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DER - 11  
European Policy Split  
and Other Developments

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c/o Barclays Bank  
Queensway  
Nairobi, Kenya  
(Mailed from Nairobi)

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

Dear Mr. Rogers:

The roar of heavy bombers taking off from Eastleigh Airport has brought an atmosphere of real war to Nairobi. Huge four-engine Lincoln bombers, brought in from the Middle East to stiffen the campaign against Mau Mau, are beginning daily sorties over the dense forests and bamboo thickets of Mount Kenya and the Aberdares. The propeller-driven Lincolns were used in the World War II bombing raids on Germany but now, in the jet age, are obsolete for modern warfare. Nevertheless, they look like strange visitors from the future in this country, where fighting sometimes is carried on with spears and poisoned arrows.

Previously, bombing was done from small, single-engine Harvard trainers. Twenty pounders were dropped. The Lincolns were brought in so that long-range reconnaissance could be conducted and bigger bombs dropped. Five hundred pounders are being used now. As before, operations will be carried out against only known gang hideouts in the prohibited mountain forests. While Army officers agree that most of the casualties will be trees and elephants, they hope that the psychological effect of the heavy bombs will force the gangs into the open where ground forces can close in on them more easily.

Much less spectacular, but perhaps much more important for curing what ails Kenya, is another development taking place here. All but one of the 14 European elected members of Kenya's Legislative Council have published a Statement of Policy which has been hailed in some quarters as a new and more liberal approach on the part of the white settlers here. The statement precipitated a long-awaited split in the European camp between "liberals" and "die-hards."

Indications are that Michael Blundell, leader of the European Elected Members' Organization, will take a majority of Kenya's Europeans with him down the "liberal" road. The Interim Management Committee of the Electors' Union---the Europeans' chief political organization here---endorsed the policy statement. The attitude of the liberals seems to be that they are glad to be rid of the die-hards. In the past, the Europeans here stuck together, fearful that schisms would weaken their position. It became an uneasy alliance, though. The liberals chafed under what they regarded as the restraining influence of the die-hards and the die-hards grew more and more critical of the liberals.

In announcing the policy statement---which was sure to precipitate the split---Blundell and his colleagues apparently felt that it is more important to the European community's position in Kenya to secure some sort of rapprochement with the other races than to continue to stick together.

Blundell and the other elected Europeans are meeting with representatives of the other races in an attempt to work out a common policy for Kenya's future, keyed on racial harmony. It is too early to predict what will come of these talks. In the policy statement, the Europeans still insist on maintenance of the white highlands and on separate schools for each race. Both of these are sore points for Asians and Africans. The European statement also calls for "strict control of immigration from the East"---another sore point with the Asians, but one with which the Africans would generally agree.

Nevertheless, initial reaction from Asians and Africans has not been entirely unfavorable. Some non-Muslim Indians have criticized it either as "hypocritical" or as a bone thrown to them to keep them quiet. But the two Muslim members of the Legislative Council welcomed the statement, though with reservations on some points. The African members have not commented yet, but before the European statement was published they worked out a policy statement of their own which indicates they would agree with the Europeans on a number of points.

Meanwhile the die-hards are withdrawing from the Electors' Union to form a new party, called the White Highlands Party. Their leaders include Major B. P. Roberts, a Nyanza farmer and chairman of the United Kenya Protection Association, a right-wing political group, and Leo Vigar, a Nairobi contractor and publisher of Comment, a weekly magazine in which he expounds his Malanist views. Vigar had been organizing the Kenya Empire Party and both it and Roberts' organization are to merge into the White Highlands Party.

The policy of the White Highlands Party is apartheid and Vigar speaks frankly of his admiration for Dr. Malan. Vigar and the others advocate partition of Kenya, with a self-governing and separate white highlands, as the only solution. They are to issue their own policy statement soon.

The elected members' statement follows publication of their "Nine Principles" last August.\* At that time, the delegates to the Electors' Union conference requested them to draw up a detailed policy declaration soon.

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\* Reported in DER - 5.

