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Kenya Quandary

Poste Restante
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Dear Mr. Rogers:

At this moment, as at every earlier moment during the past nine months, no one can precisely measure the volume of violence in Kenya. Too many questions remain only partially answerable: the numbers of moonlight stranglings, of trussed-up drownings, of bodies dismembered and buried, of Mau Mau recruits and casualties can only be approximate. Any announced overall decline in the Emergency problems - despite an obvious increase in the effectiveness of the security forces - should be sceptically received. Available statistics and individual facts, though clear enough to deny many recriminations by racially conscious outsiders, can provide no week-to-week assessment of any overall trend in the Colony. The terrorism has not been quashed, and the atmosphere of fear in the European Highlands, oppressive at night on the lonely farms, remains as something which cannot indefinitely be endured by a few thousand whites surrounded by a million discontent blacks.

In the capital city of Nairobi, following a shift of European manpower to outlying critical areas, the trend of lawlessness has been upward, and a major prison-break and a mysterious murder have posed frightening doubts regarding the loyalty of native policemen. Four Africans awaiting the death sentence escaped from a prison in Nairobi, and though they were recaptured some hours later through a city wide manhunt, the details of the escape are still being confidentially investigated. Even more speculative was the murder of a European businessman by a trusted African constable. The European was Mr. J. S. Richards, a Canadian who was the Managing Director of the Ford Motor Company of South Africa. The constable, a John Kibutha of the Wakamba, a tribe bordering the Kikuyu, shot him in the back while he was looking in the window of May and Company, a Nairobi gunshop and sporting goods store. Then the constable ran from the scene and killed himself with another shot from his .303 rifle. A European woman with Mr. Richards was uninjured. An autopsy was performed on the policeman to find any organic cause of insanity.

More typical of past killings was the murder of Mr. James MacDougall, a Nyeri settler, 73, who suffered from arthritis and could move only with crutches. He was hacked to death while he sat at a dining room table, by members of a nine-strong gang. The gang then ransacked the house and escaped with a pistol and a .22 rifle.

Other violences, now, are reported almost routinely. Three children are slashed in a squatter's hut on a European farm. A European farm house is vandalized and a weapon is stolen. An African education employee is shot dead by an unknown African. Treetops hotel, the idyllic forest tree-house visited by the Queen at the time of her ascension is raided by a gang seeking food and blankets.

Another crime of the type so revolting to the Western mind has to be reported. A Seychellois couple and their five children were killed by hacking, shooting and burning in their home on an outlying farm. The bodies were found in the ashes of their house on a European farm some miles from Nanyuki. Considering the natural European abhorrence of the killing of women and children (an abhorrence generally inordinate by native tribal standards) and the general identification of the terrorism with the Kikuyu tribe it seems surprising that the accusations of white Mau Mauism and mass slaughter pronounced from abroad have not been turned into fact.

Many of the organized groups of gangsters have been punished in patrol and pursuit actions. Though more is known now of their locales and strength in weapons, their strength at present is a matter, largely, of educated guess work. The "hard cores" or cadres of the gangs are said to be as well armed and tough as before. For nearly every weapon that is recovered by security forces, another one is stolen; and the mass return of Kikuyu to the reserves, now past 80,000, provides a supply of Mau Mau recruits. The improvisation of home made "rifles" and hand guns is more practised now. A competently worked breech mechanism turned out on a lathe by a skilled workman has been found. Other weapons have firing mechanisms made of wire or rod with a spring for primer ignition consisting of two pieces of inner tube. Dummy firearms have been found, mainly wooden profiles of rifles and pieces of metal shaped like revolvers, which indicate a threatening understanding of their own native psychology. The Kenya Government, understandably, is becoming almost frantic in its attempts to safe-guard against theft the large quantities of privately owned ammunition and weapons throughout the Colony. May and Company, the very reputable Nairobi sporting goods house so familiar to visiting big game hunters, is now involved in the courts over allegedly careless storage of ammunition and firearms in the home of the manager. The Europeans of Kenya are generally an armed population. The Africans legally have very few weapons. The campaign to prevent theft of weapons and the careful surveillance over transfers of ownership are extremely significant. They are justified by the obvious correlation of violence with weapons thefts. Incidentally, in the opinion of this observer, the paucity of weapons in the hands of Kikuyu provides the only justification for calling the Emergency anything short of a rebellion. If it is not a rebellion, with pitched battles and raids in battalion strength, it is primarily because the Kikuyu do not have large numbers of weapons.

