

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

DER - 26
Multi-Racial Government
European Unity Shatters

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c/o Barclays Bank
Queensway
Nairobi, Kenya

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

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Forty-seven years ago an aspiring young British politician visited Kenya, then known as the British East Africa Protectorate. Later he wrote a book and in it he said: "Every white man in Nairobi is a politician; and most of them are leaders of parties. One would scarcely believe it possible that a center so new should be able to develop so many divergent and conflicting interests, or that a community so small should be able to give to each such vigorous and even vehement expression."

The writer was Winston Churchill and at the time he was Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a Liberal Government.* What he noted in 1907 is as true today as it was then. Another writer, Col. van der Post, put it a little more bluntly when he said: "The people of Kenya appear to live in a permanent state of agitation, of frenzy, rage, rebellion and resentment, against various facts and circumstances of their daily lives." (#2)

The altitude of Nairobi (5,400 feet) is often blamed for the irascible political tempers of the Europeans here. But Denver is almost as high and I have never heard of the citizens of that place raising as much fuss, even in the Wild West days, as goes on here.

Some settlers like to explain their political behavior by the fact that they are not allowed to govern themselves. "What was the altitude of Williamsburg, Virginia, when the settlers of that day met at the Raleigh Tavern for their seditious talks which led to the Revolution?" Elspeth Huxley asks Margery Perham in a published exchange of letters. (#3) This may well figure into it. But, still, the white settlers of non-self-governing Tanganyika are lambs compared with the Kenya lions. To my knowledge, they have never shouted out plans for kidnapping their Colonial Governor, as the Kenya settlers did in the 1920s.

Whatever the reason, Kenya has always been a peculiar place as far as politics are concerned, and in recent months things have been even more lively than usual. Temperatures have soared beyond their customary 103 degrees. Those who love a good fight, with not a little mud-slinging, have been getting their tuppence worth.

Manifestos have been issued by the reams and the public halls of the colony have been ringing with firm demands, firm declarations, firm principles and firm mud. The only trouble is that observers and,

* The book: "My African Journey."
(#2) "Venture to the Interior."
(#3) "Race and Politics in Kenya."

one suspects, participants as well, often have trouble remembering what the last manifesto was all about.

For a while, a wisecrack that attempted to sum up the situation was making the rounds: "The 14 European elected members of the Legislative Council hold 28 opinions. Each member has two opinions---those of the last two men he happened to meet." And each night that old political forum, the Long Bar of the New Stanley Hotel, has been ringing with views---expressed, usually, at the top of the speaker's voice.

The man who could be considered responsible for the uproar has departed from the political scene. Oliver Lyttelton has resigned as Secretary of State for the Colonies and (a) has returned to head a private industry and (b) become a Lord---Viscount Chandos of Aldershot. Back in Kenya his constitutional offspring, known as the Lyttelton Plan for Multi-Racial Government, has undergone no such retreat from first place in the hearts, minds and mouths of men.

Kenya's multi-racial government is six months old now.* It is, of course, too early to see if it has been successful. The real test will not come until such time as the power of Great Britain is withdrawn from Kenya. Then it will become clear whether multi-racial government can stand by itself. But, meanwhile, an important immediate effect has become apparent. The Lyttelton Plan has caused a breakup in European political unity. With it has gone at least a measure of European political strength.

European morale seems to be low and a number of Europeans I know are talking of emigrating to Rhodesia, South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or the United States. They regard these as the only "White Man's Countries" left.

Probably only a few of the old-time settlers would ever leave, at least as the situation now stands. These are the fiery gents with ponderous hats, callused hands, sunburned faces and .45 revolvers, who strode overland decades ago to round up gangs of startled Africans and put them to work clearing a farm. But quite a few recent arrivals say they are "fed up" and even among the sunburned old-timers, one hears despondent talk.

There are two reasons for this attitude. Mau Mau has dragged on for nearly two years and shows no signs of a decisive let-up. This has shaken the settlers' security. But more important to them and to their fears for their security, the hated Indians have finally stormed the inner citadel of government and now are holding two Cabinet posts.

In past years, the settlers kept up an effective united political front by means of the Electors' Union. Not that differences did not exist: they did, but they were always compromised under so as to maintain the all-important unity. The Europeans felt that their numerical strength was so slight that they could not afford the luxury

* See DER - 18, "Kenya Experiment in Multi-Racial Government," for background.

of party politics. There was a common foe to be faced---the Indians and the Africans---and the settlers felt that if they let themselves be divided, they would be swamped, politically, economically and in matters of culture, by the other races.