One of the most interesting points in the new statement is the declaration that Colonial Office control should continue in Kenya for "the immediate future." The traditional cry of the Kenya settler has been for full self-government, but the statement rejects this, saying that Kenya is not yet ready for it. The statement instead supports a development of the present set-up, whereby unofficial members of the Legislative Council cooperate with the Colonial Office officials in formulating policy. Even though the government holds the reins, the unofficials, and among them chiefly the Europeans, have a considerable amount of power and influence.

Other points in the statement:

1. Whatever changes may be made in Kenya's Constitution, "it is necessary to maintain British guidance and control and it will be desirable for all groups to participate in the government."

2. Persons holding equally-responsible posts in the public service should receive equal pay, regardless of race.

3. "Genuine opportunities must be given for advancement for all, from a lower to a higher grade, on merit and ability."

4. County Councils in the European Highlands should be given further responsibilities, including "powers to regulate the influx and residence of persons in their areas." (#1) African District Councils in the native reserves "should move toward County Council status."

5. Deserving Africans in the ranks of the King's African Rifles should be given Governor's commissions. (#2)

6. An African wage structure should be developed "which needs no subsidization from the African Land Units (#3) and which allows for the renting of houses in urban areas at economic rates." Wages should "bear a realistic relation to rents and prices," and "Africans in urban areas must be given facilities to build and own their own houses."

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(#1) As for instance Indian traders and African labor.

(#2) British officers hold Queen's commissions. Governor's commissions, I am told, are granted to Africans in West Africa and Viceroy's commissions were granted to Indians while the British were in India.

(#3) In the sense that an African worker away from the reserve relies on his shamba at least partly to support his family and looks to the shamba for old age security. This has tended to prevent the growth of a permanent African urban class and has worked against the development of really efficient agriculture in the reserves.

7. "Government and private enterprise must give willing assistance to teaching the African the skills of the modern world." Facilities must be provided "for African traders to buy fairly and easily in the wholesale market" and "African businessmen and industrialists must be given facilities for credit, preferably through the African District Councils, as is now being organized by government."

8. "In order to stimulate confidence in the European and African alike, there must be no changes in the existing policy of land tenure by which the European Highlands and African Land Units are reserved for the use of the people of these two races. Changes in the policy in any one area would have to be extended to both Europeans and Africans alike, and this would be unacceptable to public opinion."

9. There must be a maximum development of both European and African areas and Africans should be encouraged to grow cash crops such as coffee, tea and pyrethrum.

10. An "energetic effort" is needed to develop areas such as the lower Tana River and on the Coast for African resettlement to relieve population pressure in the reserves. But, "population pressure cannot be relieved on the basis of land only and must be solved within the economy of East Africa as a whole."

11. "Separate schools for each race must continue to be provided," and "if any racial group requires a standard of education higher than can be afforded by the central government, such group may have to find the extra finances necessary."

12. "For everyone there is a place as citizens of the Colony provided...that there is such strict control of immigration as will preserve the western character of the new civilization of Kenya and the English language and culture and protect its people from excessive economic competition from abroad. This means---and it is right to state so frankly---the strict control of immigration from the East."

13. Partition is rejected because "to withdraw into political isolation is an abrogation of leadership" and "a partitioned state would present insoluble problems; it cannot be economically sound, particularly when the complications regarding the port, towns and labor are appreciated."

Blundell, explaining the statement's rejection of full self-government at this time, told his constituents at Nakuru:

"We must accept that we are not now able to sustain the financial burden of the Emergency and shall need substantial help from Great Britain if our planned development and social services are not to be sharply arrested.

"Again, we are unable to deal with the rebellious movement in our midst without the assistance of more than five battalions of troops from overseas and a large-scale recruitment for our police from outside our country.

"So, two of the essential ingredients in self-government are lacking: a strong and viable economy and the ability to defend ourselves, both within and without, against those who would destroy it."

The feeling among some people here is that the European leaders, having been taken more into the government, are realizing what responsibilities actually are involved in running a country with as many problems as Kenya. Irresponsible opposition and an irresponsible desire to run the whole show characterized the past, but the European leaders are coming around to a different view now, these people say.

Another view is that the Europeans are fearful of losing their dominant position in any self-governing Kenya. It would be much more difficult to maintain that position if the authority and troops of the British government were withdrawn. The Europeans are an infinitesimal minority as far as numbers are concerned and with self-government for the Colony, Asian and African stirrings would be much more difficult to resist, according to this view.