The apathy, fear, and racial attitudes of the Kikuyu population helps make the way easier for the lawless. Civilian self-help is very poor; police are needed everywhere at all times. In a crowded urban area, for example,

a European woman ran screaming after an African who had snatched her purse, the native bystanders carefully minding their own business. Finally, some 300 yards from the act, an Asian halted the thief at pistol point. The incident of a body found lying in a public place, yet unreported to the police for many hours after the killing, has been repeated a number of times. The severest threats of mass punishment have been necessary to elicit the information concerning such blatant offenses as the destruction of culverts and the setting up of roadblocks at inhabited points. Though it is impossible to separate the factors of fear, apathy, and resistance, the opinions of various authorities that a minimum of 90 percent of all Kikuyu are actively or passively involved in Mau Mau violence or resistance - despite the increasing membership of home guards and tribal police - is borne out. When this view is placed alongside hints of further spread and of greater coordination among the gangs, like the reports of the detention of hundreds of suspects in the far away coastal town of Mombasa and forensic-ballistics evidence that the same weapons are being used in raids 150 miles apart, optimism fades away.

General Erskine has reallocated the major elements of the security forces to form what he describes as three striking forces. One consists of a brigade strength infantry force, roughly the equivalent of an American infantry regiment. Another is a force of armored cars from the East African Armored Car Squadron with accompanying motorized infantry. These units are fast moving truck and armored car columns, presumably for quick shifts in territory where roads and paths are motorable. The third force is the air forces which consist of eight Harvard trainers fitted with racks for 20 pound fragmentation bombs and a single machinegun for ground strafing, and of spotter aircraft used for intelligence purposes. Along with this reorganization General Erskine has emphasized less direct means of thwarting the terrorists, such as the denial of food supplies and, through control of movements of suspect Africans, the denial of intelligence to the gangs.

At a lower level in the military and police setup there is evidence of an unsatisfactory troop situation. The official visitors or inspectors are unanimous, of course, in saying that the morale of the troops is extremely high, but a senior commander of infantry elements, Brigadier Tweedie, has complained that the battalions are on the average 170 men short of their 770 tables-of-organization strength. Another complaint is that communications between units on the ground, vitally important in this sort of police-military action, is makeshift and inadequate. The radio sets of the small units throughout one large area, for instance, are being maintained by a single technician. Some of the units can only receive, some can only transmit. In the forest areas, a more exotic impediment to operations has been wild animals. Many of the gang hideout areas are in some of the finest big game country in the world, including the bamboo forest haunts of the rare bongo, which also abound with elephant and rhino. In Tetu location a minor sweep was halted by two rhinos who trampled a European officer and an African, fortunately not fatally. The animals, of course, are not a significant feature but elephant and rhino frequently disturbed by the small patrols have made parts of the forest uncomfortable for individual terrorists and security forces members.

To keep the terrorists from getting food, normal measures against food carriers (often women) have been augmented by bordering some of the hideout areas with strips of "scorched earth." In these areas, usually a mile or so wide, the crops are harvested, and livestock is removed. These measures, almost entirely on European land, have resulted in considerable loss to European farmers and have sometimes been resisted, but have helped to drive some terrorists to the desperate measure of surrender.

Locally, at least, this intensified pressure is paying off. Confessions by Mau Mau adherents are being received in increasing numbers, each confession identifying the particular oath administrator and the others present at the ceremony. The confessor is normally placed on probation afterwards. From some of the more isolated areas, increasing numbers of starved and harrassed terrorists are coming out to surrender hoping for a clemency that has not been promised.

