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KENYA REPORT

1953



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Kenya Report 1953

The Colonial Office has not published any report on Kenya since that for 1951. Since that time we have had twelve months of emergency rule although, in September 1952, the Chief Native Commissioner for Kenya said on his arrival in London:-

".....there has been a certain amount of trouble but it is confined to a small area and is not as serious as newspaper reports make out."

The troubles are spreading to new areas even outside the borders of Kenya and the totals of killed, wounded and arrested mount at an increasing rate. It becomes ever more clear that the present situation in Kenya is not the result of the subversive activities of some secret society or fanatic terrorist sect; it stems from the ruthless policy of the settlers, determined to reduce the Kikuyu and other African peoples to a landless labour force for cheap agricultural and industrial development - a policy backed to the hilt by the repressive machinery of the Government. The Kikuyu have been driven to desperate measures in defence of their land, their living standards - already pitifully low - of life itself.

When Mr. Koinange states that his people are the victims of a policy of genocide, his evidence is provided by a Government spokesman. On July 15th last, Mr. Lyttleton gave the following figures in the House of Commons:-

Africans killed	21.10.52 - 6. 7. 53	1,300.
"	27. 3.53.- 6. 7. 53	1,062
wounded		514
"		349
captured		2,673
taken into custody - 30.6.53.		112,529

This is the stark and tragic story which has led to the establishment of the Kenya Committee. Our aims are set out on page

In July last we held a conference in London and the first two chapters of this report contain the substance of the main speeches. The third section is reprinted as it was received in London and must intensify the horror and alarm of us all. Chapter four is compiled from press reports and comments. It underlines the major factors of settler and Government policy in a situation where embitterment increases as time passes.



I want to give you the main points regarding the African attitude towards the present situation in Kenya. The Africans in the past were ruled by the Government through District Commissioners and the Chiefs; by people publicly appointed by the Government in association with the people.

Apparently the Government thought that in order to rule the Africans better they must have a secret organisation and informers were set to work to give reports on the Chiefs and other Africans whatever their status or reputation. This was, naturally, bitterly resented by the African, particularly the chiefs.

The policy of the Kenya Africa Union was never a secret. Every meeting and discussion that we held we informed and even invited the Government. Members of the police, even inspectors of police, stood on our platforms as members and spoke for us as well as subscribing to our funds.

The Origins of the "State of Emergency".

Between the middle of March and the middle of October last year no single African was called upon to act on the basis of the conditional oath which the police claim to have discovered. How the police discovered this only the police in Kenya can explain. Only they can produce evidence of the oaths, not the Africans. I am reminded of one of the African women who was giving evidence for the Crown in the Kenyatta case. When she was asked to give evidence she turned to one of the Africans, K----, who was acting as interpreter at that time, and said in Kikuyu "My son, why can't you remind me to say what I was asked to say because I have forgotten." This is the aspect of the whole case in Kenya, that there were certain people who gave evidence, but not evidence of what they had themselves, witnessed.

On the 20th October, when the emergency was declared, Europeans, men, women and children of about 13 and over, were given power to use revolvers and to defend themselves - again with another strong word - if they were threatened.

Now, if we could establish the basis of the conflict based on those two 'ifs' we would understand the Africans attitude towards the whole question. After the 21st October, although the Europeans were not threatened, they were all united and joined the Kenya Police Reserve. The farmers went into their own areas, to their own farms, and they went to the African Reserve and started to round up the Africans. Those steps were actually taken at a time when the Secretary of State said that he had to keep the whole thing secret so as to enable the African leaders to be arrested.

Mr. Lyttleton declared that he and the Government of Kenya had to keep the preparations for the declaration of this emergency a secret, so much so that I might say here, that the African Member of the Council, Mr. Mathu was not present at the Executive Council when these emergency resolutions were passed. Second point - when this emergency was declared the Legislative Council did not discuss it. The legislative Council discussed these emergency measures only after they were passed and became law. What happened?

The top leaders, the first 130 were arrested; the second layer was arrested; the third layer was arrested, and in a very, very short time more than 50,000 were arrested. Now, you may ask why the Africans did not go and talk to their people advising them to adopt non violent measures of protest when their leaders were arrested.

A main reason is that the Africans were completely surprised by the Government action. They were not aware of the secret arrangements being made by the Government because they were the target of the Government. The Government had the intention of arresting all these Africans, and the secret must be maintained so that the African leaders would not know at all what was going to happen.

