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DER - 35
The Rise of Mau Mau - II

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c/o Barclays Bank
Queensway
Nairobi, Kenya

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Dear Mr. Rogers:

In the early 1930s, when the independent schools were just getting started, a rumble of the Mau Mau to come was heard in Kikuyuland. A new religious cult had formed and members called themselves the Watu wa Mngu, or "Men of God."

They regarded themselves as holy men and they claimed to have direct communion with God. Describing the sect, Kenyatta says:

"Their prayers are a mixture of Gikuyu religion and Christian; in these they add something entirely new to both religions. They perform their religious duties standing in a picturesque manner.

"In their prayer to Mwene-Nyaga (God) they hold up their arms to the sky facing Mount Kenya; and in this position they recite their prayers, and in doing so they imitate the cries of wild beasts of prey, such as lion and leopard, and at the same time they tremble violently. The trembling, they say, is the sign of the Holy Ghost, Roho Motheru, entering into them. While thus possessed with the spirits, they are transformed from ordinary beings and are in communion with Mwene-Nyaga."

The Watu wa Mngu claimed they had extraordinary physical strength. They hated money and foreign articles and some followers burnt foreign articles and threw away their manufactured utensils. They declared they were of the lost tribes of Israel and they often quoted the Biblical passage: "Princes shall come out of Africa, Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God."

Parts of the Bible were used as the basis for the Watu wa Mngu, but they also believed in communion with the ancestral spirits of the Kikuyu tribe. Kenyatta says: "As to communion with ancestors, it was argued that since the Church recognizes the sacredness of saints, who are but ancestors of the mzungu (European), and if the deity can be addressed by the saints and can listen to their intercessions, it will be the more likely that the spirits of the Gikuyu ancestors will act effectively.

"The Gikuyu ancestral spirits would have more personal interest in transmitting the prayers and needs of their descendants than mere outsiders who have to deal with requests from different peoples of the world."

As with other separatist religious cults in Kenya, the career of the Watu wa Mngu was climaxed by a violent clash with the police. This occurred in 1934 and some of the cultists were killed. It was suggested that they had engaged Dorobo blacksmiths to make arrows and spears for an uprising against the white men. Kenyatta denies

that this was their intention, but says that they did carry bows and arrows "as a symbol of their fight against the evil spirits." The government may have felt that the definition of an "evil spirit" could easily be extended to include a white man.

Watu wa Mngu was similar in many respects to Dini ya Msambwa, which sprang up many years later in western Kenya.* Both had a strong nativistic flavor. They were desperate and irrational flights from a disturbing reality---flights largely along magical lines---and they sought to restore something approximating the secure and familiar past.

Such movements can arise in times of stress among dominated people who consider themselves inferior. While the aim is to restore the past, certain aspects of the dominant culture (in this case, Christian beliefs) are carried along in the movement. Other aspects of the dominant culture, like the manufactured utensils and money, are rejected.

These movements are highly irrational and participants often believe that through their prayers, rites and religio-magical practices, they will succeed in restoring that measure of the old days. One impetus for the formation of the Watu wa Mngu probably was the heavy demands made by the missionaries on giving up the old customs. Along with this, the advent of the Europeans had resulted in a tremendous amount of disorganization in Kikuyu life and society. Some individuals probably were terrified by what had taken place. They would have been ready to grasp at any straw that came along.

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But Watu wa Mngu waned after the clash with the police. It seemed that most of the younger generation of Kikuyu desperately wanted to share in the white man's luxuries and comforts. They may have become embittered against the Europeans in certain respects, but they had no desire to throw away their money and manufactured goods and go back to primitive living. The European world stood out in dazzling contrast to life shared with goats in a dirt-floored hut. Education! That was the key to the white man's kingdom.

Large numbers of Kikuyu thought they could rise overnight as it were to the world of the Europeans. All that was needed, they thought, was a few years of education, coupled with the adoptance of the Christian religion and the imitation of certain outward ways of the Europeans.