In the forested areas of high elevation where the Harvards have been bombing and strafing, the gangs seem to be more discouraged. A program of night air patrol and bombing of fires in prohibited areas has been very effective, fires at night being essential not only for the preparation of food but for warmth at high altitudes, native clothing often being inadequate. These air raids early in July, though hardly of military proportions, had directed over 1100 bombs and 70,000 rounds of ammunition, largely against point targets.

Larger scale security force operations are now the rule. In a single sweep along Ruathia Ridge some 40 miles west of Fort Hall, 29 terrorists were killed, 9 prisoners were taken, numerous stolen cattle were recovered, and 150 huts were demolished. A little earlier in a single operation in the Rift Valley some 200 arrests were made and in a later screening operation at Nakuru, some 2,000 Mau Mau suspects were checked by tribal authorities. In the three days ending June 26th 100 terrorists were killed in the forests west of Fort Hall, 43 being wiped out in a single operation. The difficulty with road blocks and destroyed bridges in the Fort Hall reserve areas was reported terminated, and a quantity of weapons and ammunition was recovered. The high proportion of killed as against wounded, captured, and numbers of firearms recovered in these larger operations has been queried in Parliament. It is partially explained by the shortness of range in the bush and forest, where the face is the principal aiming mark, but also by the vicious nature of the fighting and the large proportion of native soldiers employed. Black askaris, more so than Europeans, hesitate to react humanly when an enemy, having exhausted all his ammunition in a running fight, steps out of cover with his hands in the air.

Numerically at least, the native elements of the security forces are being built up. Recruits for the Kikuyu home guards are coming forward in slightly increasing numbers and now total some 18,000. A criticism has been that these elements are composed largely of men beyond military age - an expected feature since the elders are traditionally less desirous of violence of any sort. The Governor has officially denied this, remarking

that on his visits he has seen youngsters as well. Considerable doubt is cast on the effectiveness and reliability of this body by the fact that in some localities former Mau Mau adherents who have confessed are required to serve a "loyalty proving" hitch in the home guard units. Presumably this non-voluntary service, like the non-voluntary service of men shanghaied into the Mau Mau gangs, can be depended upon to a certain extent. It is a very significant characteristic of the Kikuyu that oaths, if solemnly and properly administered, are binding whether or not the subject is willing.

The courts scene in Kenya is commensurately active. The conflict between "the need for rapid justice" and the "observation of Western rules of evidence and rights of the accused" has become even more obvious. The courts of the Emergency Assizes have been sitting since early July. Numerous sentences have been administered, including death sentences. Resident Magistrates in some areas can now give sentences up to seven years as against the earlier three. It is notable, despite the indicated guilt of several, that the death penalty has not yet been given to an oath administrator.

The sentences of Kenyatta and associates have been quashed by two appellate justices, and a new trial ordered. The reason given for the quashing of these sentences is of a technical nature, without criticism of the merits or law of the case. The contention of Mr. Fritt of the defense that the location of the trial, Kapenguria, lay outside the Northern Province and hence outside the jurisdiction of Mr. Justice Thacker, the magistrate of the original trial, was the point upheld. I have heard considerable comment regarding the trial, and one sage European observer, acquainted well with law in East Africa, opined that the appellate justices had seized upon this point to save themselves the trouble of quashing the findings on grounds more embarrassing to the Crown. Throughout the appeal proceedings Mr. Fritt had cited many points beyond this lack of formal gubernatorial authorization for the trial in Kapenguria by Justice Thacker. He attacked the evidence in detail, protesting it constituted no case whatever. In particular he decried the emphasis which Mr. Thacker had placed on "demeanor" of the witnesses, which had justified acceptance of the word of a single Crown witness above that of ten witnesses for the defense. In an earlier newsletter I believe I mentioned that Mr. Fritt, his eyes always on the appeal rather than the original trial, was making, during the original trial, every attempt to provoke the bench to irrational commitment and an appearance of prejudice. Whether he succeeded or not is impossible to prove but it would be borne out by the view of my friend. My own view, definitely, is that he succeeded admirably in a studied attempt to get Mr. Justice Thacker's goat.