Expulsion to the Reserves.

On the farms there are about 26,000 Africans; they work during the day, receiving about 7s to 23s^{per month} - they work from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. and then in the afternoon, they go to their small gardens which they cultivate to augment their earnings. Then in the evening they go home. When they reached home they found their doors locked by the police, including the European Managers. The Africans were told to get into the lorry and pushed if they hesitated. None of the Africans was expected to take anything. His food, his utensils, blankets, all were confiscated. These Africans were screened and the majority of them returned to Central Province.

In Central Province screening was also going on, and the people's grain, their food in the garden as well as in the grain store, was also confiscated; their cattle, sheep and goats and money. So you see, empty handed Africans were taken from the Rift Valley into the African area where they were dumped among people who equally did not have anything. Everybody was questioned as to his political views and his intentions and he was warned "We are coming back to find out what you are doing".

So they starved the people, and the starved people were threatened night and day. And then the Government, failing to establish anything against the people, said that there was a split between the church schools and the independent schools. This was stimulated by the Government in order to create the idea that those who were members of the Church are now loyal Kikuyu, and those who were on those independent schools were disloyal.



The Independent Schools.

The Africans have had schools and organisations of their own since 1925. I am Secretary to the African Education Council. Last year there were about 400 schools with about 62,000 children. These schools accepted Government examination, they accepted inspectors of schools, syllabuses, time-tables, and even the certificates of the Government. There was a teachers training college, and I approached the Director of Education as well as the District Commissioners of each district urging them to bring anything relating to these schools to me and the African Education Council, rather than to act on hearsay in regard to complaints. I have never been called by any district officer who could say that in any such school there was anything being taught that was against the Government.

I had invited the two district officers and the District Commissioner, who is an expert on the birds of Kenya, to come and lecture at the Teachers Training College. An Indian was coming to teach History and the Agriculture Officer, a member of our Committee, was to come and lecture on Agriculture.

There is no truth in the allegation in 1953 that these schools were centres of Mau Mau, and the Government have not been able to substantiate it. They have never brought any complaint to us and by closing the schools have done nothing but deny the African education.

African v African?

There can be no question at all that an attempt to divide the Africans so as to start civil war was actually made by the Government. This is a very important point, because you may say "Why is it that the Africans have split?" Africans have not split at all. "But you hear of so many Africans killing other Africans". Yes, because some of the Africans thought if they took up arms from the beginning and were to lead the African community they would be safe because they could make sure that within their own area there would be no trouble.



But although some of the Africans joined and took arms to defend their village so that outsiders, Europeans and the police force would not come, this is what actually happened in the trouble-free areas. The Government took the view that, perhaps there was something happening in those areas even though they were very quiet.

And so the European Police Reserve, the army and the people who could not speak the African language went jointly with the Africans who had taken arms, into the villages to try to see whether there was any Mau Mau there. But when somebody sees the police and runs away he is shot. Those who did not run away saw that the persons who were shooting included one man of their own village. Then these Africans say that person is the one who pointed them out,

and thus the Africans again start to hate other Africans in their own group.

The British have been to war in Germany, in Italy, in Japan and in Korea, but I do not think, that any war can be so shameful as the war going on in Kenya. Two Governments, three generals, the air force, and army and other people all equipped to fight Africans who have only sticks; to blow up and bomb areas; and to kill in competition - "How many have you killed?" That should never be regarded as war. It is genocide the British Government is murdering an African people.

I presented the question as to whether we should appeal to the United Nations but some Members of Parliament told me this; "Mr. Koinange, both the Labour Party and the Conservatives will feel very shy if this family question is presented to the United Nations."

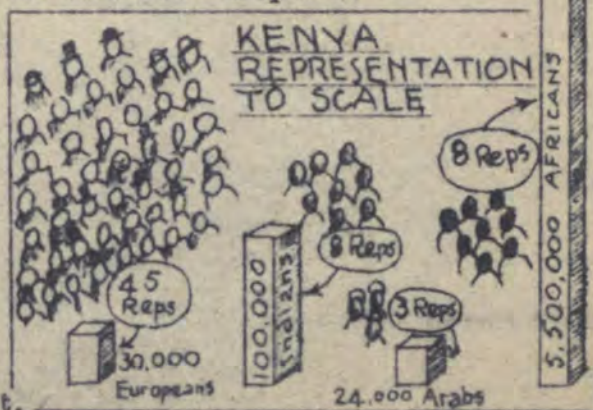
If we send the case to the United Nations no doubt the British will oppose. If we send the case to the International Court the British will oppose. But it is more than a family matter, and in any case when Christie committed a murder within his own family he was brought to court. My people are also entitled to justice against murderers.

JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY IN KENYA.

But how is justice to be obtained? That actually depends upon the Government in Kenya and the structure of the Government of Kenya is such that it does not allow any justice to take place. I think you know the facts - that the Kenya Government is composed of 45 Europeans, 14 elected by the voters and the rest appointed by the Government to represent 30,000 Europeans. The 100,000 Indians are represented in the Legislative Government by 8 members - two of them are nominated by the Government to be on the official side and six elected by male and female voters among the Asians. The 24,000 of the Arab community are represented by 3 people, one elected by Arab male voters and two nominated by the Government, one to sit on the Government side and the other on the unofficial side. The 5½ million Africans are represented by 8 African members, all of them officials, all of them nominated, 2 to be on the Government side and 6 to be on the un-official side. That is the structure. There is one African member of the Executive Council and one Indian, all the rest are Europeans.

A motion to give greater rights to the African people was defeated in the Kenya Legislative Council by the sheer numbers of non-African members. The whole of the present conflict is based on the African demand that an electoral system be introduced based on geographical area not on racial divisions, but there should be guarantees for the minority. The minority in this case may be Arabs, Europeans or Asians, but they also should be allowed to compete on the basis of merit.

The Africans think and feel that the question of land is fundamental - the land is their mother and from the land they get everything. Now, the Africans



say that if the people of Europe came to help us in any way we won't mind at all. There are two things you should not interfere with - a man's wife and his land.

The moment you show that you are trying to be friendly to a man's wife all type of friendship is gone. Again, if you plan to play with that man's land all friendship is gone. I have told members of the Royal Commission that whatever they do in Africa they should stay away from the African's land.

Africans don't say that they do not allow land for social services and public services. Africans do not say they will not allow other people to take part in development. But they must undertake that development as tenants at the will of the African people. And, therefore, Africans say the declaration of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 and which was appealed to the 1938, must be revoked. Europeans and Asians enjoy compulsory education. Africans do not have compulsory education. If we are to understand one another, education is one of the ways to facilitate that understanding, and we say that compulsory education should be extended to Africans. The electoral system which is enjoyed by Arabs, Indians and Europeans should also be extended to the African people.

Furthermore, the question of having somebody to work for you for 7s a month is, in itself, a crime and if the Africans are to be encouraged to work efficiently the system of work, of trade unions, the system of co-operative societies, the raising of wages, all need immediate action by the Government. So the demands of the Africans have been for equal pay for equal work, for an electoral system without discrimination and the rescinding of the Crown Land Ordinance and the Native Land Trust Ordinance.



The United Nations Charter of Human Rights has been signed on behalf of the British People, and while British Colonies exist, those human rights should be fully respected in Africa.



TRUTH, FREEDOM, JUSTICE,

by SEMAKULA MULUMBA



"The Truth shall make them free". Action must be based on knowledge of the facts and I am sure the British people do not know anything like the whole truth about the position in East Africa.

The Kenya Africa Union has been banned. I consider that it is not this organisation that should have been banned. There is another organisation that ought to be banned. That is the Kenya Electors' Union, the Kenya European Electors' Union - that is the Union of the settlers. That is the source of all the trouble in Kenya. The evidence I can give is contained in this book - the plot of the settlers.

What does that Union aim to do? "The aim of the Electors' Union," the book says "is to create a landless African population". Those words are written here. What about the attitude to labour? They say "Our policy in this regard is the principle initiated by Governor Mitchell. We believe that the cause of the present labour troubles is the dual economy of the shilling and the goat". That explains to you why the settlers have robbed the Kenya people of their livestock - eliminate the competition between the goat and the shilling. They want to annihilate African economic independence by taking away all their goods, cattle and everything, to create a landless African population, so that all the land would be in the hands of the settlers. What would become of the Africans? They are slaves. They want to transmit the system you have here to Africa. Our people have not money as you have - you may earn money. We labour for nothing. We grow food and we eat. Our animals give us milk. They have taken away the animals - they have taken away the land. Then how are our people going to live?