But all of the varied aspects of civilization cannot be acquired at once. A Kikuyu who has spent his early, formative years receiving guidance from primitive parents was at a tremendous initial disadvantage in acquiring the skills and understandings that equip a European for his role in society. At any rate, neither a Kikuyu nor a European could rise far by virtue only of a few years of education.

* Discussed in DER 20, 21 and 22. Dini ya Msambwa is still active and a number of prosecutions of alleged members have taken place in Kitale recently.

This, though, was the expectation of thousands of young Kikuyu who poured into Nairobi, the city of shanties, modern buildings and palatial European residences that to the Kikuyu symbolized western civilization itself. From his point of view, the extravagant hopes of the partly-educated Kikuyu were understandable. He had no established standards to guide him. He had no earlier generations of school graduates after which to pattern himself and on whose successes he could gauge the prospects for realizing his own ambitions. After all, he had taken a tremendous leap over his parents by having acquired even a few years of education.

But from an employer's point of view, the partly-educated Kikuyu was useful only in a minor job---perhaps as a karani, or clerk. Disappointed that his much-prized few years of education did not elevate him to a European standard of living, the karani blamed everything on a malicious color bar erected by the Europeans. Carothers says in a study of Mau Mau that the African, because of a psychological outlook that lingers from the past, seldom regards misfortunes as his fault. Rather, says Carothers, misfortunes "are seen as the work of evil 'wills' and, since the power of these wills is now largely replaced by the power of the European, the latter is apt to be regarded nowadays as the sole author of all evil."

The discontented, half-educated Kikuyu could see no hope for an improvement of his fortunes---unless the white man, the villain of the piece, were to leave Kenya.

The chief victim of the color bar was the exceptional Kikuyu. By the 1930s, a small but potentially influential group of Kikuyu had studied in England. There they were fired by western ideas of democracy, one-man-one-vote and self-determination. They found that they were courteously received by the English people. Some Englishmen, particularly those in the Labour Party and the Fabian group, even gave them encouragement in their political ambitions.

A Kikuyu now in England recently wrote to me and said: "It has been a very pleasant surprise to find the English people here so different from those that I meet or have met in Kenya. You see, I can tell you this, Dave, but I cannot tell an Englishman in Kenya something like this, else he will be quite annoyed---perhaps call me Mau Mau. I have found the people here so kind, so helpful and courteous, that I sometimes wonder whether those in Kenya really come from this country. If they are, I would like to know what happens to them when they land in Mombasa or at Eastleigh.* I do not want to seem prejudiced against them, but it is impossible not to think about these things once one has seen the English in this country."

In England, the Kikuyu students enjoyed life with practically no color bar. Then, too, they met Africans from Britain's West

* Nairobi's main airport.

Coast territories who were on the verge of realizing their dreams of self-government. Kenyatta at one time shared the leadership of an African students' organization with a man named Nkrumah from the Gold Coast.

Nkrumah went home to become the first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, but the Kikuyu student went home to a different situation. They found they still were excluded from European-patronized hotels and restaurants, although an illiterate white man would be allowed into those places. They were offered jobs at a fraction of a salary a European would receive, even if the European were born in Kenya. (One Kikuyu, Peter Mbiyu Koinange, angrily turned down one such job, saying that his tuition fees had been no lower because of the color of his skin.)

The educated Kikuyu had done all they could have done; still they were not accepted into the white man's world. One has only to know these men---and their half-educated brothers as well---to realize just how strongly frustration colors their entire personalities.*

These educated men had strong political ambitions---one has always been to restore the lost lands. But there was no hope of Africans securing all or most of the political power in the foreseeable future.

The African nationalist in a territory devoid of white settlers may chafe under colonial rule, but his complaint is that progress toward self-government is too slow. He knows that he will win in the end. As the aim is to build an African state, his aid perhaps is enlisted. The chances are that he will obtain a good, responsible job. He acquires something approximating middle class respectability. For him, irresponsible action or violence is out. He knows that he will get his way eventually.