The statement that it "will be desirable for all groups to participate in the government" while maintaining "British guidance and control" is susceptible to different interpretations. No mention is made of the degree of participation, but there is a growing feeling among European leaders here that the African and Asian must be given a greater share in government.

"It might be a good idea to let the Africans elect their own representatives to Legco," one influential European said to me. "Let them make a mess out of it if they want to, but let them do it themselves." (African members of the Legislative Council are appointed by government after candidates are approved by African District Councils. The government's District Commissioners, however, have a good deal to say on the Councils.)

Norman F. Harris, European elected member for Nairobi South, told his constituents that he has not yet seen an African in the Legislative Council to whom a government portfolio could be given. But the time is coming, he said, when Africans should be given positions equivalent to Under-Secretaries or Parliamentary Private Secretaries in Britain, where they could be given training for a Cabinet job.

Much of the die-hards' fury was stirred up by the idea of greater African and Asian participation in government. Vigar has been directing rhetorical questions at Blundell such as: "Is he prepared to give up his leadership of the Opposition in the present type of House, or leadership of the government in the future, to a qualified Kikuyu? Is he prepared to have an African Member for Education in charge of the education of European children? Is he prepared to accept a Hindu Minister of Finance?"

Amid applause, Blundell retorted to criticism from Vigar and Roberts at the Nakuru meeting by saying that if anyone listened to their views, there would certainly be a Dr. Jagan in Kenya in the next decade.

How much support the die-hards will draw is anyone's guess. In the past their probable strength was estimated at 40 per cent of the European voters. Brig. C. J. K. Hill, executive head of the Electors' Union, now estimates they would draw only 25 per cent. Despite attempts from Vigar, Roberts and others to postpone immediate approval of the policy statement at the Nakuru meeting, it was endorsed by a vote of 100 to 30.

Vigar, who was born in England and lived in New Zealand till he came to Kenya five years ago, expects to draw considerable support from Kenya's South Africans, Boer and Briton alike. They are not very active in politics at the moment and Vigar estimates their strength at 4,500 to 5,000 persons. The big issue, according to Vigar, is: "The world is headed for a final showdown between white and color." In his magazine, Vigar makes a big play for Afrikaner support by printing a regular section of news from South Africa in the Afrikaans language and in English. "Nuus uit Suid-Afrika" is obligingly supplied by the South African Information Officer in Nairobi.

The only European Legco member who refused to support the policy statement was S. V. Cooke, maverick member for the Coast and a former Colonial Service officer. Cooke, who has sharp words for his colleagues as well as for the government, said:

"I call for a standstill and a freezing of politics. When gunmen are holding the Colony to ransom, it is no time for politics." Anyway, Mr. Cooke said, "The Indians and the Africans are not ready to be put into executive authority in this country."

Training his fire on Blundell, Cooke said:

"I am often asked why I do not cooperate with Mr. Blundell. One of the reasons is that there are two Mr. Blundells. One is the hearty, breezy Yorkshire farmer; the other is, in my opinion, a bit of a gerrymander.

"For instance, last year he was against communal punishment of the rebels, but a few months later he was wanting to know why this action had not been taken.

"Michael says one thing at Nakuru and Blundell says something else at Naivasha. We have not got a leader in the sense that Delamere was a leader."

Blundell replied:

"Whatever policy we had produced, Mr. Cooke would have disagreed because it is in his nature to express his admiration by destructive criticism."

Another Legco member, Colonel Ewart S. Grogan, 79-year-old Member for Nairobi West and one of Kenya's early settlers, said while he disagreed with the necessity of publishing a statement at this time, he agreed with the principles. Col. Grogan, who as a youth walked from the Cape to Cairo to secure information on the interior for Rhodes and the British government, said to me over dinner: "We should just have said: 'We've treated you fairly and justly in the past and we'll keep on doing it.'" Nevertheless, he is going along with his colleagues on the statement.

Ray Letcher, newly-elected member for the Trans Nzoia, at first agreed with his colleagues on the statement, then wavered a bit when explaining it to his constituents. He was quickly put back into line and with the exception of Cooke, the European members now seem to be in accord.