Unity worked well as long as the Europeans were always in opposition to something. And, for years, that was the position they occupied. Kenya at first was ruled lock, stock and barrel by their fellow Englishmen in the Colonial Service. Later an unofficial majority was introduced in the Legislative Council, but that really meant little. The unofficials, rent by racial politics, could never exert their real strength. Anyway, the government still reserved many powers. It was easy for the Europeans to stick together as long as they were always opposed to one thing: Colonial rule.

When Lyttelton imposed multi-racial government on Kenya last spring, three European unofficials, along with two Asians and one African, were taken into a newly-formed Cabinet, as full-fledged Ministers. The European leader, Michael Blundell, a Rift Valley farmer in his late 40s who, at least by Kenya standards, is a moderate, was one of the three Europeans who crossed the floor.

When Blundell and his colleagues took their seats on the Government side of the House, the holy cause of European unity suffered a decisive blow. Blundell's group were committed to supporting the government (a government, incidentally, in which they could always be outvoted by Colonial officials). The other European leaders had no such commitment and many of them were opposed to the Lyttelton Plan in the first place. So there it was: two camps, no more unity.

An attempt is being made now to patch things up. But it is doubtful that the old unity will ever be restored. Things may be patched up on the surface, but it is unlikely that the new Rift Valley caused by multi-racial government will ever be closed.

The European Elected Members' Organization was the first agency of unity to take a beating under multi-racial government. It had functioned as a meeting place where the European elected members of Legco could decide common policy. Inevitably, this meant that policy had to be watered down so as to secure agreement. The Organization had 13 members---the other European elected member, maverick-minded S. V. Cooke (Coast constituency) would have nothing to do with it.

Because of their opposition to the Lyttelton Plan, two members resigned from the association just as multi-racial government was embarked upon. They were Humphrey Slade (Aberdares) and Colonel Ewart S. Grogan (Nairobi West). Later, amid rumors that some of the remaining members were organizing a new political party, dedicated to making multi-racial government work, two more resigned in protest. They were Group Captain L. R. Briggs (Mount Kenya) and Lady Shaw (Ukamba).

In June a half-hearted attempt was made to patch things up. A new body was formed---the European Elected Members' Association. It had 13 members. Cooke, surprisingly, was in for a change; but Col. Grogan was out. Grogan said he would contribute toward secretarial expenses, but that was all.

Those members like Blundell who had been edging toward multi-racialism had had to effect a compromise to recapture the dissident right wingers. They had agreed to a policy declaration listing three irreducible points---the White Highlands must be preserved and common roll voting and inter-racial education must be opposed. It is unlikely that even Blundell would ever retreat on the issue of the White Highlands in particular, but it seems that with multi-racial government just getting underway, he would have preferred to keep quiet.

Humphrey Slade, another political maverick, joined in the new association, but with reservations on the matter of racial voting rolls. Although Slade has much in common with the far right, he declared that inter-racial voting rolls in selected constituencies might be advisable in the future.

The new association, however, was but a semblance of the old Elected Members' Organization. Instead of tight discipline, a sort of Holy Roman Empire of politicians existed. Members were free "to take such independent action as they see fit," including the formation of "independent groups." The association even lacked a leader---the chair would rotate at each meeting. As the three ministers were part of the Government, they would leave association meetings when Opposition business was being discussed.

The East African Standard, Nairobi's daily newspaper, said in an editorial that it was regrettable that the elected members had brought up the issue of the White Highlands and of education and the franchise at that time. "The effect upon the other races is clearly likely to be provocative and to foster afresh the sense of frustration which gives rise...to racial conflicts..."

The paper's prediction was soon borne out. The six Asian elected members---two Muslims and four non-Muslims---replied that the policy declaration "is a negation of the aim to build a multi-racial society and nation in Kenya." The Asians said the European statement raises Asian and African suspicion "about the genuineness of the intentions of the unofficial European community to build a multi-racial society...in Kenya."

