

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

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Carnegie Group, IV

Makerere College
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Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

The remaining month, for the Carnegie party, was a period of travel through Kenya, Zanzibar and Tanganyika. The heaviest rains in several decades harrassed the group at times; but I think that a fairly useful series of observations--mainly of important urban areas--was added to the background of small station and village-level experience of the weeks preceding.

The road from Busea, where we crossed the Uganda-Kenya border, was deceptively dry, and we drove to the Lake Victoria port of Kisumu without a skid. During the evening we walked around the town, saw the docks with wood-burning steam winches lifting produce from rail car into steamer hold and back, and walked through a compound of neatly laid out native housing, where evening meals were being cooked in neat community kitchens or over small kerosene stoves just inside the hut doors. There was sign of overcrowding all over the town: this port, historically a rail terminus of the days of lesser commerce, built to carry the small, high-value cargoes of the early trading period, is now struggling to keep relative mountains of cargo moving, despite the fact that its job has been eased by the building of a rail extension into the northern third of the area it serves.

The next day, 7th April, we got off on an early start towards Nairobi, and with some luck we made it. A first hint of the rains to come later in the trip had transformed the already corrugated and rutted road mud into a red paste. We were out pushing several times, and we were thankful for a skillful Baganda driver, practiced in skating the Chevrolet as well as in driving it.

At the far wall of the Great Rift Valley we halted, high on one of the hillside snake-bends, and looked back at the rainy-season transformation of the valley floor. A muddy river, fading into broad swamplands either side, wound across and then lengthwise. It was turgid with brown slush, clawed from drought-weakened roots--a caracature of soil erosion in East Africa. Once out of the valley the roadway was better drained, allowing us to arrive at the Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi, before dark.

Through 8th to 13th April the members of the group branched out to observe their particular interests; and Mr. Gare the High Commission Reception Officer arranged a program of interviews with ranking government and scientific personages. These interviews obtained for the group a fair sampling of the facts and thoughts which the administrators and research officials regard as currently important.

From Mr. E. A. Vasey, Member for Health, Education and Local Government, who sat us down in his Secretariat office with the plea that he not be quoted in any

publication, we heard a number of interesting answers. A smallish, slightly paunchy man, he seemed politically astute, sharp minded, and noticeably conscious that he had attained his position--of authority over schools and libraries--sans formal education beyond his eleventh birthday.

He said there is no "Apartheid" here: that Africans legally could buy land anywhere in Kenya, Europeans and Asians being the ones adversely affected by the reserve boundaries. Until 1923, true enough, the Government did honor restrictive clauses in land sales, restricting resale to a particular racial group; but now the clause of this sort is not endorsed by law, and would be subject to challenge in court.

He felt that the East African European resident today has a greater mistrust and fear of the Indian than of the native. Further Asiatic penetration could complicate even local handovers of authority to Africans, from whom it would be difficult to protect the Indian minority. And for the moment the Indian is the greatest disturbant in the Nairobi real estate picture: Indian purchases of homes in the European residential district, with their tenement living habits and their occasional religious incompatibilities (like refusing to have rats killed on their property during a plague threat), have been a continual irritant.

African dependence on European advice was also cited. The best of the natives--in terms of educational qualifications--are aware of their almost total reliance on the European for supervision of their fiscal, economic and technological affairs. The native also receives artificial economic protection, with native market locations marked off where Asiatic or European tradesmen may not enter. The 80,000 Africans in Nairobi now are nearly all temporary residents, planning to return to the reserves. On this account their behavior is not so responsible as that of permanent residents; and the local magistrate courts, using a law which takes tribal custom into account, do a brisk business.

In answering a final question as to the causes of the native's low productivity as a laborer he stated that this so-called laziness was due more to tribal custom and values than to disease and malnutrition--a view which was to be repeated and elaborated upon by our next-interviewed official, Mr. A. Hope-Jones, his fellow member of the Kenya Executive Council.

Hope-Jones, whose job is concerned with industry and commerce in Kenya, is a tall red-head, youngish for his job, full of facts to back up his every idea, with a background which includes teaching economics at Cambridge. From him we heard that the Owen Falls dam project could harness more power than at Niagara; that minor discoveries of coal had been made in Kenya and Tanganyika; that oil explorations in East Africa were incomplete, and that for the time being East Africa remained dependent on South Africa and the Middle East for solid and liquid fuels; that in an emergency the East African railways could be run for some 30 years on wood fuel. He said there was some chance that this need would never arise, because the geological surveys were now only fourteen per cent complete in Kenya and 17 per cent in Uganda. Tanganyika, through having been for a while the sole colony of Germany, had been about half gone over.