The British people at home are hoodwinked by mere catchwords which these colonists use. They say, "We are going to play on the words 'practical agricultural methods'. We're teaching the Africans practical agricultural methods - agricultural practices. The land is being exhausted by soil erosion and the Africans don't know how to take care of their land. They need to be taught modern methods of agriculture by these people".

These are the methods that were used to steal the land of the Kenya people living in Olenguruone Settlement. They let the Africans develop the land and they

THE GENTLE WORDS OF WHITE SUPREMACY---

"Powers conferred--

"Order you--

"Eviction by force--

"Forfeited--

"Impounded--

"Destroyed--

meaning--

"SCRAM, we're stealing your land"



gave them regulations. When the land is well developed, such as Olenguruone Settlement was, the Government issues a notice "You must quit. Get out!" I have a copy of the notice here, a short one, and you will note its attitude.

"Order. In pursuance of the powers conferred upon me by Rule 8 of the Native Settlement Areas, Olenguruone 1949, I hereby order you to leave the Olenguruone Settlement area within fourteen days from the date of the service of this Order upon you. Failure to comply with this Order and remove all huts, movable property and livestock will render you liable to eviction by force, your hut liable to be forfeited to H.M. Government, your livestock and moveable property liable to be impounded, and any annual crops not harvested within six months of the cancellation of your permit liable to be destroyed."

The man to whom this was issued is in prison, all the people have been removed, the land is taken by the settlers. I challenge Lyttleton or anybody else to refute what I say here.

It was the Labour Government that imposed Colonial Paper 210, to unite the three territories of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, and the result was a plan to create a landless African population. So in view of the facts I have told you - that we depend upon land and our livestock, imagine the effects, when the Africans in Kenya understood that there was a conspiracy, a white conspiracy, to take all their land. It was a matter of life or death. So the people of Kenya united together in a constitutional manner and submitted their claim. I have heard their appeal to His Majesty, the late King, exposing all these things. The people of Kenya are together, united, to defend their rights, to defend their lives. Do you consider that a crime? They took a pledge. Would you not have taken it? Suppose the French returned here and said, "Now you British, get away". Shall I tell you, you Englishmen would fight to the bitter end to defend your lives.



Breathes there the man
with soul so dead, who never
to himself hath said:
This is my own,
My native land!"

(Sir Walter Scott "Lay of the Last Minstrel" (c. 1805))

Now another point. Let us say, the British people are the natural and legal owners of all the land and all the economic resources of Great Britain. I would like to see any one of you putting up his hand to contradict me on that. I think it is true. In the same way I declare that the indigenous African people are the natural and legal owners of all the land and of all the economic resources of Africa. Who will oppose that truth? You can kill, you can destroy, but you cannot change the truth, it is indestructible.

And even if the British Government of the settlers are using arms, are using guns, are using everything to destroy us, their bombs, their prisons will not give them an iota of ownership. Ownership is vested in us. Your position in Africa is as usurpers. We have the richest land in the world. All the economic resources are not developed, and you deny us the opportunity of

developing them. You deny us the opportunity of developing them because you know we have a rich potentiality. Once we have education, what will be your position? You cannot keep human beings down for all time. I am telling you now, without any fear whatever, that Africa will have its freedom sooner than any other country ever obtained its freedom.

What is the right policy that you people should adopt towards Africa? The policy must be based on truth, because it is only on truth that you can establish justice. Our common aim must be to create the universal basis of justice. On that you can build a durable peace in the world. Without it you cannot establish peace! If you have it, you recognise us as the owners of Africa.

Before you came to our country we were governing ourselves. Why can we not govern ourselves today? When we are free let us establish commercial relations between this country and Africa, that will be in the interests of the masses of the British people. You have skill; we have the raw materials; your factories won't lie idle. That is your security. We are your friends. I would ask you to carry this impression away with you. You have heard the truth today and you must get more and more facts. All the delegates here should persuade their organisations to invite speakers who will be willing to help by giving them the background. Then you will be in a position to take action with a sense of responsibility, and on the basis of fair comment and justice.



"WITHOUT ANY FEAR
WHATEVER"



A letter written to the people of Britain on behalf of the Kikuyu people.

This letter is to greet you and to give you news from here.

Things here have grown terribly bad and I am sure that you don't get the whole truth of how things are here, because it is only the papers you read, which are written by the White Mau Mau in Kenya.