But the Kikuyu politician had no such inevitable goal. He realized that at best all he could do would be to share some of the power with the numerically-insignificant immigrant races. He had governed himself before the immigrants came, but now he would always be governed at least partly by them. The one-man-one-vote idea seemed out of the question for all of the foreseeable future. Unless? Unless the whites left Kenya.

The presence of the immigrant races was driving Kikuyu nationalism into a position that worked against their following constitutional methods. They became secretive and "subversive."

Significantly for future developments, the western-educated and hitherto western-oriented Kikuyu began to turn back to the past.

* The hostile attitude on the part of many settlers toward well-educated Africans stems in part from the fact that these Africans have acquired more education they they have. The education of many settlers ended with high school. This presents a difficulty to this type of settler: how does he reconcile the well-educated African with his deeply-ingrained views on permanent African inferiority (with which, in turn, he justifies his own semi-feudal position)? One answer is to hoist the color bar even higher.

They began glorifying the old days, glossing lightly over aspects of tribal life which they, as well-educated men, would be expected to regard with disapproval. Kenyatta's Facing Mount Kenya, first published in 1938, is dedicated as follows:

"To Moigoi and Wamboi and all the dispossessed youth of Africa: for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African Freedom, and in the firm faith that the dead, the living and the unborn will unite to rebuild the destroyed shrines." (Italics mine.)

The tone of the book is political. It plays down the benefits to the Kikuyu resulting from British administration and attempts to show that Kikuyu life in the old days was a sort of paradise. Accordingly there are some heavy apologies for such customs as female circumcision. The classic example is when Kenyatta says that a Kikuyu woman performed the operations "with the dexterity of a Harley Street surgeon." That was too much for Kenyatta's professor, B. Malinowski, who said in the introduction to the book: "I am not aware that a Harley Street specialist had ever been placed side by side with the old Kikuyu practitioner to be compared with her. Principles of asepsis are certainly not prominent in the ritual surgery of any African tribe."

The hitherto western-oriented Kikuyu leaders attempted to revive certain aspects of the dying Kikuyu culture. They tried without great success to revive the old system of age-grade organizations. They went back to their old tribal names, too, dropping their Christian ones, and Peter Mbiyu Koinange henceforth was known only as Mbiyu Koinanage.

Linton tells of similar revivals and says: "The elements revived become symbols of a period when the society was free, or, in retrospect, happy or great... By keeping the past in mind, such elements help to reestablish and maintain the self-respect of the group's members in face of adverse conditions." A nativistic movement---with a basically different orientation from that displayed in Watu wa Mngu---was taking shape.

It would always be difficult to assess the strength of the "spontaneously nativistic" side of a movement of this sort, as against what was whipped up by politicians---or "agitators," as African politicians are called. The Kikuyu politician certainly derived political advantage from making a fanfare about the old customs. He needed a following among his still somewhat primitive people and when he preached the old customs, he was talking about things the people knew and, at times, probably longed to see restored. From this point of view, the attempts to resurrect the old customs could be regarded merely as a cynical move on the part of politicians who knew that if they talked "western politics," they would evoke little response from their part-primitive people.

But at the same time there is evidence to believe that the Kikuyu leaders were as much carried along by the trend as that they were the master-minds of it. It is not hard to understand why a well-educated Kikuyu, seemingly barred forever from white

society and called a "boy" by less-educated whites, would turn instinctively to the past to find pride, security and self-respect.

A different situation exists in the other territories of British East Africa---Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. There the policy of "indirect rule" has generally been followed. Western civilization inevitably has undermined the old institutions and the indigenous governments are reduced to the level of puppets. Yet the transition is less abrupt than in Kenya, where the indigenous institutions were ignored.* The Muganda of Buganda, the Arab of Zanzibar or the African of a Tanganyikan tribe is perhaps better adjusted to the new status quo because at least a shell of his old institutions still exist. He can always fall back on them for consolation of a sort.

The embittered educated Kikuyu had no trouble picking up a following among the karanis, the discontented half-educated young men. They were ripe for any "agitator." Neither did the leaders have trouble finding a following among the masses, who were experiencing discontents of other sorts.