Strong criticism of the policy came from the two non-Muslim Indians representing the Central constituency in Legco. One of them, C. B. Madan, declared:

"The policy statement is deceptive. It appears to be liberal; in fact it is not. I cannot see how the European elected members can succeed in safe-guarding the proper interests of each race by reserving the Highlands for themselves, by usurping power in local government and by reserving practically the entire agricultural industry for themselves."

Chanan Singh said: "This European community's claim to leadership which the statement of policy reiterates is completely hypocritical. This leadership is neither merited by past performance nor accepted by any non-European worth his salt. If the European community is sincere about its claim to leadership, it should immediately ask that the government:

"One, amend the local government law to allow non-European races to participate fully in the County Councils and Municipalities.

"Two, repeal the legislation which reserves the 16,000 square miles of land in the Highlands for the exclusive ownership and occupation of white races, and,

"Three, throw open to all races schools and hospitals built and run from government funds."

Another non-Muslim, R. B. Patel, an acting Legco member, said he disagreed with the European policy on matters of land, local government, immigration and education, but urged the Indian community not to reject it outright.

"I believe enough time should be given to everyone in the country to digest the whole policy statement with a cool mind and in an atmosphere of friendliness and give and take," he said. "The time has come that for peace and progressive development of the country and to build a nation out of a multi-racial society, all liberal thoughts should be supported and encouraged no matter from where they come."

Kenya's Muslims are less hostile politically to the Europeans than the non-Muslims are and Dr. S. G. Hassan, Muslim member for the East Electoral Area, said:

"To my mind, it is a quite satisfactory policy. With a few slight changes it can create a formula palatable to Muslims and perhaps to other groups." He criticized the European insistence on a white highlands and said while he agrees that primary education should be kept racially separate, secondary schools should be inter-racial."

The other Muslim member, Ibrahim E. Nathoo, said:

"While I welcome the liberal spirit shown in the statement of the European elected members, in that they have shown a great advance on their previous ideas regarding the position of the non-European groups, I cannot but stress the point that yet a greater liberality will have to be shown by the European community in their policy if a workable solution is to be found."

He called for a start in inter-racial education at the higher levels and like Hassan criticized maintenance of the white highlands.

Prospects of reaching some agreement with the African Legco members are considered good in view of the points of agreement that already exist between the European statement and that drawn up independently by the Africans.

The six African members, led by E. W. Mathu, a Kikuyu, said:

"Africans are prepared to come more than half-way to meet the other races. The immigrant races can do more than they are doing to create happier racial atmosphere by removing the dominating attitude held by many."

Other points in the statement:

---"The Emergency must be given the highest possible priority to bring it to a successful end as quickly as possible. To this end, African members must continue to support the government fully."

---"The African must be given a greater responsibility in public affairs, in recognition of his notable contribution to the development of Kenya both as a producer and a wage earner."

---"The time is ripe for Africans to be represented on the Member system (portfolio) in the Government. Home rule for Kenya must wait for the present and Colonial Office control must continue for many years to come."

---"The present allocation of land to the African is insufficient for his economic needs and Africans must press for more land. The government must settle some Africans elsewhere from the most congested reserves."

---"We do not see why we should not have an African Member for African Affairs. Salaries should be based on qualifications, not on color."

---"The time has come for compulsory primary education for Africans in Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kisumu."

---African members recognize the strategic importance of East Africa. Africans must be ready to die for their country and Commonwealth. They must play their part in the Army, Navy and Air Force and those who excel should be granted commissions."

The statement opposed any further immigration---European or Asian---saying that manpower in Kenya is sufficient as it is. Africans should be given technical and professional training instead, the statement said.

Many Europeans greeted the African statement with approval and the East African Standard, Nairobi's European daily, said: "The statement has the quality of independence of approach which is both interesting and encouraging."

It is hard to say what support the African members' statement will get from the African masses. By and large, they are inarticulate and in a state of political immaturity. The African members cannot be said to speak for the whole African population, but at least no one else does. The Kenya African Union, the only African political organization with a mass following---and that following was almost entirely among the Kikuyu tribe---is banned and its leaders are in detention. Although they are appointed by the government, the African members, and particularly Mathu, cannot be considered "Uncle Toms," and some detribalized Africans I have met regard them as their genuine representatives. Some criticism of the statement may come from Kikuyu leaders because the statement makes no mention of land "stolen" from that tribe.