The Home Guards you hear about are the greatest enemy of the country because of what these people have done together with the white settlers, things which no one will forget for many hundreds of years to come.

Those among the Home Guards who had previously had disputes about land or cash crops of any kind, took advantage of the emergency to eliminate their adversaries.

If you happen to be well off and a certain Home Guard happens to be jealous of you, this is the time when they get rid of you.

Paying Off.

They find this is a good time to exterminate these people. The Home Guards are given permission to do whatever they like, to kill anybody without reference to any higher authority.

Such things are happening more in places where people are less educated like Githunguri, Kiarwangi and Gatundu.

In their meetings the Home Guards jot down lists of names of those whom they want to kill, take it to show the district officer who gives them a motor car at night, and then they fetch every man from his home, put them in the car and then shoot them, some in the car, others at a cross-roads, leaving the bodies there, and others they take to the forests and shoot them there.

Some of the bodies they take to Kiambu and in the morning they are said to be terrorists.

This sort of thing has been going on for a long time and those who are doing that work are both Home Guards and White Mau Mau - the Kenya Police Reserve.

What I would like to tell you, which I know is true, is that with the exception of Leris there is not a single place in Kiambu district which has ever been attacked by terrorists, yet no other has had so many people killed by the Home Guard and the White Mau Mau, the Kenya Police Reserve.

Many Killed.

I cannot tell you the names of all the people who have been killed, but I can mention of a few like Njoroge wa Kago (Simeoni) and Stefano, the father

of Thiani: those are from Waideke school and were taken from their houses by the Kenya Police Reserve on denunciation from the Home Guards. From the Githunguri side the people who were also killed on April 1 are: Nefteri Boro, a popular doctor, Kegecho wa Gecagwi, Muiruri wa Gecagwi, Gathua wa Wakagiki, Kimanjui wa Mvathi, Gathita wa Kinganga, Ngumbe wa Getuku, Wainana wa Njogu, Kerugari, Ndaba wa Karugu, Githare wa Njiri, Njungona wa Karu, Mbatia wa Klerere, Mbogu wa Rungatho, Kamau wa Waklerere, Kimanu wa Waikanga, Makena wa Njuki, Muya and many others.

All those were killed by Home Guard and White Mau Mau, the Kenya Police Reserve, and they were taken from their homes at night on Wednesday. Gikani wa Wang'ang'a was killed the same night and many others.

Men Castrated.

On Lamuru side Wakiru, Mbutia wa Mukoma, Muika wa Maye, Kimrubi wa Kungu, Muiru wa Gikanga, Gathitu, Wakari, Kihugu wa Njuguna, Njoroge wa Githu and many others. The people I am telling you about were all fetched from their houses and killed though innocent.

Because of these killings of innocent people whenever those concerned feel like it, many young people feel compelled to go away from home for fear of death. Even the elder men are no longer at home. The houses of those who go away from home for fear of death of castration are being burnt. Many men have been castrated by the White Mau Mau. Many of their homes have been burnt and many of their children were burnt inside them. No goods or property are allowed to be taken out of the burning huts, not even cash, it has all got to be burnt.

Homes Burnt.

None of the houses are burnt during the day, they are always burnt at night, and even the houses of people who were arrested in the past are now being burnt. The house of Kungu Karumba has been burnt and that of Dedani Mugo has been demolished. Wairo wa Kamau's house has also been demolished and many other homes.

What is happening here is terrible - even we are not living at home. The Reverend Buana Gatungu and Charles Karao were arrested in May and were sent to Kajjado. In the past they have been carrying out cleansing ceremonies. Whether you know anything or not, you must say that you took the Mau Mau oath, because if you refuse to do so, your home and that of the locust will be the same, or you will be given to the White settlers, who will certainly shoot you without mercy.

Women Beaten.

Another terrible thing now happens at certain locations, for example at Gathago water mills. There the women of that side are compelled to go to the mill, where they are shut in and all their clothes taken off. From 5 p.m. to 6.30 they are forced to go into the water behind the dam with their hands raised above their heads; they are up to their necks in water and stay there for 25 to 30 minutes. Then they are taken out, still naked, and they are beaten and beaten, being at the same time told to say that Kenyatta administered the Mau Mau oath to them at his home, which is not far away.

A great number of women are continually in this trouble. The women of Majugu's location are in a great trouble. They are being arrested and all their clothes taken off them. When a woman says she does not know about the Mau Mau oath, boiling water is kept nearby, and is poured on her breasts until her skin comes off there and then she is just left there. If she is dead, she is dead. If not, that is her own business.