In the Reserve, mass medical care, maternal care and famine relief had been instituted. The population increased considerably, though just how much is not known. Fathers continued to divide their land equally among all their sons and soon each individual share could be only a sub-economic fragment. Numbers of young men had to go off to Nairobi or elsewhere to join the growing ranks of the landless. At the same time those still on the land continued with their traditional agricultural methods. But now there was no room for shifting cultivation. The land declined in productivity and erosion cut through the Kikuyu slopes.

Nearby were vast European farms.(*2) Even if the Kikuyu had the money---and a few of these industrious and acquisitive people probably did have enough---he couldn't buy. It was for whites only---by law.

In the old days the semi-feudal system of having "squatters" or tenant-laborers on European farms had worked fairly well. They received grazing rights and a small plot for cultivation. They also received a small wage and in return for all these, they agreed to work a certain number of days a year for the European owner. From the Kikuyu's point of view, it was something like the old ahoi system that existed among themselves before the Europeans came.

But as the size of squatter herds increased and as other defects in the system became apparent, a number of Kikuyu were turned away. No other farm would take them. Many had been born in the White

* Zanzibar had its Sultan and Uganda and Tanganyika had reached the point of having chiefs or even kings. But the Kenya tribes governed themselves through elders' councils and it would have been more difficult to rule indirectly through these.

*2 A 1953 report on conditions in the White Highlands put the number of Europeans directly engaged in agriculture at 4,000.

Highlands, knew no other home and had no land in the Reserve. They became landless urban workers or remained in the highlands as laborers owning no stock.

In Nairobi, wages were low, housing was inadequate and labor generally inefficient. Crime and drunkenness flourished in the African locations. If the Kikuyu still had a bit of land in the Reserve, he hung onto it desperately as his only security in old age. Those who had no land could look forward only to a pauper's existence after they were too old to work. It was difficult to save anything, few firms paid pensions to Africans and there was no state program. Nearby in Nairobi, Europeans lived in what was unattainable luxury to the discontented urban worker.

The Kikuyu, along with the other Africans, sometimes came into contact with situations which served to inflame any existing anti-white feeling. In the old days a white man could beat an African with impunity. Violence toward Africans still goes on today to a degree. Kenya offers a wide open field for the bully and sadist. Elsewhere their aggressions are curbed by the likelihood that they will get walloped in return. But here they can strike out at Africans, secure in the knowledge that they won't get hit back.

A considerable number of Europeans, too, are habitually rude and insulting toward Africans. They may put on a pained expression when an African fails to understand their mutilated Kiswahili, or, like a child having a tantrum, they may scream out insults in a public place.

Africans sometimes can be exasperating from a western point of view---there is the language barrier, which blocks effective communication, and there is the fact that the Africans do not share our belief in the virtue of haste and efficiency. Many Europeans in Kenya rise above the petty annoyances created sometimes unwittingly and sometimes deliberately by African servants and employees. But other Europeans do not.

* * *

Kikuyu political efforts reached their height in the Kenya African Union. It was formed in 1944 and, interestingly enough, with government blessing. (The old Kikuyu Central Association had been banned during World War II as subversive.) A government official presided at the first KAU meeting and then, when African officers had been elected, turned the gavel over to them and departed. It is a good example of British political tolerance.*

* Another example was in India. E. W. R. Lumby, in The Transfer of Power in India (London, 1954), says: "The Indian National Congress had been founded in 1885 as a focus for political discussion; though its members were Indian, it had owed its inspiration largely to a group of Englishmen and had at first enjoyed a certain amount of official approval. But before long it became the most influential opponent of the government; the foremost embodiment of Indian nationalism..."

