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KENYA

REPORT
OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

JANUARY - FEBRUARY, 1957

DELEGATION FROM
THE UNITED KINGDOM BRANCH
OF THE
COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION

The Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Dugdale Bt., M.P. (*Conservative*), Leader

Mr. Kenneth Robinson, M.P. (*Labour*), Deputy Leader

Lord Balniel, M.P. (*Conservative*)

Mr. C. F. H. Gough, M.C., M.P. (*Conservative*)

Mr. F. W. Mulley, M.P. (*Labour*)

Lord Polwarth (*Conservative*)

Mrs. Eirene White (*Labour*)

Mr. Granville Roberts accompanied the party as Secretary.

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KENYA



REPORT

1. The delegation was appointed by the United Kingdom Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in response to an invitation from the Kenya Branch of the Association. It was hoped that the delegation would leave the United Kingdom in early November, 1956, but this date was postponed in view of the international situation at the time. The Kenya Branch indicated that a visit early in the New Year would be equally acceptable to them and the delegation left London on January 4th, 1957, arriving in Nairobi on January 5th.

2. On the following day the delegation visited the Kinangop, to see the Sasamua dam and the modern water purification plant which assure Nairobi's water supply for many years ahead. We also saw some of the European farms and met local farmers. Two days more were spent in Nairobi, meeting His Excellency the Governor (Sir Evelyn Baring) and all the departmental Ministers of the Kenya Government. These meetings were full and frank and provided us with an opportunity to study most of the problems of Kenya before beginning our tours of the country, so that when we began to travel we were by no means unfamiliar with the policies and the problems on the ground.

3. On January 9th the delegation divided into two groups comprising: Group A—Mr. Kenneth Robinson, Mr. C. F. H. Gough, Mr. F. W. Mulley, Lord Polwarth; Group B—The Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Dugdale, Lord Balniel, Mrs. Eirene White and Mr. Granville Roberts (Secretary). This division enabled us to visit most of the Colony, as will be seen from the details given in the appendix. The arrangements made, particularly for the use of aircraft of the Kenya Police Air Wing (Commandant, Wing Cdr. Francombe), made it possible to travel considerable distances, occasionally into the less accessible areas, with the minimum loss of time.

4. The delegation reassembled in Nairobi on the morning of January 17th, flew that afternoon to Mombasa and spent the following four days at the Coast. On January 20th we flew to Lamu airfield and went by launch and motor transport to the Manda Island Detention Camp, where we met and talked to groups of detainees and inspected the camp. We flew to Malindi that evening and on to Voi next day to see something of the anti-poaching campaign in the Tsavo National Park.

5. The delegation inspected Manyani Detention Camp on January 22nd, and met and talked to the elected headmen of the

various compounds. This is the largest detention camp in Kenya. Both Groups, during their tours, had visited a number of Works Camps and open camps, in various districts, and had seen at close quarters the whole of the " pipe-line " to freedom of which Manyani is the main reservoir. Before returning to Nairobi the delegation paid a visit to the Magadi Soda Company's installations at Magadi Soda Lake.

6. From January 23rd to January 28th inclusive the delegation was in Nairobi. During this period visits were paid to a variety of important institutions. We were also able to arrange further meetings with Ministers and with representative bodies, including the Christian Council of Kenya, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the Federation of Labour, European and Asian Chambers of Commerce, the Employers' Federation and the various groups of Members of the Legislative Council. We were further indebted to His Excellency the Governor for meeting us twice.

7. We put on record our sincere appreciation for the generous treatment we received everywhere, not only in respect of the facilities provided for a thorough and enlightening tour, but also for the time so readily made available by so many people, especially the Ministers of the Government. There is an atmosphere of energy and purpose in Kenya at the present time ; and a search for effective methods of overcoming the country's difficulties.

THE ECONOMY

8. This spirited approach to difficult problems is exhibited fully in the economic field. Kenya is poor in natural resources. A geological survey, which is gradually covering the entire country (though as yet only about a third of it has been completed), has not brought to light any significant mineral deposits. The Colony depends for its living on the land, on the services it provides for the East African region, either commercial or by way of transport and port facilities, and on the tourist trade. Secondary industries are being established to provide consumer goods both for the Colony and for neighbouring territories, but to a large extent this industrial sector is still based upon the processing of agricultural products.

9. The land is, therefore, the foundation of the Kenya economy and good husbandry is its main protection. We do not propose to discuss in detail the various areas occupied tribally or racially, but we think it desirable to point out that a considerable part of the most productive highland soil in Kenya is farmed not by Europeans but by Africans and particularly by the Kikuyu. It follows that unless

this land is farmed under the best conditions of management, the Kenya economy is deprived of a valuable part of its agricultural potential, which cannot be replaced from other sources. It is for this reason that the process of land consolidation now taking place in the African areas is so highly important, since it can make (or mar) the future prosperity of the Colony.

