencies, the whole idea of giving administrative responsibility to elected members would be negated. This led the Kenya Weekly News to declare:

"It would seem reasonable to conclude that opposition to a point of policy by an elected member within the Council of Ministers could not possibly be less effective than opposition in the legislature.

"Moreover, it would indeed be strange if a majority of the European community were to prefer nominated ministers, whom they can nowise call to account, to ministers whom their constituents can always call to account and, in the last issue, force their resignation.

"Sooner or later, the European community will realize that the surest, the soundest and the quickest way of increasing their political influence lies in the strong and united support of the three European elected members who are also members of the Council of Ministers."

The sounder suggestion has been made that unofficial ministers of all races be elected either by their communities or by their communal colleagues in Legco. The unofficial Legco seat vacated by the minister would then be filled in a by-election. Thus all constituencies would have unofficial representation and each community could pick its own minister. All unofficial ministers at present are chosen by the Governor.

But still the cries go up for the scalps of Blundell and Havelock, whom numbers of settlers regard as the personifications of the multi-racial trojan horse in their midst.

* * *

In May of 1936, Lord Francis Scott, a leader of the settlers, proposed a change in the colony's constitution. At that time, all executive responsibility was in the hands of Colonial Service officials. Scott declared that this led to "perpetual friction" between the settlers and the government. So he proposed that unofficials be taken into the government as ministers. He did not stipulate whom he meant, but it may be assumed that he was thinking only of the settlers. He acknowledged that this would lead to a "difficult position" because unofficial ministers would be responsible both to their constituents and to the Colonial government. It might lead to two parties among the unofficials, but it would "get away from the clear-cut line between officials and unofficials."

It would be a difficult position, indeed, but Lord Francis Scott said he believed that "the colony" (and by this he probably meant the settlers) was prepared to accept the responsibility.

Today, nearly 19 years later, one wonders if "the colony" was really prepared to accept the responsibility---in the only way in which it could ever have come.

* * *

The hunt for Mr. A. G. A. Leakey, the "blood brother" of the Kikuyu, is over. Mr. Leakey was abducted from his farm home near Nyeri on October 13 at the same time that his wife was murdered. After a long search, security forces found his body in a grave in a dense forest near Mount Kenya. There were no signs of violence. The authorities said the 70-year-old man must have been buried alive as a sacrifice to improve the fortunes of Mau Mau.

Mr. Leakey was known to the Kikuyu as murungaru---"the upright one." He received the name years ago while teaching trades to Kikuyu youths at a mission school. The mourners at the funeral included Chief Gideon, a leading Kikuyu chief, and Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, head of the Coryndon Museum and a cousin of Mr. Leakey.

A friend of Dr. Leakey's said to me: "He's more determined than ever to fight for the good Kikuyu. Now that the Mau Mau have done this to his cousin, everyone is turning away from all Kikuyu. Dr. Leakey feels that if he doesn't fight for the good Kikuyu, no one else will."

As an aftermath of the Leakey case, nine elderly people were compulsorily evacuated from their farm homes near Nyeri under new powers granted the Provincial Commissioner. It is said that some were on a Mau Mau list as further sacrifices. The government said only that the old people were unable to defend themselves. One old man had to accept the ridiculously low price of £500 (\$1,400) for his house and 110-acre farm. He had lived there 30 years. In ordinary times, the farm would be worth several times that much. But no one wants to buy a battlefield. Some settlers cried that the evacuations amounted to a capitulation to Mau Mau.

Nyeri was the scene of the trial of the terrorist leader known as "Field Marshal Kaleba," who is thought to have had knowledge of or connection with the Leakey sacrifice.

Kaleba, whose real name was Gaticci Kabutu, was one of the gang leaders who participated in the unsuccessful Mau Mau surrender negotiations last spring. Following the capture of General China, Kaleba surrendered to assist in the negotiations. He was sent back to the forest to induce the others to lay down their arms and give themselves up. But the surrender negotiations broke down,* and Kaleba never returned.

Then on October 24, just after the sacrifice of Mr. Leakey, a patrol of the King's African Rifles captured Kaleba and three others in a cave on Mount Kenya. They found two notes in the cave

* Reported in DER - 29.

written in Kikuyu. The first was translated as:

"Dear Sir Kaleba:

With much greetings. G. Kabui could not come because we are making arrangements for the sacrifice. We completed well that one of the European. Some of the property which was there we gave to the government and the rest is forwarded herewith."

Some of Mr. Leakey's possessions were found in the cave. The other note was translated as:

"Field Marshal G. Kaleba, Mount Kenya:

To the leaders who sent their askaris to go to the European called murungaru, and who caught him and participated in the deed, I want every leader to submit names of their askaris who were seen to take part.

---Wagikungu."

Kaleba maintained at first that he was a prisoner of the Mau Mau. Then he declared:

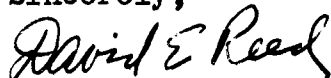
"I say that I am just ashamed because I have been prosecuted. I am recognized as a Field Marshal and the whole government knows about me and I am not saying that to save myself."

The three Kikuyu assessors returned a verdict of guilty on the charge of possessing a .45 revolver and 13 rounds of ammunition. The judge sentenced Kaleba to death.

A day later, in the Supreme Court at Nyeri, a 31-year-old European who works as an assistant farm manager was fined £50 (\$140) for "unlawfully wounding" two Africans. He pleaded guilty. The Crown prosecutor said the man, a Kenya Police Reservist, questioned two Africans about their connection with Mau Mau, then shot each in the leg when they denied any implication. The wounds were not serious. The defense attorney said his client was in a "state of nervous exhaustion" at the time.

On top of its arson troubles, Nairobi got a warning from the Coryndon Museum to be on its guard against poisonous snakes. A museum official said an abnormally high number of poisonous snakes have been appearing in Nairobi. He theorized that the clearing of large expanses of bush around the city---to deny hiding places to Mau Mau gangs---has driven the snakes to seek refuge in home gardens. There are four species of poisonous snakes in Nairobi: the puff adder, the black-necked cobra, the night adder and Gunther's garter snake.

Sincerely,



David E. Reed