Exterminated.

What I could tell you is that nobody is allowed to move from one village to the other without a pass, even Indians are not allowed to enter Kikuyu country. The reason is that they should not disclose what is happening here. There are some villoges in which the population has been completely exterminated. Even to gather the information which I have given you in this letter is not easy.

There is another new thing. It is to arrest anybody without discrimination, children as well as women. People are being arrested in hundreds and thousands without being given any reason why. Some are beaten, others detained, and then given three, five, six or seven years imprisonment. They are said to be Mau Mau. They are lined up, and then out up and told - up to here, one year; up to here, two years; and so on, and you are not to ask why.

Nothing to Eat.

The people of Rift Valley were expelled under pretext of being Mau Mau and put into detention camps. These are the people who were given three to seven years sentences. They are the people who refused to work for the white man and returned to the reserve. Many of them have been castrated.

At a camp in the farm of a certain European when all the men were imprisoned, their families, wives and children were left in the camp without anything to eat because none of them had been allowed to take anything with them when they were driven out. They left all their goats and crops behind on the European farm. There are some who left about two stores of maize and others about 80 to 100 goats.

After some time it was decided to bring the women and children to the Kikuyu reserve. They were packed on lorries and told to get out at Limuru station, others at Kikuyu station, without knowing where to go or what to eat. The great trouble they found is that of hunger, because the people in the reserves had very little to eat themselves.

Banana Peel.

So it has become a custom with the women to go to the market to pick up waste of sugar cane and banana peels to eat. This is the type of food which they give to their children.

Another thing is that of people who have been detained in camps like Githunguri, Klamangi, Uplands. Every night two or four of them are taken out by the white Mau Mau, the Kenya Police Reserve, to be shot. Three young men from Mbari ya Kihara were shot on July 18. These bad things are still going on.

What should we do about this? Of course, we are still being beaten and killed. Can you see some people and tell them the story?

THE NEW SAFARI



KENYA AFTER THE EMERGENCY

Page 15



Under this heading the "Times" on 27th August reported a delegate conference of the European Electors' Union held in Nairobi at which a nine point programme was promulgated and a number of other resolutions (including a proposal for a ban on Asian immigration but the encouragement of an additional 30,000 Europeans) was passed.

The programme indicated that the settlers had no intention of facing up to the real problems that had provoked the emergency, but looked to the success of repression as the basis of a return to conditions as before, e.g.,

- (v) promote a proper sense of security for all races and in particular maintain the special rights of various communities in those areas established for their respective use by treaty, ordinance, or Order in Council
- (vi) To safeguard the proper interests of each race from exploitation by any other and promote racial harmony and friendliness.
- (vii) protect the direction of affairs in Kenya from extremes of party political influence overseas.
- (viii) ensure that the direction of affairs in Kenya passes progressively to those resident locally.

"They also believed that terms and conditions of employment in the Highlands should rest with the people who had security there."

Traditional British justice was also declared to be too highly developed for Africans.

Meanwhile, the legacy of embitterment is accumulating. Economic impoverishment is added to the cumulative destruction of democratic reforms to make any settlement more difficult.

The African official members of the Kenya Legislature call for the use of methods of punishment other than collective, declaring that collective punishment had been used excessively and that its only effects are the complete disruption of the African economy and the alienation of law-abiding Africans. (17.8.53). A very elementary plea made by Mr. Mathu, the leader of the group, in July, that the Government should leave Africans to form and operate constitutionally a colony-wide political organisation, was rejected by the spokesmen of both Government and settlers, in spite of the incontrovertible arguments raised by Mr. Mathu:-

"...when people like the Africans . . . were left without adequate outlet for their political aspirations, evil minded people would go underground. . . . We think that it is our democratic right in a British colony that we should be given permission and encouragement to form and operate an organisation through which we can express our aspirations . . ."

The recent half-yearly report of the District Commissioner in the Nyeri area shows that, as a result of the emergency, soil conservation programmes are falling behind and important crops like pyrethrum, tea and coffee are being reduced or abandoned. Twenty schools had been declared redundant.

Is there a future?

"The Mau Mau terrorist gangs are now dispersed over an area of about 10,000 square miles, of which 3,000 square miles are in the thick forest regions of the Aberdares and Mt. Kenya" (28.8.53).