A larger and more discouraging impression, from my watching of this case thus far, is that Anglo Saxon forensic procedure and rules of evidence, when applied as instruments of law enforcement interracially in East Africa, are faced with two alternatives. With deviations, they can be a travesty to the European conscience and an effective force to natives; when religiously followed, they appear to lay Europeans as a many-times-multiplied protection for the guilty, and to natives as something dangerously close to a laughing stock.

On the political front in Kenya there is further evidence of more realism, with a little less double-talk going on in the various black, white and brown camps. Mr. Michael Blundell, the leader of the European elected members in Legislative Council, has stressed a need for Europeans to start thinking now of problems to be dealt with when (sic) the Emergency is over. African urban housing is a top priority item. An African housing board has been reconstituted and its first consideration is to be financial assistance to Africans and to the employers of Africans to build adequate urban housing. The board will offer up to 80 percent of the cost of approved buildings, repayable over a 20 year period. At present the board has £140,000 available, and conditions for a loan of two million pounds from the Colonial Development Corporation have been under discussion. This is in line with a policy, expressed in the report of a special committee, to make African independent of the reserves, with more or less permanent roots in urban areas. Other official committee recommendations regarding "incentives" have been that the 8.25 shillings per month, the present minimum allowance for bed space, is inadequate and should be increased to 29 shillings for a room for each urban employee. Consideration is also given to the idea of a family allowance for African employees, for leave (vacation) arrangements, and the suggestion that employers organize a standardized apprenticeship for skilled labor has been repeated. A wider indication of the striving for palliatives is the increased discussion of color bar among Europeans in Kenya. Several, supporting the plea in Dr. Leakey's recent book on the Kikuyu and Mau Mau, have openly come out in favor of a dropping of the color bar in hotels and restaurants. It is emphasized, in view of the great difference in manners and dress of tribal natives, that only Africans who had achieved the required standards of "behavior and dress" should be concerned. This is not so arrogant as it seems when one reviews stories of parts of the south Sudan, where to get a drink a European may have to shoulder to a public bar through a crowd of nude and unwashed Africans. Another evidence of an atmosphere of political compromise is the partial meeting of the Asian demand for participation in the armed security forces. An Asian Director of Manpower, Dr. S.G. Hassan, and an Assistant Director, Mr. B.A. Mohindra, both prominent members of the Asian community, have prepared a plan for conscription of the 18-25 year age group of Asians. Out of 6,500 it is estimated that some 4,000 young men will be available after medical and other exemptions.

The great contrast in tone between prominent Kenya Africans speaking in Kenya and Mr. Murumbi speaking from outside the country indicates, I think, a painful measure of evasion and concealment by African leaders here.¹ Mr. Mathu has continued his appeals against the violence. He has said repeatedly that Mau Mau is a bad thing, always emphasizing that it is a particularly bad thing that Kikuyu are fighting and killing Kikuyu. He appeals to the gangs to stop trying to obtain guns, to return from their hideouts and resume orderly lives, advising that nothing will be

1. For verification of this review the newspaper quotations of the public speeches of Mr. Mathu and other African leaders during the period prior to the Emergency - a period which many Europeans call the period of "appeasement" of the Kikuyu.

gained from violence. And with some courage he stands up to plead with Europeans for various native rights. The Nakuru Municipal Council's African Affairs Committee Chairman, Mr. J.F.G. Kanyua, has denied vigorously allegations of Mau Mau connections and has cited his personal history in support. He said that the Kenya African Union, from which he resigned in 1950, was fast becoming a cloak for the old proscribed Kikuyu Central Association and the Mau Mau.