At first KAU was rather moderate. But this changed in 1946 when Kenyatta returned after many years abroad (two of them in pre-war Russia) and became president of it.* KAU was largely a Kikuyu show, but it was pitched on an important new development: it was designed as one political organization to represent all of Kenya's many tribes. It was true that the Kikuyu Central Association had tried to influence other tribes, but on the whole its orientation was along Kikuyu tribal lines. Now, with the Kenya African Union, an African national political consciousness was being fostered. Some men of other tribes were included in the leadership. How far KAU could have gotten in fostering a national feeling was not to be known; it was proscribed some months after the declaration of an Emergency. But it would have been a difficult task for KAU. Some tribes hate each other as much as the Kikuyu hate the Europeans.**

KAU made an attack on that old symbol of frustration, the White Highlands. It demanded that it be opened for African purchase and that undeveloped parts of it be added immediately to the African Reserves. While KAU did not say so in public statements, it is highly likely that many of its leaders and members would really be satisfied with nothing less than an exodus of all white settlers.

Kikuyu feelings were intensifying rapidly along nativistic and anti-white lines. Kenyatta is considered to have engineered the hysterical Kikuyu opposition to government plans for a compulsory terracing of the eroded Kikuyu slopes. Kikuyu women who in their ignorance regarded terracing as just so much unnecessary work flung themselves in front of tractors. Leaders told crowds that if the land were improved, the whites would take it over. Although the minor leaders may genuinely have believed this, Kenyatta and his top aides certainly knew otherwise. It would seem they had seized on terracing for political purposes.

At KAU meetings, Christian hymns were sung set to new words. Sometimes "Jomo" was substituted for Jesus, KAU for God and "the white men" for Satan. Examples of the new wordings for the hymns:

"Rejoice for the present, you white people, for the time is coming when you will wail."

"The anger of Kenyatta stands about us like rain, and if you do not get out, you white people, you will be destroyed like Sodom."

"Many white people will weep when they see Jomo coming with self-government."

* Kenyatta never declared himself to be a Communist. Before the Emergency, there was some vague sympathy for Communism and Russia among the Kikuyu and among discontented individuals of other tribes. However no evidence has been made public of any Communist aid to Mau Mau and throughout East Africa, Communism has made no noticeable appearance. It seems that these people have an interest in Communism because they have heard that the Reds are opposed to the British.

** Once bitten, the government has become wary of African national political organizations and has announced that future ones will be on tribal lines.

"I will never abandon Jomo, he has promised that our land will be returned to us."

"The Book of the Kikuyu is Holy... The Book is Kenyatta... If I accept the commandments, never again will I be called boy. I will achieve self-government through Jomo Kenyatta."

"Oh we shall be happy when the Europeans call us Bwana..."

Thoughts like these also were set to the tune of "God Save The Queen" and some Europeans are wondering now if they ever stood at attention while the Kikuyu sang their praises to Kenyatta. All of these songs were sung in the Kikuyu language and not more than a handful of Europeans in Kenya know more than a few words of it.

While Kenyatta was preaching on the stumps of Kikuyuland, enjoying British political tolerance, Mau Mau was organizing---probably, as is alleged, within the legitimate cover of KAU. It flared into the open in mid-1952, catching the government off guard. A series of murders of anti-Mau Mau Kikuyu took place, then a European woman was murdered and the government declared a state of Emergency on October 20 of that year. Bands of young Kikuyu left the Reserve and went up into the forests, where they organized into military groups. The Mau Mau war had started.

What the name Mau Mau means, if anything, is not certain. Neither can a clear idea be gotten of Kenyatta's role in it. He was convicted on a charge of organizing and leading Mau Mau. The case against him was based largely on the testimony of government witnesses. But it is indisputable that he knew of its existence and that he did not lend his Messianic prestige to stamping it out.

It appears that Kenyatta was mixed up in Mau Mau somehow. But what he hoped to gain by it and how he hoped to gain it are other matters. A "revolution" may have been planned. But Kenyatta in particular must have known that the Kikuyu could never muster enough force even to equal what the Imperial Government could put into the field. Perhaps it was hoped that terrorism or the threat of it would be enough to drive most or all of the settlers from the colony, thus paving the way for constitutional changes in favor of the Africans or a handing over of the White Highlands to them. Or---as might have well been the case---what planning that went into Mau Mau might have been dictated more by emotions and blind rage than by sober calculations of the prospects for success.