"The patrols are seldom able to come to grips: Mau Mau are too quick for them. Therefore unless tactics training and techniques can be radically improved, they will not wipe out the gangs. . . The likelihood that the gangs will eventually 'home' into the reserves is a factor that presents the authorities of Kenya with their most difficult dilemmas. Troops alone, even if there were enough of them could never eradicate these gangs there without the co-operation of the population." (11.9.53.)

General Erskine estimated (7.8.53) that Mau Mau strength was about 10 or 12 gangs, each of which might number up to 300 including food suppliers.

Is it against a force of less than 4,000 that troops from Great Britain, Korea and Malaya are being committed, with the aid of Harvard Bombers, a reinforced police force and an African Home Guard? Or is the truth rather that the forces of "law and order", alias repression, are determined to destroy all movements which could provide the basis for a broad African political democracy?

The latest decrees can only create greater and more united opposition among all Kenya Africans.

"The penalty for consorting with terrorists who are in possession of firearms has been increased from life imprisonment to death".

"It is henceforth illegal to carry within the city boundaries in a passenger motor car more than one member of the Kikuyu, Embu or Meru tribes".

". . . compulsory that all taxicabs in the city be painted with conspicuous yellow bands and every driver must exhibit his photograph in the cab." Nairobi 14.9.53.

The "Times" leader on the subject of collective punishment said... words which the authorities would do well to remember:-

"Collective punishment is at best a poor substitute for information . . . a two edged weapon, liable to recoil on the heads of those who initiate it. It is essential in Kenya not merely to restore peace but to produce the conditions that will maintain it."

Who Speaks for Britain?

When the first discussion were held with a view to establishing the Kenya Committee, a statement of aims was adopted which is reproduced on the back of this report. That was in March last but all the developments since that time have justified the stand we have taken and emphasised the necessity for our work. The position was put very clearly by Mr. Koinenge at our Conference in July:-

"Whatever you do in your trade unions or in any other organisation, Africans feel that you are the manufacturers of the weapons now used against the Africans. Your Civil Servants, you send them there. When Africans send us to you, we are not interested in your politics or party. I am not interested in any party that exists in this country. I am interested in one thing only - who can heal, or take part in healing my sore? My sore is that my people are being butchered in your name. If the struggles that are going on today in Kenya are the same struggles as the people of this country had in the past, the Africans ask me to ask you this question - 'Why are you silent at the time when they need you and at the time when your voice will count?'.

"Silent you are, because you have not done anything; because at this very moment there are few public meetings being held. There are few people who understand about Africa. You hear of Africans coming forward at the time of death to be loyal to Europeans, but not a single European in Kenya can reciprocate that. If there are some such Europeans they are quiet because the Government is watching anybody who will say anything in favour of the Africans.

"Why is it that the Africans are not afraid to fight for justice, but at the time of their murder you are completely silent? What shall I tell them?"

Tell Them the Truth.

There is only one thing that he can tell his African people - the truth. It is not quite true to say that nothing is being done. The resolutions tabled by the Labour Party Conference, the requests for speakers at meetings, the response from our Central London March and Trafalgar Square Meeting, the correspondence from Trade Union branches, Church Groups etc., show that the conscience of the British people is stirring. It remains, however, tragically true that what is being done is completely disproportionate to the necessities of the situation, for the White Terror continues and