The discussions between the leaders of the different races will go on for some time and later there will be talks with the Governor about any changes that may be made in the Constitution. If and when a common policy is agreed upon, it will be presented to the electorates for their approval.

Unfortunately there is magic in the words "policy statement" here and some of the old-timers give a cynical snort to this one and recall others that gathered dust instead of adherents. This one, they snicker, was issued on Friday the 13th.

But others say that a new attitude is growing among Kenya's Europeans, one that could lead to some sort of racial harmony in this uneasy land. The European elected members say quite frankly that they don't know what exact details of policy might be worked out. When I asked Mr. W. E. Crosskill, member for the Mau area, how much participation Asians and Africans might have in the government, he said: "I don't know. We'll have to wait and see as we go along."

All of Kenya's people will be watching in the coming months.

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Violence continues in the streets of Nairobi, on upcountry European farms and in the native reserves.

Late in the afternoon of Saturday, November 21, Ambrose M. Ofafa, a Luo and the senior African representative on the Nairobi City Council, was traveling in a Kikuyu-owned taxi to his home in the Ziwani African location. The taxi stopped and the driver told Councillor Ofafa that it had stalled. Ofafa got out to push and as he was doing so, an African came up behind him and shot him in the neck and arm.

As Ofafa was taken to the hospital, an angry crowd of 400 to 500 Luo gathered on the scene and attempted to turn the taxi over. The driver had by that time disappeared. Luo women exhorted the crowd to take reprisals against Nairobi's Kikuyu. The crowd quieted down, though, when police arrived. Later on a group of Luo elders met with the District Commissioner and demanded that more drastic action be taken to curb gangsterism in Nairobi.

Ofafa, who apparently will recover, has been an outspoken enemy of Mau Mau and was included in the Coronation Honors of last June for his "fearless" service to the African community and the city during the Emergency. Until a few weeks ago, he had a shop in the Kariokor location. When all Kikuyu were moved out of the Kaloleni location as part of a campaign to restore law and order to Nairobi, Ofafa took over the trading premises a Kikuyu had occupied.

From his hospital bed, Ofafa sent out this message:

"I wish to make clear to the people of Nyanza\* that I am also a representative of the Kikuyu people and, therefore, I beg them never to engage in any sort of conflict.

"On Nairobi City Council I have been trying to help the Africans without regard to tribe, and earnestly pray the whole of the African community, particularly the Luo and the Kikuyu, that they should never allow themselves to become enemies of one another.

"I believe the best we can do in these days of trial, the Kikuyu and members of all tribes, is to get together and defy Mau Mau in the strongest possible terms. Let them help the Government, for no Government in the world would continue doing good for people who defy it.

"All the accusations against me that I brought about the fencing of the locations, and the removal of Kikuyu from Kaloleni, are entirely wrong. I have said this before, and I ask the Africans to realize that when I have to say something as their representative, I will always tell the truth and never deceive them."

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\* The Luo are a Nyanza Province tribe.

A few days earlier a 45-year-old European settler, George L. G. Shaw, was shot to death by a Mau Mau gang on his 680-acre coffee estate near Thika, about 35 miles north of Nairobi. He had spotted a gang of about 50 Kikuyu on the estate. He telephoned the police and was told that a company of Black Watch would be there in 20 minutes. Without waiting, he got into his car and drove across the fields in pursuit of the gang. They shot and killed him from a distance with a rifle and his car plunged into an ant bear hole. The gang fled with the pistol he had been carrying. Security forces, who have been pursuing the gang for several days, have killed several. Mr. Shaw was president of the Kenya Golf Union, a member of the Coffee Marketing Board and a member of the District Emergency Committee, which advises the authorities on operations against Mau Mau.

Several weeks earlier, an Italian Catholic nun, Sister Eugenia, was slashed to death by a Mau Mau gang at the Imenti Catholic Mission in the Meru District. The number of European civilians murdered by Mau Mau now stands at 18.