Scores of educated Kikuyu had no chance to show what roles they would play when it came to the shooting stage. They were locked up, mostly without trial, under special Emergency detention powers. Only those free of extremist political connections stayed outside the net.

The leaders who appeared in the subsequent terror were men of little or no education. While it is true that they are poorly armed, it would seem that they are thinking in terms of fighting an old-type spear war with some modern weapons. They wreck a train occasionally, but otherwise they ignore or overlook

abundant opportunities for sabotage that would quickly bring life in Kenya to a standstill. There seems to be little overall coordination in Mau Mau and no planned tactics. It is thought that most gangs are independent, though many might come under the suzerainty of a forceful figure such as Dedan Kimathi or the now-captured General China. Murders of Europeans appear to follow no plan. Victims are not selected because of their importance to the Emergency or to white settlement in general. Rather it seems that individual Mau Mau groups just go out and kill when they feel like it, when they think the coast is clear and, perhaps, when they figure they will capture some firearms in the process.

In large measure, Mau Mau represents a full-blown expression of nativism---an unrealistic and desperate attempt on the part of a frustrated and maladjusted people to get back to something approximating the good old days. The Europeans had destroyed the old Kikuyu culture and reduced the Kikuyu people to the level of inferiors. For one reason or another, the Kikuyu could not climb out of this shambles and find security in the European world. The color bar and other things stood in the way. The early eagerness to emulate the Europeans was followed by a sour grapes rejection of European culture. The Kikuyu would go back to their old ways and the living symbol of the closed-shop white culture, the white man himself, would be eliminated.

Originally there may have been other plans for Mau Mau. It is suggested, for instance, that Mau Mau erupted before its prime organizers were ready. But once the top Kikuyu leaders were locked up, Mau Mau went off on a frenzied and disorganized tangent. The characteristics that it was to display were those of a nativistic movement.

There is an important difference, though, between Mau Mau and the type of nativism found in Watu wa Mngu and Dini ya Msambwa. In Mau Mau the orientation is more rational, less magical. Dini ya Msambwa in particular expected that God would chase the Europeans away. Mau Mau uses the more realistic simi or stolen firearm to do the job.

In turning back to the past, Mau Mau made an effort to revive a number of the old customs. For its oath ceremonies, it resurrected aspects of the old oath rituals of the Kikuyu (though with considerable modification). Ancestor worship is revived. It is reported that initiates are required to strip of all items of European manufacture. One captured Mau Mau communication summoning members to a meeting instructed them to walk "as our forefathers used to do."

But Mau Mau would not restore the old culture in its entirety. Things like European houses and cars would be taken over. Mau Mau has no objection to using the more effective pistol or Sten gun, as against the old-time spear.

Linton says that nativistic movements may have an avowed purpose of restoring an old culture, but adds: "Any attempt to revive a

past phase of culture in its entirety is immediately blocked by the recognition that this phase was, in certain respects, inferior to the present one and by the incompatibility of certain past culture patterns with current conditions."

Elements of Christianity are carried along by Mau Mau as well and Leakey, in a second short book on Mau Mau, says:

"It became customary to open an oath ceremony by solemn prayers to Almighty God, and whenever possible these prayers were conducted by one of the 'priests' of the Independent Churches, wearing his dog collar and even sometimes his vestments, which resemble those of the Church of England.

"The prayers were only to Almighty God, addressed sometimes as Mwathani Ngai (the form of address used by the missionaries), and sometimes as Mwene Nyaga, as in the old-time Kikuyu prayers; they asked for blessings on the 'initiation' that was to follow and upon all that was about to be done in God's name.

"The oath ceremony itself then followed and, apart from the fact that the persons being sworn in did so in the name of Almighty God, the next stages had nothing whatever in common with any form of Christian worship, except in rare cases of variation.