Kenya, he continued, was now spending a larger proportion of invested money on agricultural development than any other country with the possible exception of Palestine; and in the last five years some 800 new industrial projects have been licenced--all to either produce consumer goods or else to process raw materials. The current trend in agricultural development was the chopping up of large European landholdings in order to permit more efficient and much more intensive cropping

and stock raising. The biggest difficulty in industrial expansion was the inefficiency of native labor. East African labor, he emphasized, is in terms of production--with the possible exception of Australian dock labor--the most expensive in the world.

During the last five years some £200,000,000--more than in all the rest of the colonies put together--has been invested in Kenya. The railway has been virtually rebuilt, other communications improved, and much commercial and residential building has taken place.

There were numerous things he had to say about labor and laboring conditions. The Indian corps of laborers, ninety per cent of whom were skilled craftsmen, is essential but of much lower quality than Europeans would be. Yes, quite often the native does acquire a skill or craft, but this does not mean he remains in Nairobi and makes it his permanent home. As a native makes money he establishes his "security" back on the Reserve, buys his wives, selects his plot, builds his hut or house. He does not, generally, remain here where there is as yet no such provision for retirement. A remedy for this would be an arrangement making it practicable for a native to own a house and a lot in or near the city; the native is keen on owning his own land.

The last point discussed was that of famine possibilities, and the sometimes dangerous introduction of cash crops into areas of subsistence agriculture. Uganda, Mr. Hope-Jones said, with its favorable cotton growing conditions and its poor communications, had sometimes run into the problem of natives running out of food because they had put their land in cotton for market. In other places also it had been found advisable to institute government programs encouraging the growing of sufficient food crops within designated "self-sufficiency areas." He admitted the economic unsoundness of this method from the broader point of view, but with the specialized cash-crop farming geared to world market conditions, and with no guarantee that money so earned could be transformed into deliverable food grains quickly enough to counter a famine, Government felt obliged to thus protect the native from his understandable improvidence.

In our meeting with Mr. Worthington, the senior coordinating official for scientific research in East Africa was equally informative. He gave us a general picture of research progress, and told us that in his opinion the greatest research need was for simple biological data, of the type that has already been completed throughout Europe and America, to provide agriculturists with a better knowledge of the capabilities and shortcomings of the peculiar East African soils and climates. Many of the failures of agricultural projects in East Africa, he said, have been due to a sometimes unconscious assumption of the European settler that the equatorial sunlight, rain, and earth-chemistry would react in the same fashion as in the temperate latitudes. Both the potentialities and the limitations of East African soils are presently unexplored, even at the elementary level.

On April 11th we drove outside Nairobi to the headquarters of the East African Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Research and Reclamation Organization and talked with its senior officer Dr. Lester. Despite the jawbreaker title, this agency has a reputation for a practical approach to the tsetse problem; and Dr. Lester is highly respected by both scientific and practical opinion in most of East Africa. The greater part of East African grazing country, at present, is denied to cattle by the tsetse fly, and the importance of the organization's task is often regarded as greater than any other research group. One needs but to drive through hundreds of miles of good grassland with no cattle, and then through overgrazed, eroded sections with cattle starving, to realize the economic damage by this near cousin of the house fly.

Lester, speaking rapidly and illustrating his points with a series of charts and maps, gave us some details. 'Parochialism' he said, is the greatest obstacle to reclamation. The different territories and districts think of their own aspect of the problem, and have to be persuaded to think of the menace in a broad way. They may clear bush or shoot game to destroy a particular species of the fly, only to have another type move in, immune to the measures taken. The problem is one of propaganda as well as of research.

The mere presence of the fly does not mean so much. Unless the disease is brought in by cattle or wild ungulates, no severe economic loss is incurred. If humans move into an area, clear it for farming, and remain stubbornly, the fly will be forced out and cattle later can be brought in.

The most important discovery yet, in searching for the vulnerabilities of the pest, is that the fly's body processes are dependent upon a fairly uniform evaporation process. If the air is too hot and dry, the fly dehydrates and cannot live; if too wet, he also dies. Clearing off a certain amount of bush, of a certain height and size, will often kill the fly by depriving it of needed shade. The fly needs to feed every three days, as a rule; and it is sometimes effective to shoot off the larger game animals in a particular area. This is not always sure, though, because one species can feed at night on the blood of the ubiquitous wild pig, and because the evaporation rates of all species are not the same. Each area to be cleared must be considered as posing a different set of problems.