Further political items include the deportation of Mr. Peter Evans, who I had earlier mentioned had been declared a prohibited immigrant, and continued indications of the disgruntled state of the settlers. Mr. L. R. Maconochie Welwood, Member for Uasin Gishu, and Group Captain Briggs, Member for Mount Kenya, at a gathering at Nanyuki Sports Club gave their views which, rational or otherwise, are most important for the revelations of settler feelings. Mr. Welwood's speech was peppered with such expressions as "I call it a rebellion because it is silly to play with words," "The Kikuyu respect force." He said that the Kikuyu after the Emergency should be punished. Individual Kikuyu should be excluded from grave jobs such as pit sawing in the forests, contracting, employing other Africans, or operating beer shops or dukas. Group Captain Briggs, citing the recently deteriorated Mau Mau situation in the Nanyuki area, deplored in particular the loopholes and legal impediments obstructing the death penalty. Despite the very large number of established Mau Mau oath administration ceremonies, to his knowledge, not a single death penalty had been meted out to oath administrators. He also decried - with some contradiction of fact - that the Indian members of Kenya Legislative Council had not come out openly to deny Chaman Lal's propaganda against the mistreatment of Kikuyu in Kenya. Back in London the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lyttleton, addressing the East Africa Dinner Club, named his conception of three principal objectives of British rule in East Africa. The first was to establish freedom from fear, enabling people of all races to work their farms, till their fields, drive to their offices without danger of being shot or slashed. The second objective was to bring the fertility of the soil up to the fertility of man. The third would be the patient building of political institutions fostering local responsibilities. Mr. Lyttleton made a point of qualifying these objectives, warning that they would be tremendously difficult to achieve.

It has been announced, or propagandized, abroad that there is a white MauMauism in Kenya today. In India Mr. Murumbi is reported to have told sympathetic audiences of European-sanctioned floggings, rape, of indiscriminate attack on villages, of indiscriminate slaughter of Kikuyu by whites and by natives under white officers. That such allegations are often accepted is attested by an appeal by a Congressman that American monetary aid to Britain be curtailed until such brutality is halted. You will have evidence from Ned Munger that Murumbi, at least, is sincere in principle, if dishonest in detail, in his indictment of the Kenya whites.

It is very likely that there have been individual instances of the crimes Murumbi cites. No anti-guerilla campaign can be conducted without occasional "deliberate mistakes." In guerilla type warfare outside East Africa I have observed that such atrocities are frequent and often unpreventable, and that the necessarily small unit sweeps and patrol operations - which unavoidably place power over life and death in the trigger finger of each soldier - must be undertaken with a realization that a few innocents are going to be killed. The only guarantee in Kenya against the killings of innocents would be to halt security force operations entirely. This would remove the undeniable savagery of infantry warfare from the Kenya landscape, but it would leave the Mau Mau violence, or the Kikuyu Rebellion if you will, to be halted by withdrawal, by appeasement, or by incantation.

Unquestionably the anti-imperialist elements which have gained such audience in India and England have gone beyond the facts. Murumbi speaks of some 300 young Kikuyu being killed every week by security forces. As Ned Munger noted, this is incorrect. Murumbi is not in a position to admit it but he must realize that if his accusations were based upon unexaggerated fact, and if the whites were truly making a maximum effort either to terrorize or exterminate the Kikuyu tribe, the tally would go far beyond the exaggerated weekly 300. With rifles, machineguns, artillery, and other weapons available I believe even a limited campaign of slaughter or terrorism would have accounted for 100,000 Kikuyu males. This does not even take into account more subtle methods of extermination such as the artificial creation of a Kikuyuland famine or of the denial of famine relief in the very likely event that a natural famine should occur. It is a useful commentary on human as well as African limitations that well-intentioned native leaders could be shouting of slaughter and terrorism while the white Kenya Government is securing and reserving quantities of corn, holding it ready to save tens of thousands from starvation should the Kikuyu harvest fail.

Recently a particular gang of eight terrorists, all "wanted and desperate", was liquidated near Thompson's Falls. Police and Police Reserve officers, with Masai and Kipsigis spearmen, made the pursuit through a leech-infested swamp. The gang had been engaged several days before, when several were wounded and an eight millimeter rifle was recaptured. After the arduous walk the gang was recontacted in the solitude of the swamp. Four of the gang members were killed, four were captured. Three rifles were recovered by the police and a revolver in the hands of one of the terrorists was lost in the swamp. The prisoners were taken by officers who knew only too well the expense and inconvenience that would be involved to Government in trying them. The fact that the prisoners were taken at all - while accepted as routine by others - is to me an evidence of a humanity or a degree of discipline entirely inordinate under the circumstances. In some anti-guerilla operations which I have witnessed in similar terrain, involving Allied soldiers of three Western nations and Asiatic and Melanesian troops as well, the prisoners would not have been brought back, though the ears or heads might have been.