In Arusha, Tanganyika, recently, Coroner Graham Reide returned a verdict of suicide in the case of Ndewa Thuku, a Kikuyu found hanged on his employer's estate. Reide said the treatment the deceased underwent from a Kenya Mau Mau screening team "was a factor---very likely the factor---which determined him to kill himself." There was no evidence that the deceased had anything to do with Mau Mau and "those who administered or were responsible for that treatment must bear the appropriate responsibility," the coroner said. The case was part of what has become a cause celebre to some Kenya and Tanganyika settlers.

Brian Hayward, a 19-year-old temporary District Officer at Kiambu in Kenya's Kikuyu Reserve, had been sent to Arusha with 10 Kikuyu loyalists to screen Mau Mau suspects among the Kikuyu living in Tanganyika's Northern Province. Hayward's first experience with Mau Mau had been when he investigated the Lari massacre, where more than 100 Kikuyu men, women and children were butchered by Mau Mau.

Within a short time, complaints were being made, some of them from European employers, that the Kikuyu were being beaten by the screening team in an effort to get confessions. An investigation was made by the Tanganyikan authorities and Hayward and the 10 Kikuyu were arrested. Hayward admitted ordering the beatings and pleaded guilty to 20 counts of assault before the Resident Magistrate, Philip Biron.

One of the Kikuyu screeners said: "I know it was wrong but we do so in Kenya when they refuse to answer."

The Magistrate sentenced each of the 10 Kikuyu to one day in prison with a fine of 100 shillings (\$14.). "In their case," he said, "there was a strong mitigating factor of acting under orders. Possibly only those who live in Africa can really appreciate how strong a mitigating factor it is."

Turning to Hayward, Mr. Biron said it was regrettable that one so young and inexperienced should have been placed in such a position and in such circumstances. He then sentenced Hayward to three months in jail and fined him £100 (\$283.).

The Magistrate directed that a portion of the fines be distributed to the complainants in the case before the court. The Crown counsel suggested that complainants whose cases had not been brought before the court apply to the Government for compensation.

The case touched off an uproar on the part of some Europeans in Kenya and Tanganyika and a fund was raised at once to pay Hayward's fine. Mr. Vigar roared in Comment: "I am told that he had to listen to insults in the Kikuyu language. Can any reasonable person wonder that, in all the circumstances, he permitted his screening team to exert some of that pressure which has been in every day use among Africans for thousands of years?"

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The government's new intention to confiscate land owned by Mau Mau terrorists, which has been urged for some time by the settlers, picked up support recently from the Kiambu African District Council, one of the three District Councils in the Kikuyu Reserve. The council voted approval after the District Commissioner, A. C. C. Swann, explained the plan.

Swann said only land owned by terrorist leaders would be confiscated, not the property of minor Mau Mau followers. Mbari land (land held communally by several members of one family) would not be affected, he said. Land seized would be used for public purposes, such as for schools, hospitals, sports fields and communal grazing areas and trading plots would revert to the councils for renting, Swann said. He told the council that a bill empowering such confiscation would be discussed in the Legislative Council soon.

Various settler leaders had urged that land taken from Mau Mau members be given to loyal Kikuyu, but the government rejected this idea on grounds that it would give rise to endless land disputes and bitterness.

Some persons criticize the confiscation policy as something that will boomerang. Terrorists will fight all the harder and fight to the finish if they lose their land, they say. Others see it differently, saying the terrorists are "too far gone" to be influenced one way or another. Many could entertain no thoughts of returning to their land as they know they would face prosecution for such crimes as murder. Confiscation and use for public purposes will encourage loyal elements and make others think twice about joining the Mau Mau, this argument goes.

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The "short rains" have come to Kenya. Each day brings more showers, stirring the plant world into life again. All over Nairobi, jacaranda trees are covered with dazzling purple blossoms. The plains of the Royal Nairobi National Park, burnt yellow by the sun during the dry season, are green once more. Upcountry roads have been turned into bogs from the the rain and cars arriving in Nairobi are covered with mud. Rain or shine, Nairobi's Africans continue to walk to and from work each day, boycotting the busses.

Sincerely,



David E. Reed

Received New York 12/1/53.