"Occasionally, for example, the people taking the oath were marked with a cross upon their foreheads in imitation of baptism, but it was a cross made in blood."

Nativistic movements usually display a queer mixture of the rational and the magical and Mau Mau is no exception. Considered on the whole, it is more rational than Watu wa Mngu or Dini ya Msambwa, but it does have its magical trappings. Initiates are made to swear obedience to Mau Mau in a magical killing oath. The oath taker (or at least the more uneducated of them) is convinced that he will be struck down by a supernatural vengeance if he informs to the police or disobeys an order from the leaders.

Further, large numbers of Kikuyu have been forced to take the oath. At least some of them regard it as equally binding, despite the fact that they were forced to take it. The supernatural would wallop them just as hard for wavering. It is suggested that the oath does not have the same supernatural hold on the more educated initiates, but they too grew up in an atmosphere where killing oaths were just dying out. Certainly all of the western world's centuries of civilization have not yet wiped out supernatural fears such as those connected with breaking mirrors and the number 13. Kenyatta tells of one early Kikuyu oath, where claimants in property disputes broke the bones of a living goat while chanting the Kikuyu equivalent of: "If this property I am now claiming is not mine, let my limbs be smashed to smithereens like the bones of this male goat."

As Mau Mau continues, it becomes more and more savage. All restraints that existed in the old Kikuyu society are off. Advanced oath ceremonies, according to unpublished intelligence reports, include acts of sexual perversion and, possibly, cannibalism. Mau Mau can certainly equal the worst atrocities of World War II.

In one case, a gang attacked Lari, a village of anti-Mau Mau Kikuyu near Nairobi, and shot, disembowelled and burned to death more than 100 persons, mainly women and children. The sacrifice of the elderly Mr. Leakey, apparently by burial alive, is another example. Hoffer says: "When we lose our individual independence in the corporateness of a mass movement, we find a new freedom---freedom to hate, bully, lie, torture, murder and betray without shame or remorse." For large numbers of hard-core Mau Mau terrorists, there can be no going back. The Kikuyu Guard, many of whom have lost whole families in Mau Mau atrocities, will always be waiting for them.

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One factor that may well have paved the way for Mau Mau was the fact that British rule was anything but a dictatorship. The British, at least when compared with other colonial rulers, are quite easy-going and tolerant.

Kikuyu society in the old days was highly rigid and orthodox and a man was likely to invite disaster if he indulged in any independent thinking. All his thinking was done for him in the form of tribal tradition. The whole course of his life---child, warrior, married man, elder---was all mapped out for him by inexorable custom. He was tightly restrained, but he enjoyed the security growing out of his loss of individual identity.

These days he is confronted with the frightening uncertainties involved in making his way alone. Then Mau Mau, along with everything else, offers him certainty and vigorous authority. Hoffer notes that: "The spokesmen of democracy offer no holy cause to cling to and no corporate whole to lose oneself in. Communist Russia can easily turn Japanese war prisoners into fanatical Communists, while no American propaganda, however subtle and perfect, can turn them into freedom-loving democrats." Mau Mau offers a "holy cause." The colonial government, like the democracies, does not. Hoffer also writes: "H. G. Wells remarks that at the time of the Reformation, people 'objected not to the Church's power, but to its weaknesses... The movements against the Church, within and without, were movements not for release from a religious control, but for a fuller and more abundant religious control."

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Looking to Kenya's future, one gets the impression that the barbaric forest terrorists cannot be dealt with by granting them seats on the Kenya Legislative Council. Continued military and police action would seem to be needed in this sphere.

But the key to any future stability in Kenya---if there is to be any, a prediction I would not care to make---would appear to lie in removing or alleviating the old causes of frustration. Some steps have already been taken in that direction. Africans are now admitted to European hotels and restaurants, including two hotels in Nairobi owned by a settler family, and racial pay scales in government service are to be abolished.

However, resentment continues to be directed toward the White Highlands, toward what remains of the color bar and toward the rude behavior of some Europeans. In addition there is the matter of "have-not" jealousy toward Europeans.