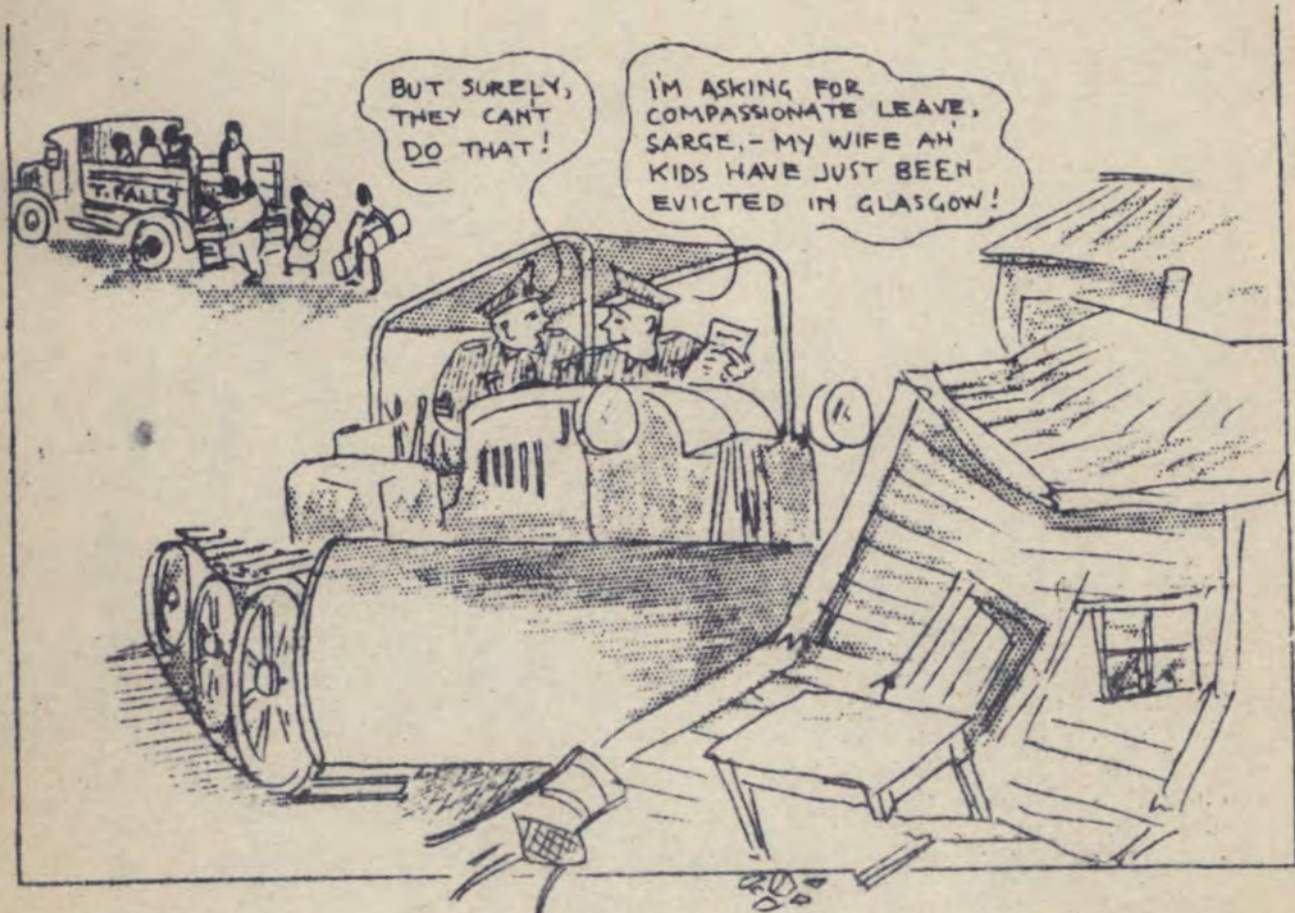
intensifies and our protest is as yet ineffective.

"Turkish atrocities", "Fascist brutality", "Japanese aggression" have all at various times excited mass protest in Britain. In 1923 a senior R.A.F. Officer resigned in protest against punitive bombing of Iraqi tribesmen. Today, the Kikuyu accuse us of genocide and they have a strong prima facie case. Only so far as we repudiate the present policies can we establish our own innocence or purge our guilt.

You have read this Report. It must have disturbed you - as we were disturbed, in compiling it. We anxiously await your response. What will you do to strengthen the work of our Committee?

For speakers, information material or to offer support in cash or in kind, write to:-

The Secretary,
Kenya Committee,
86, Rochester Row,
London, S.W. 1 . (Victoria 4962).



(19)

KENYA COMMITTEE
A I M S .

Because we believe that the causes of the present unrest in Kenya lie in the intolerable poverty and land hunger of the vast majority of the African people, and their complete denial of any democratic rights, we aim -

1. To put before the British people the true facts concerning the present situation in Kenya, and of the events and conditions leading up to it.
2. To arouse the British people to their direct responsibility for the conduct of the affairs in Kenya, and to enlist their sympathy and support to ensure that justice is done in Kenya.
3. To win the support of the British people for the just demands of the Africans in Kenya for elementary democratic rights, the right to have their own trade union and political organisations, and against all forms of racial discrimination.
4. To this end, we will appeal to all organisations of the British people, irrespective of their political or religious beliefs, who are prepared to co-operate in our campaign for justice in Kenya.



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RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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