Meanwhile the redoubtable Electors' Union was going to pieces. The Union is the heir to the old Convention of Associations, a noisy and powerful European political organization founded by the late Lord Delamere in 1910. The old Convention was so influential that for a while senior Colonial Service officials had to appear at its meetings---often to be called on the carpet. Governors appeared at some of its session to reply to points raised in resolutions and one Governor, Major-General Sir Edward Northey, even opened the 1919 meeting. The political dominance that the white settlers have maintained in Kenya has been due in large part to the effectiveness of their organizations, first the Convention of Associations and then the Electors' Union.

Trouble came to a head when the new Council of Ministers, with the agreement of its European, Asian and African unofficial ministers, issued an 18-point "Statement of Policy." It was a rather innocuous document, promising that the government would continue to prosecute the Emergency with vigor and that, at the same time, would continue expanding its development work for the benefit of all races. The

statement made no mention of the White Highlands, separate voting rolls or separate education.

The leaders of the Electors' Union never favored the Lyttelton Plan. Instead they had proposed that a War Cabinet be appointed. When that suggestion was rejected by Lyttelton, they said they would not oppose multi-racial government, but that they would not support it actively either.

Most settlers, too, were either opposed to the Lyttelton Plan or very suspicious of it. They feared that the appointment of Asian ministers would be followed by a process whereby the numerically superior Asians would "take over the Colony."

Mere mention of multi-racialism also stirred up fears about the White Highlands. The settlers regard it as the only firm footing they have in the colony, the only bastion of the English way of life. They fear that Indian financiers would quickly buy up much or most of it if sales to non-Europeans were ever allowed. And there is no doubt that inasmuch as the Highlands has always been a forbidden fruit, there would be quite a number of eager Indian buyers.

The settlers feel that with common roll voting, they would quickly be swamped by the Indians and Africans. And inter-racial education, they fear, would lead to miscegenation and cultural amalgamation---to the destruction of their racial and cultural identity.

Successive Kenya and British governments have emitted thousands of printed and oral words of assurance to the settlers about the White Highlands. But, still, the settlers are like a woman who has to be told every five minutes that her lover still loves her. And, at the moment, our woman had her fears enhanced by the proximity of an Indian maid.

So, the ink was hardly dry on the government's 18-point statement when the Central Office of the Electors' Union let loose a blast. "The Central Office...has read the latest government plan for the future with the greatest anxiety, as it discloses once more a complete misunderstanding, deliberate or naive, of the growing feeling of resentment prevailing throughout even the most moderate section of the European community at the suppression of their own interests and the wider interests of Kenya in a thinly veiled effort to appease influences hostile to European settlement in Kenya," the Central Office statement said.

Continuing, it said government must "state in unequivocal terms the predominating (italics mine) responsibility the government expects Europeans to shoulder now and in the future." An assurance must be given on the White Highlands, separate schools must be maintained and the policy must be that "character and ability will be the only test of appointment and appointments will not again be made on racial proportions."

The howls went up immediately. Those Europeans who favored multi-racial government, however cautiously, sent off a spate of angry letters to the Long Bar's rival, the letters column of the East African Standard, asking who the heck the people in the Central Office thought

they were to issue statements without consulting anyone else. Others who disapproved of multi-racial government howled just as loud because the Central Office consulted no one.

The fragmentation of European unity continued with the announcement, on July 10, that a new political party had been formed. Its chief backer was Blundell. It was called the United Country Party---meaning "country" in the sense of national, not rural---and it said it stood for multi-racial cooperation.

The UCP got off to a high-sounding start. A brochure declared:

"The challenge is this---have you the courage to show the world that we in Kenya can tackle a problem that has always been evaded?..

"We are convinced that each community must decide whether to prosper in partnership or be damned in isolation.

"There can be no evasion, no sitting on the fence. The situation throughout Africa is deteriorating. Will you make the effort to arrest that process?"

In its list of aims, the UCP then proceeded to show how it proposed to arrest that process. The principle of multi-racial government would be supported. But, "on the basis of communal rolls, as conceived in the Lyttelton Plan."

The creation of harmony, mutual confidence and the will to work together would be the goal of the party. But the party initially would bar Asians and Africans. "When such conditions (harmony, etc.) have been achieved the party, although initially European, sees no reason why any individual who accepts the party policy should not be considered for membership," the brochure said.

One of the points of party policy that the Asian and the African would have to accept, come the time when he would be allowed in, would be the White Highlands. And also, though no issue, the sanctity of the Native Land Units (reserves).

The founders of the party were six of the European elected members. Two were ministers---in addition to Blundell, there was W. B. Havelock, the Minister for Local Government, Health and Housing. The others included Norman F. Harris (Nairobi South).