The disease itself, among humans, is no longer a serious research or even practical problem. In early stages the disease can be cured in individuals; and by collective programs it can be eliminated from communities. The cattle side, however, remains perhaps the most serious of all East Africa's land-utilization problems: two-thirds of Tanganyika, two-thirds of Uganda, and one-half of Kenya are still infected. Parochialism, said Dr. Lester, would likely keep these areas infected for a long time. With tribal custom tying so many of the natives to their herds of cattle, so that they refuse to part from them even long enough to go into an infected area and prepare it for pasturage, the problem becomes more social than scientific.

Dr. Lester was much appreciated by the members; as a scientist he was able to provide the more detailed and precise answers which they were after. We left the headquarters loaded down with maps and charts showing methods of bush-clearing, and a good deal of multigraphed literature on the tsetse and the trypanosomes.

Thursday, April 12th Professors MacLeod and Young visited a Kikuku village some thirty miles from Nairobi, saw the natives going about their routine household and local shopping affairs; and met, in the person of the District Commissioner, a bird-watching hobbyist of the first rank. Among the souvenirs of the trip they had a printed article outlining a method for recording bird calls on an adaption of standard musical script, with lines and notes and time symbols.

After the 12th the group separated for a while, Professor deKiewiet and myself remaining in Nairobi and then going north into Kenya's Northern Frontier District, and Professors Bennett, Young, and MacLeod going south into Tanganyika. At next meeting I heard the southern party tell of muddy roads, stuck cars, rain, and some very interesting observations of farming, government, and a long exchange of ideas with a Tanganyika government sociologist. DeKiewiet and I returned to Nairobi with memories of a good--if very wet--look at primitive Kenya, and of a thrilling few days shooting, during which the Professor bagged a buffalo, an oryx, a big bull eland, and lesser animals. On the last leg of the drive back to the city we managed

to beat a cloudburst, by minutes, which would have stalled us for days. Every bridge and culvert for miles back was awash.

There was another interview with the Administrator to the High Commission and with various of the High Commission Services heads, and the party then flew down to Mombasa and Zanzibar. I remained in Nairobi for a few days, to dismiss the car transportation and to draft telegrams and letters regarding cancelled appointments and further arrangements in Dar es Salaam. I rejoined the party at that city, after they had visited Mombasa and Zanzibar via air. Dar es Salaam was to be the last stop of the group in Tanganyika.

Dar es Salaam, at sea level, was a steam bath; especially after a cool and abnormally smooth ride across the tops of the rain clouds, passing the snow draped sugar loaf of Kilimanjoro midway along. (This ride had been a startling experience, with occasional breaks in the cloud-carpet giving views of primitive bush, the Chagga cultivation on the mountain slopes, and later the monsoon-green of the coastal rain forest, with bordering colorations--coral and warm sea water.)

The New Africa Hotel, where the party was to gather, was rawly constructed, with antique plumbing and an architecture showing the worst of Arabesque, Gothic, and Victorian influences. It had the huge, mahogany-bladed ceiling fans like the Great Eastern in Calcutta, but few of the other features which made the Great Eastern really comfortable. Its front view, of the harbor, was masked by a Lutheran Church, relic of the German days, whose announcement-board proclaimed that both English and Swahili services were "open to all."

On 3rd April the party arrived, fairly pleased with their experiences in Mombasa but not very glowing about Zanzibar. Dr. Young, when I asked him for his impressions of the place, drew himself erect in facetious imitation of what was known in wartime India as the 'Viceregal posture,' and announced formally and ponderously, "I was not unmoved." I pressed the point no further, but resolved to visit Zanzibar myself soon.

Under the wing of Mr. Minegerode, the American Consul, we were taken round to sign three visitors' books, the Governor's, the Chief Secretary's, and the Chief Justice's. The Secretariat placed a car at the party's disposal, and the Public Relations officer fixed us up with the appointments we desired. Most of the evenings we partied with Mr. Minegerode, Mrs. Minegerode and their local friends and acquaintances; and we made two appearances before local cultural societies.

One of the interviews was with Mr. Maddocks the Dar es Salaam Municipal African Affairs Officer, who lately has been dealing with native housing in the area. Dar, he told us, is crowded, with only 300 sets of quarters for government employed natives; and building is very expensive. Huts, built by owners on rented plots, are helping to solve some of the problem. Rental rates on land favor the African, being much higher for an Indian tenant.

Zoning for residential purposes is economic, legally, but it works out in practice to create a sort of color bar. Areas are classified as "high" or "low" or "medium density" areas, which means that they are occupied respectively by Africans, Europeans, and Indians--the Indians frequently breaking into the low density areas.