Critics in England and elsewhere, in my opinion, would irritate less and possibly accomplish more if they would accept the facts that war and large scale police actions inevitably become "barbarous" and "brutal" and that humane rules cannot be introduced into such games through coaching from the sidelines. A more useful if less Utopian line would be to bring to the attention of the Europeans here more of the useless errors which they are already becoming conscious of - things which can be remedied within the limits of human nature. The Kenya European attitude towards color bar has been one of these errors, and some say it has been a major cause of the present plague.

The loudest voices against the Europeans, and the most self-justified, are the voices of educated Africans who have, by their lights, a thoroughly legitimate grievance against colonial society as distinct from British colonial government. It is the old British success of the Secretariat and failure in the tearooms and the clubs. Kenyatta has complained bitterly that Africans are acceptable only as serfs in any East African society planned by Europeans. Generally false, this statement gains a dangerous element of truth from the reality that skin color alone can bar even university trained Kenya natives from a commensurate economic and social position in the overall colonial society. One of the worst features of the Kenya Emergency is that there is no established elite, and only an infinitesimal minority of Africans, who are capable of speaking the language of British Government and of British business, who remain responsible to and considerate of the government. Murumbi, as was made clear in Ned's letter, was ready to give his history of personal frustrations and discontent. The feeling of inadequate economic reward along with the feeling of social non-acceptance has created many an incendiary political leader. The important cause, I think, has been an attitude of race consciousness and color bar which no European or African could escape, and which is as tragic as it is understandable.

To the Europeans in Kenya a black skin has been a useful, and even essential, label. Nineteen out of twenty persons who have this black skin - and many Europeans deal with hundreds every week - are lingually incapable of exchanging thoughts with a European, are grossly dishonest by European standards, do not observe European standards of cleanliness and hygiene, and are repulsive to Europeans because of such qualities as garrulousness, drunkenness, and brutality towards their women. To ask white-skinned human beings, who have lived long in this area, to ignore this identifying badge of ignorance and cultural distance is to ask the impossible. If I, as a white resident of East Africa, were to give solicitous audience to every African, or to exchange the charming but lengthy tribal hellos with natives I encounter, or were I to help Africans in the way I do Europeans, each day would be filled with nothing but these entertaining human relationships (the Swahili word is "shauri"). An anthropologist or a scholar can sustain this sort of program a few days at a time, and I for one would enjoy it, but a man with a plantation or a business or a trade, or even a traveller anxious to arrive somewhere cannot be blamed for shaking his

head and waving the numerous petitioners aside.

The most, I think, that we can ask of the busy Europeans who supervise the economy of Kenya is that they try to recognize those Africans who by speech, dress and other outward signs show some cultural and economic proximity to "civilized" norms and consider the advantages of accepting them on equal terms economically and, if possible, socially. The few Kenya natives who are capable of doing work of western standards should be excepted from any wages policy based on the general contrast in quality. A club or a home is a private place and one can only hope that colonial Europeans might temper their traditional idea of freedom to exclude a particular stranger from any intimate hospitality. (This change in Kenya would have to take place as slowly as it is moving in the United States, by generations, or decades, not in a year.) Hotels, theaters, and restaurants are another matter, and, though in Kenya, where some natives seldom bathe and go almost naked, it is ridiculous to oppose all standards of admittance, an improvement could be worked by enforceable legislation. To alter it, tact and not aggressiveness will be required. The banner-carrying, outspoken crusaders against color bar who fail to recognize its institutional tenure and its regrettable but real economic usefulness can damage their cause in Kenya severely by criticism that is misinformed, and irresponsible in that the critic is not here to suffer the results of his thrown firebrands. Looking from European East Africa at the world outside, which at this moment seems a very vocal outside, it has been the impression of this observer that many critics, constantly preaching tolerance, have been incredibly unobservant of a most obvious point: Of all the factors of human behavior which merit assessment by scholars and political observers, and which need to be respected for their present power and even "tolerated", the most deep rooted, institutionalized, and perhaps instinctive, is man's selective intolerance of man.