I had coffee with Harris one morning in the patio of the new Legislative Council building. Harris is a well-dressed, suave Nairobi businessman and perhaps is in his late 40s. He has a great liking for conversation and as we talked I asked him if he thought he could get other races into a party that insisted on common rolls and the White Highlands. And his answer was "yes."

"I envisage parallel parties in other races with the same aims," he said. "I believe the communal roll is the answer to the common roll. If we could get J. S. Patel elected on an Indian roll, subscribing to a certain policy, Blundell elected on a European roll,

subscribing to the same policy, and Njeroge on an African roll, subscribing to that policy, we'd be terribly strong when we approached the Secretary of State and said we wanted this or that. If there had been a common roll, he could always say, 'You were elected by two races only--- the other one hates the sight of you.'"*

And about the Highlands?

"If the Europeans stand up and insist on keeping them as a right, the other races will say, 'Why should you?' But if we develop them and stop demanding them as a right, but by right of development, I don't think the other races would object."

As there are 14 elected members, the six UCP backers were in a minority. The other eight were quite opposed to it and lost no time informing their constituents to that effect. Cooke called Blundell's group "duds." The third European unofficial minister, L. R. Maconochie Welwood (Minister of Forest Development, Game and Fisheries and representing the Uasin Gishu constituency, an area with a large South African population) disassociated himself from the new party. He said that Europeans "are too few and have too many enemies within and without Africa for party division to be a safe pursuit."

The only people who welcomed the UCP were the leaders of the Federal Independence Party. The FIP is a far right wing group that regards Dr. Malan as its hero. It has never been too clear just what the party stands for except that it is dead-set against multi-racial government or government by anyone but white settlers. It seems it has only a small following. With the formation of the UCP, Major B. P. Roberts, party chairman, apparently thought he saw his chance.

"There can be no other course open now to the right wing view than to reorganize into one strong party to oppose the UCP," he declared. But not many people, anti-UCP elected members included, would listen. That got Roberts mad and he criticized their attitude. But still they would not budge into his or any other party.

Slade, Cooke and the others instead took the line that party politics should be avoided in the interests of European unity. "Let's get on with the Emergency," became the battle cry and cynics interpreted this as meaning, "Let's refuse to face the facts."

It is a curious thing about Kenya politics, but, while many people have no basic disagreement with the FIP, they nevertheless stay clear of it. They regard it as too "extremist." Yet, when you press them for reasons, they usually cannot come up with any, except, perhaps, that they feel the FIP is too noisy---i.e., ungentlemanly.

Later yet another policy statement made an appearance. Seven anti-UCP European elected members issued one that urged the "avoidance of party politics with all their attendant bitterness." Welwood did not sign it, giving his ministerial position as the reason, but said he considered the statement "wise and temperate."

* One suggestion that is often made to get around this difficulty: that a winning candidate would need a certain percentage of the vote of each race, his own included.

The statement did not oppose multi-racial government---that has become a fact, though perhaps an unpleasant one---to all but the FIP. But the statement called for the maintenance of the White Highlands, separate education up to university level, acceleration of European immigration, "rigid control" of Asian immigration and the continuance of separate voting rolls "until such time as there is a general demand from each and all of the communities for a modification of that system of election."

The six Asian elected members, whose blood pressures go up at merely the mention of the Highlands, fired off a statement which said the European statement "will, without doubt, deal a deadly blow to the prospects of success of the multi-racial government."

Bruised by recent criticism, but still game, the Central Office of the Electors' Union got into the ring again with another statement. "The officers of the Union deplore the present tendencies to split the European electorate into partisan camps," they said and then, with an eye to recent critics, added: "and also reserve the right to criticize or support, as occasion demands, actions of the government."

There was some rumbling again about the Central Office issuing statements of this kind. But at this time, one thing had become evident: the Electors' Union had sunk to an all-time low in prestige, power, membership and finances.

A close alliance had existed between the Union and the European Elected Members Organization. But now the old Organization was gone and its successor was powerless. Relations between the Union and the elected members were almost severed. Members were going off on their own tangents and two distinct parties had appeared. The Electors' Union had gone aground, with the tide running past it in all directions.