There is no 'security' here for the African unless he is one who receives one of the plots of land, for which there is a long waiting list. When he gets the land he can build a house and expand it into a boarding house. Legally he can rent only to other Africans, who pay him a small controlled amount; but in practice it is more profitable to rent to an Indian who can afford to pay more. Plots of land are rented

by Africans at eighteen shillings annually (\$2.52), by Asians for 110 shillings.

Our last question was concerned with the problems of urbanizing natives, and out of his answer we got the idea that one of the chief difficulties was to provide recreational facilities and other means of absorbing spare time and spare energy. Football has helped, but there was still a lot of thievery, especially among juveniles.

At the house of the Member for Law and Order, where Professor deKiewiet was remaining as guest, deKiewiet and myself had a tea chat with Chief Kidaha Makwaia, whom I mentioned before as known by me at Oxford and here as well. He has recently been appointed to the Tanganyika Executive Council, the first African in history to be so honored. He, apparently, has managed to retain his tribal sympathies and yet to be perfectly at home among ranking Europeans. He is the elected Paramount Chief of the Wasukuma Federation, Tanganyika's largest tribal organization. He preaches the moderate point of view on race relations; believes that the necessary division of people into classes should be on economic and educational lines, which he realizes will for a long time to come correspond with racial divisions.

Mr. Biggs, the Agricultural Officer, and Mr. Vickers-Harris of Lands and Mines gave us some facts and views on agriculture, land use, and mining. Groundnuts schemes were now being revised with lower target figures for production and with longer periods allowed. In one area a good crop had been turned out this year, but the bit scheme at Kongwa has now been reduced to an experimental basis, with 18,000 acres now under crop. It is planned to test for five or six years and then possibly to expand again. Natchingwea now has a 1957 target figure of 105,000 acres. All of these projects, he said, are now under the Overseas Food Corporation.

There are several 'deficit areas' in Tanganyika, where locally available starch foods are in short supply, and have to be imported. Cattle grazing areas, now in use, are crowded. The problem, again, is to get people to move into tsetse areas. Sheep, though immune to trypanosomiasis, have provided no solution, mainly because of intestinal diseases. Copra production here is now profitable, but will not be able to compete when the war damaged copra industries elsewhere are revived. Tobacco production needs to be increased, to provide enough volume to remove the market from the mercy of the buyers.

The alienation of land to European settlers continues, with careful screening of applicants to assure a minimum of failures. Mr. Vickers-Harris remarked that they reviewed the experience of each applicant carefully---his farming knowledge, his financial record, and so on---but he felt that the most important factor of success or failure was the wife. They had had very few failures in the recent past, but most of these had been due to wives who could not adjust to the loneliness of the life.

Regarding minerals, he said that there is a good deal of coal in Tanganyika, some of it favorably located for the use of a north-south railway linking the Kenya and Uganda with the Tanganyika line. Without a railway to the fields, of course, a hydrogenization plant would be needed to make use of this coal. It is not good coking coal in a general sense, but a sample is now undergoing tests for smelting in Sweden, by a newly developed process.

The only tin now known in Tanganyika seems to be the extension of the Uganda field in the Kigezi area west of Lake Victoria. (This area also has wolfram.)

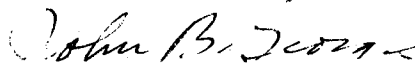
From the acting Member for Local Government, later, we heard some unenthusiastic comment on the prospects of eventual union of Tanganyika with Kenya and Uganda--the usual feeling that the Tanganyika natives are suspicious of a Settler-dominated Kenya. Related to this, he said, was the problem of too many languages and the absence of a really satisfactory common tongue (Shahili not being an adequate language for modern intercourse). He feels that the Tanganyika government is at present too centralized, and hopes that local knowledge and ability in cost-accounting will soon permit much more local control of budgets and spending. But he summed up his interview by making the cliché but perhaps valid remark that "there is no reason to believe that the democratic institutions developed through nine centuries in England can be applied here in a few short years."

This was the last notable interview; and I think our major impression of Tanganyika was of its question-mark future. As a trust territory, with no certainty as to who is going to be in control for just how long, its works tend to be makeshift and temporary, and investors from the outside remain hesitant to commit capital for needed development. Internal groups tend to keep their own capital liquid, ready to move out. A roadbuilding engineer sees no reason for concrete bridges when he thinks his own racial group has no tenure; and the user of land finds it hard to rotate crops and not exploit for the sake of a future which may not exist. The one bright spot for Tanganyika is in the relations of the different races. There seems a wider area of agreement between black, white and brown than exists in either Kenya or Uganda. But even this could be greatly improved if the United Nations Trusteeship Council could guarantee Tanganyika a period of political stability free from rumors of changing hands (like the pre-war appeasement threat of reverting to Germany).