Like earlier newsletters on the Emergency, this one becomes a recitation of the clashing interracial jealousies that breed arson and murder. More than mere gangsterism, the Mau Mau disturbances (or the Kikuyu rebellion) have revealed the true extent of black resentment, and of the rabble-marshalling power of the slogan "Give back our land!" At an earlier stage the situation might have been saved by means of social trimmings, such as the partial dropping of the color bar suggested above. At this late date there is a naked power struggle, with normal African constitutional aspirations too firmly identified in the White mind with thuggery and terrorism. Any rapid suppression of the violence is very likely to involve suppression of "legitimate" native aspirations.

The power struggle has gone far enough to show which side is losing, and even a halting of the violence will indicate no permanent white victory. The European settlers - partly because they have kept their numbers small through selective land and immigration policies - are unable to thwart the terrorism even with the support of government. Basic European manpower

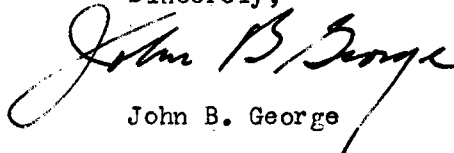
needs cannot be met. Of course, if the factors of British decency and Christian inhibitions could be set aside, present resources would be adequate: a Hitler or a Genghis Khan could solve the Kikuyu problem fairly quickly with the men and weapons now available. But these inhibitions are as real a factor in the Emergency as the shortage of European manpower.

Any practical means for ending the worst of the Kenya strife today is bound to be as unpalatable to some factions as a continuation of the strife itself. There is a clear call, however, to Her Majesty's Government in UK. Being historically responsible both for the white settlement and for past "soft" policies which have made the native of Kenya so aware of his rights, and being ultimately responsible for control of her possessions, that government should now make an appraisal and formulate a policy.

The appraisal required is of the relative expense, financial and political, of (1) suppressing the aspirations of more than a million natives for an indefinite number of years, or (2) cramming a policy of interracial equality down the throats of some 30,000 Kenya Europeans and later forcibly buying up European land holdings for distribution among natives. Should the appraisal favor the Europeans then the policy to follow must be one of extreme firmness, supporting an indefinite program of arbitrary toughness by European police. Should the appraisal go the other way - as I am convinced that it would on grounds of simple arithmetic and power politics as well as humanitarianism and "nose-count democracy" - then the policy engendered must envisage a program obviously unacceptable to many Europeans: a prompt increase in African participation in government at all levels, a corollary list of social developments and, most vital of all, an un-gradual liquidation of large European land holdings throughout Kenya. Such a land program would involve the adjustment of freehold and long leasehold (99 to 999 years) to short leasehold and the immediate government purchase and parcelling out of certain European lands not presently productive. To rid Kenya of the basic cause of native dissension, it would need to guarantee the termination of all European tenure without native consent within thirty years.

No "appraisal" will be made so objectively, and no such definite policies will be formulated. The idea is too simply stated, and it takes no account of the many influences which keep governments from behaving with individual logic. I put the thought on paper in order to indicate where events in Kenya are leading, and perhaps in the hope that it might benignly influence the muddled compromise which will actually take place. Another reason is to give voice to a new note of realism, or of imperialist defeatism, expressed tragically some time ago by my British dinner guest - a young lawyer with a guilt-edged academic background. "Gentlemen," (I quote from memory) "since this decade brings British power to its lowest, possible ebb, and converts all imperial influences into sloppy sentimentality, I give you a toast: Asia for Asiatics. Africa for the Africans. Wogland for the Wogs."

Sincerely,



John B. George

Received New York 8/7/53