The Union's Executive Officer, Brig. C. J. K. Hill, resigned. He had been edging toward the FIP. Anyway, the Union had little money to pay his salary. He was succeeded by his secretary, Miss Lorna Hills. Blundell publicly rapped the Union, saying it had "missed a tremendous chance to come forward as the leading organization of the European community, solidly behind a government in which its members were members."

The Electors' Union had worked fine when everyone was opposed to Colonial rule. But now, with Europeans split into cooperators and opponents of the government, there was just no role it could fill with its old vigor.

The United Country Party may well have been premature for the settlers. It evoked no enthusiasm. In fact, everyone I talked with without exception regarded it with suspicion. A series of wisecracks went the rounds. Examples: "Oh, you mean the United Colored Party, don't you?" "I simply adore posho (maize meal, the staple food of Africans)."

"The people aren't opposed to cooperation with the other races," says Miss Hills. "They know it has to come. But they don't want to be rushed. This came too fast---four months---after the Lyttelton Plan."

They're afraid---afraid of being swamped."

The UCP's statement that other races might be admitted to the party later was a feeble enough gesture toward multi-racialism. But even that was too much for many settlers. Welwood said it was pushing things "a bit far."

Blundell soon found himself facing some skeptical and hostile questions. He told an audience at Nakuru that he couldn't say at what stage non-Europeans would join. "Would the European members of the party be swamped by non-Europeans?" a member of the audience asked. Blundell said if so many joined that the "original aims were destroyed," the "original members" could always go off and form a new party.

"What is the alternative to multi-racial government based on good will and the support of all races?" Blundell asked. "There is none but a return to Colonial Office rule." He may not have been a prophet crying in the wilderness, but he certainly did not have the hearts of his listeners. It remained for Roberts, the realistic FIP chairman, to hit the nail on the head. "Does the UCP think that other races would ever for one moment think of joining a party that advocates a White Highlands?" he said.

Roberts then decided to run with the ball anyway. He tried to organize a Nairobi conference to resurrect the old Convention of Associations as, presumably, a right-wing FIP-minded body. "We had to sit on him," one political figure remarked laconically.

But then Slade and his group came along and asked the floundering Electors' Union to organize a conference of "all those opposed to party politics at this time." Blundell's group perhaps saw this as a way out of a difficult situation. They agreed to a conference but insisted that everyone, "pro-party politics" and "anti-party politics" be invited.

The conference will be held next month and the purpose will be to debate an already prepared motion---"That this conference calls for a political truce among European political groups in Kenya."

Whether a truce will come remains to be seen, but the bets have it that some sort of a truce will be agreed upon. Some officers of the Electors' Union would like to see the FIP and the UCP people brought back into the organization and given equal representation on committees. That would pep up the Union a bit. Lord Portsmouth, president of the Union, has just returned from an extended vacation in Italy and supports a truce. He should play a leading role at the conference.

It appears, too, that the UCP will retreat somewhat. Norman Harris says it will not tone down any principles---"the principles will remain."

"The use of the word 'truce' gives the wrong impression," he says. "I would prefer to talk of a 'gentlemen's agreement.'"

What sort of an agreement?

"An agreement not to exacerbate public feelings."

How would you do this?

"Well, large rowdy public meetings, for example. We might refrain from holding them. That's where tempers get excited. It might be like the Coalition Cabinets that existed in Britain in the last two wars. People didn't criticize a minister because he was a Socialist, but because of some particular policy of his. But, at the same time, party organizations went on trying to get friends to win the next general election."

However it seems unlikely that anything approximating the old unity can ever be restored. There was a time in Kenya when "liberal" voices were rarely if ever heard. Now Blundell and Harris are getting up on public platforms and saying things that would have been political suicide in former years.

"European domination is outmoded," Harris says. "The issue is between those who say the white man will have to continue his domination and those who say that the principle of multi-racial government is here to stay." Cautious words, yes, but you must judge men in context. A leader who gets too far in front of his people leads no one but himself.

Blundell, Havelock, Harris and others are committed to multi-racial government. They are not likely to change their views. Neither is Roberts and his group likely to change their opposition. A truce might come at the expense of some of the trimmings of the UCP and, possibly, of the FIP, but the basic cleavages will remain. A step, however small, has been taken in the direction of multi-racial cooperation. "When the Europeans get over the initial shock, you will have 85 per cent of the people in favor of multi-racial government," says Harris.