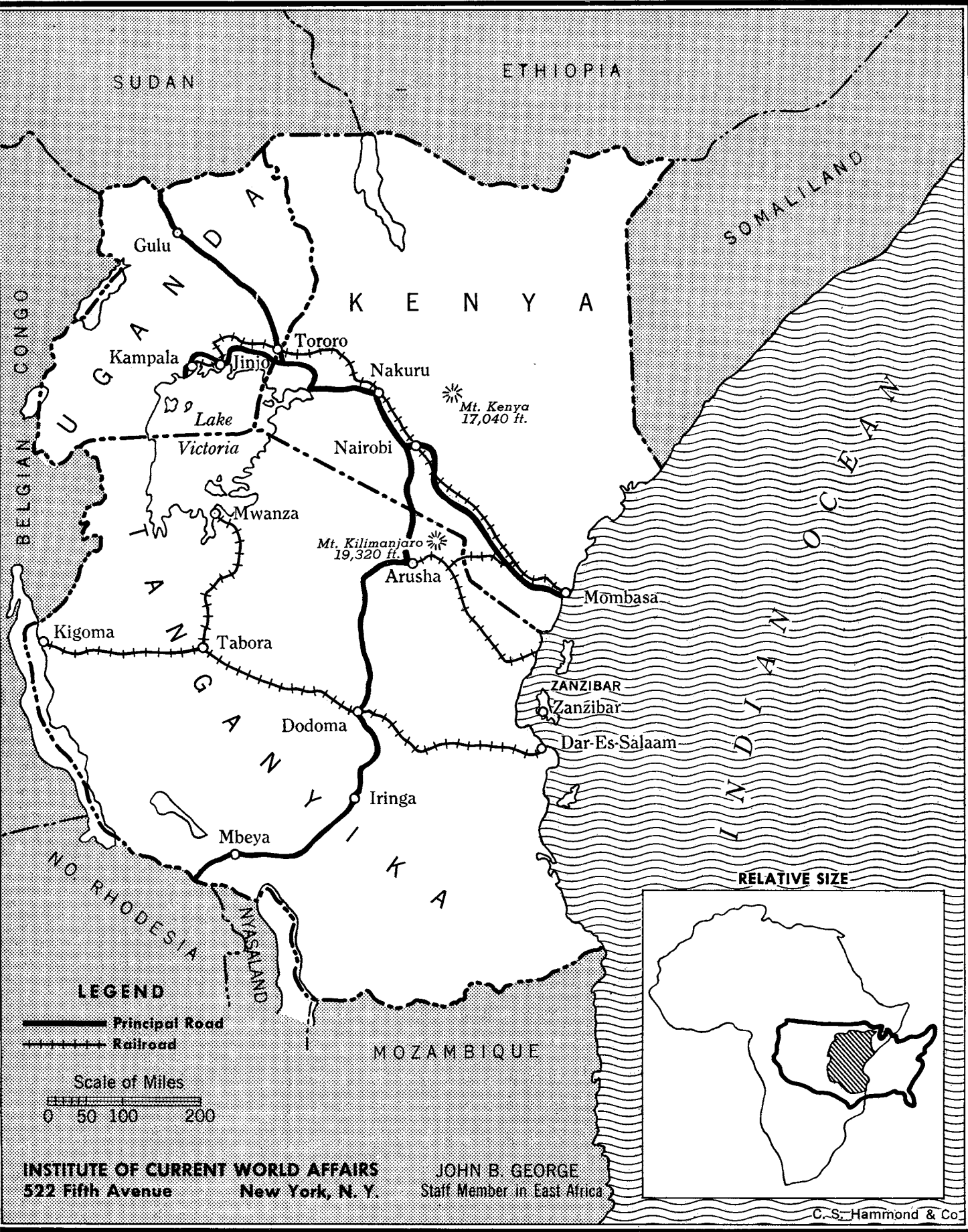
Dar es Salaam was the last halt of the Carnegie party in my area of study, and considerations of time for my research here prevented my accepting Professor deKiewiet's invitation to accompany the party into the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa.

On May 9th I saw the party onto a plane at the Dar es Salaam Airport, knowing that I had been associated for two very pleasant and useful months with a party of very keen and able observers. It was a privilege to accompany their travels through East Africa; and it gives me a feeling that I have helped contribute to a store of knowledge which will be of immediate and practical use. I thank you for arranging my participation.

Sincerely,



John B. George,



INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS
 522 Fifth Avenue
 New York, N. Y.

JOHN B. GEORGE
 Staff Member in East Africa