Successive British governments have consistently refused to buy out the white settlers and turn the highlands over to Africans. There seems to be no prospect of it happening in the foreseeable future. It appears to be out of the realm of practical discussion.

It is rumored that a current Royal Commission will recommend that some Crown land in the highlands be added to the African Reserves. But even if this does happen, it is not likely that Africans would feel much differently about a highlands of say 10,000 square miles than about one of 12,000 square miles.

A suggestion has been made that Africans be allowed to purchase land in the highlands conditional on good farming. Interestingly enough, the suggestion has the support of at least a few settlers. It might alleviate African feelings somewhat, but it would remain to be seen whether it would be a permanent solution. The cry "America for the Americans" has its strong counterpart here in "Africa for the Africans." Any move to allow Africans to buy into the highlands should be accompanied by a law to enable them to buy land in the areas of different tribes. There are tribes now who have more land than they need, but who refuse to allow their crowded neighbors to take up cultivation in their area.

The Kikuyu land question has been fought over for so long that it seems doubtful that any solution could be found now. The passage of each year serves only to confuse the issue still further. There is no easy solution, either, to the problem of European attitudes toward Africans. It is complicated by the fact that the younger generation of settlers, those in the police and Kenya Regiment, have gotten their schooling in race relations behind Sten guns. The same would apply to those younger generation Kikuyu who have been involved, in one degree or another, in Mau Mau.

The matter of have-not jealousy is also a difficult one. The existence of haves and have-nots in Kenya does not arise from exploitation, but from the fact that a wealthy and advanced race has come into close contact with a poor and backward one. Nairobi professional and business men would earn money in any country because of their talents and training. Most settler families have been able to acquire big farms only because they brought capital from England with them. (Those without capital wind up as farm managers.) The "ignorant man and his wife with a hoe" cannot be elevated to the European economic level overnight, or even within the space of some years. But inevitably he does not see things that way.

Perhaps the trickiest problem lies in the political sphere. The settlers have yielded considerably to African and Asian demands over the years. At one time the settlers had all of the

unofficial seats in the Legislative Council. Now, under what is called "parity," they have one-half of the unofficial representation. "Parity," however, becomes a natural last-ditch defense line. Even if real parity were established on the Tanganyika model---with equal numbers of seats for each race---the Africans would not necessarily be satisfied. "Why should we be required to share the power with unwanted and numerically-insignificant immigrant races," they would say. "Why should they have special rights based on skin color? Let them vote with us in elections, but one man, one vote."

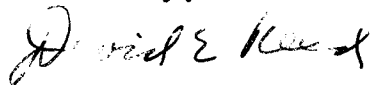
One can understand the African point of view. But at the same time one can understand the point of view of the white settler (or of the Indian settler) who fears that he will be swamped politically by millions of African voters, many of whom might still be primitive or half-primitive. He feels that what wealth he has acquired and what position he has achieved would be wiped out quickly by enactments of a hostile black legislature.

Therein lies the dilemma of the multi-racial country.

But bitter medicine though it may be, it is apparent that the settlers will have to go on yielding, if only in their own interests. Kenya's whites are outnumbered 121 to 1, according to the mid-1954 census estimates.* Their counterparts in South Africa are outnumbered by only 3 to 1. As far as is known, Kenya appears to be poor in natural resources; there seems to be little room for substantial numbers of white immigrants. On such a numerical basis, white domination would be difficult to maintain in Kenya.

Mau Mau has failed to oust the settlers, but their position would be untenable if the other tribes responded to the Kikuyu war horn. Even if the Kikuyu go it alone, no European would want to live in an atmosphere of bullets and barbed wire all his years. It would seem that significant changes will have to come in Kenya.

Sincerely,



David E. Reed

See next page for sources.

* The East African Statistical Department estimates the mid-1954 population of Kenya as 5,700,000 Africans, 125,000 Indians, 10,000 Goans, 47,000 Europeans, 30,000 Arabs and 5,000 others.

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