The Europeans will have a long time to get over the shock. Elections probably will not be held until at least June of 1956. At that time the voters will register their approval or disapproval of the Lyttelton Plan. As announced by Lyttelton, if the voters return Legco members who are unwilling to serve as ministers, then Kenya will revert to its pre-Emergency status---that of an ineffective unofficial majority and no ministers---and the Colonial Office "will be free to take such action as they think fit."

Blundell, the backer of multi-racialism, may have lost part of his following at the moment. Some people think that the star of Humphrey Slade, the opponent of multi-racialism at this time, is rising. But all politicians have their ups and downs. It is their position on election day that counts.

Oddly enough, the Europeans have themselves to blame for their present multi-racial predicament. Their insistent cries in the Convention of Association and the Electors' Union for "self-government"---self-government for Europeans, with the Europeans ruling the Indians and Africans---considerably hastened the rate of Kenya's constitutional advance. It is the first of the British East African territories with unofficial ministers. But progress toward self-government meant progress for other races too.

Kenya still has a long, long way to go before multi-racialism could ever be considered a success or a living, self-supported reality. Perhaps that may come in time; perhaps it never can.

One of its big stumbling blocks is that 12,200-square mile area called the White Highlands.* It is only about the size of Connecticut and Massachusetts combined, but it has all the old explosiveness of the Balkan States.

Blundell, like Harris, apparently has realized that a new approach must be taken in guarding the Highlands. He too is talking of "right of development." Speaking in favor of a new Agricultural Bill, designed to enforce maximum production in the Highlands, he said:

"No people in the conditions in which we find ourselves today could possibly retain the right to own land unless maximum production were derived from it." And, in another speech: "Our greatest danger lies in undeveloped land---one of the first things that visitors from overseas look for."

But one wonders if even "maximum development" would ever satisfy the other races. Development is no issue to the Asian---he just wants the right to buy. Many Africans, when you get right down to it, aren't particularly interested in purchase. They just want the Highlands, on the well-known "Africa for the Africans" principle. Meanwhile to both races, the Highlands remain as the arch symbol of inferiority and frustration.

The Africans have stayed out of the current uproar---on the one hand it has been an intra-mural scrap in the European community, and on the other hand a fight between Europeans and Asians---two tiny immigrant races. But the Africans are there, watching, listening and thinking thoughts of their own.

You see them by the scores in the hotels of Nairobi, padding around in bare feet, silent, impassive, waiting on Europeans and a few Indians and being called "boys" by both of those races. You see them driving tractors, churning up the dry and inhospitable earth on European sisal estates near Machakos, and you see them herding flocks of European-owned sheep across the high, wind-whipped ridges beneath Mount Kinangop. You see them in the Reserves, sitting around in lazy splendor while their women work. And you see them in endless ragged streams, walking and cycling up and down the roads of Kenya, people on the move, people not sure where they are heading.

There are five million of them and it makes you wonder what they are going to say about things.

* * *

During my stay in Zanzibar last month, one Arab leader, discussing the sedition convictions as a unifying factor for Arab nationalism, said: "The worst thing that could happen is that we might win the appeal."

* The area of the White Highlands is sometimes given as 16,200 square miles, but 4,000 of this is government Forest Reserve. The word "Highlands" is apt to be a bit misleading, too. It is not the only high land in Kenya. Parts or all of the Kikuyu, Meru, Embu, Kipsigis, Nandi and other tribal reserves are as high, or higher, than parts of the White Highlands. Part of the White Highlands, too, is inferior, arid ranching country.

A report this week in the Colonial Times, a Nairobi Indian newspaper, said that the High Court of Zanzibar has rejected the appeal of the Al Falag editor and the eight members of the Arab Association's Executive Committee.

The article said: "The Chief Justice, giving judgment, intimated that the true guilt lay only with the editor and possibly with the treasurer, but that the owners had been playing with fire. He expressed the hope that no more should be heard about the case."

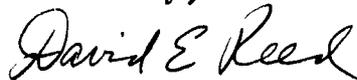
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Other important developments in East Africa include the news that Masai magic has suffered a decisive defeat.

When police recovered some stolen cattle recently in the Narok District of the Masai Reserve, they found the charm of a laibon (witchdoctor) attached to the tail of one animal. The charm was intended to make the cattle invisible to police tracking parties.

It is possible, though, that the laibon succeeded in convincing the purchaser of the charm that it was merely a matter of stronger magic on the part of the white police.

Sincerely,



David E. Reed

Received New York 9/27/54.