10. For many years it has been the policy of the Government of Kenya to discourage the fragmentation of African holdings, which is an inevitable by-product of indigenous law and custom. The social implications of change, and the deep-rooted reluctance of the African peasant to move from the clan and family concept of land holding and use to the individual, made progress in this direction difficult and slow. Nevertheless in some areas, as for example in the Buret division of Kericho and in parts of Kisii, in the Province of Nyanza, outstanding results were achieved. In the Kikuyu country also there were individual examples of the change-over to Western forms of land holding. When the Emergency was declared in September, 1952, further progress was temporarily halted.

11. In 1954, Her Majesty's Government made a grant of £5 millions from Colonial Development and Welfare funds to finance what is known as the Swynnerton Plan, which was, in effect, a consolidated programme of land development for the African areas of Kenya. At the same time the Administration in the Kikuyu country was greatly intensified because of the Emergency. This combination of capital injection and close administration assisted the mechanics of land reform and accelerated its willing acceptance. The result is that within three years the Kikuyu areas have been brought further forward towards land consolidation than had been thought possible previously. In the Kiambu District it is hoped to complete the consolidation of all the land by the end of this year. In Fort Hall and Nyeri consolidation is going ahead almost as fast as in Kiambu; so that all the Kikuyu country will, for practical purposes, be converted from uneconomic, fragmented land strips into potentially economic holdings within the next year or so, though it will naturally take longer for the farmers concerned to settle on their properties and bring them into full production.

12. Some of us (in Group A) saw the embryo, pioneer consolidation scheme moving ahead at Nyabondo, in Central Nyanza, a part of the Province in which there has been considerable resistance to consolidation. There is also opposition in North Nyanza and elsewhere. To visit a district in which the people are as yet unwilling to embark on land consolidation, after visiting one in which it is flowing fast, is to experience a remarkable and vivid change of

atmosphere. In the one, despite the difficulties inherent in the transition period, there is a bustling, determined advance towards a higher standard of living and cash earnings, through intensified agriculture. In the other there is an apathetic acceptance of the old standards, which are based on low-level subsistence farming.

13. Land consolidation in itself does not, of course, necessarily imply a change of the system of land tenure. Fears have been expressed by some Africans that the consolidation of fragments will, in itself, produce widespread displacement and create a considerable landless class. It is logical to assume that consolidation will ultimately lead to a modernised system of tenure and to inheritance by eldest sons, which, in its turn, will mean that normally a proportion of the younger sons will seek other employment. This change in the pattern of inheritance will be felt seriously as the present generation of farmers dies, though a period of years will elapse before the social effects are fully evident.

14. This, however, does not alter the fact that by providing the money and much of the administrative effort which is bringing about land consolidation, Her Majesty's Government, as well as the Kenya Government, have set in motion tremendous forces. These forces cannot now be arrested, in our view, without serious risk. Nor can they be effectively harnessed by the Kenya Government if it is called on to provide all the finance and manpower needed to complete the programme. If this is true in the farming areas, it is equally true of the conditions of urban employment, social services and education.

15. We accept without reservation the necessity to press ahead with land consolidation and thereafter to make it possible for the peasant farmer to use his land to the best advantage by farm planning, the development of cash crops and the introduction of modern methods. To achieve this, as the Government of Kenya is well aware, the peasant will need the help of skilled agricultural officers, implements, loans, producer co-operatives with adequate selling and transport facilities, and reasonable communications. These things will cost a great deal of money.

16. Furthermore the contrast between the go-ahead Kikuyu areas, so recently torn by civil war and rebellion, and other areas where there has been no trouble, is becoming increasingly marked. It is unfortunate, but true, that it is precisely in the areas where Mau Mau originated that the advance is at its greatest momentum. We suggest, not to the Government and people of Kenya, who have it constantly in mind, but to Her Majesty's Government, that this

disparity is one which should be eliminated with all possible speed.

17. The success of the campaign in the Kikuyu country has been brought about by injecting experienced manpower, as well as money, through closer administration. Where administrative, agricultural, veterinary and other officers are thin on the ground the reform of peasant farming is taking place very slowly, as in parts of Nyanza. It is the presence in the field of skilled and energetic officers, backed by sufficient resources, that provides the catalyst. The money provided by Her Majesty's Government for the Swynerton Plan has been well and efficiently spent.

18. Unless the African lands can be made to play a full part in agricultural production, particularly of cash crops for export, the economy of Kenya cannot possibly hope to support even the natural growth of existing social services such as better and more widespread education. Nor can industry expand, and increase its own productivity while paying satisfactory wages to urban workers, unless the agricultural industry is sound and well maintained.

19. The very real apprehension of many Africans that land consolidation will lead to the creation of a landless class, largely unemployed, or employed on low wages, can be met and overcome only by demonstrating that a satisfactory standard of living and security can be earned in the towns and villages. We should like to pay tribute to those enlightened employers in Kenya whose premises we visited and with whom we discussed these problems. A few large-scale employers are setting high standards of working conditions and ancillary social services of which the many still fall short.

20. The conditions of the bulk of African urban workers, most of them unskilled or semi-skilled, are still a long way from being satisfactory. Low productivity and low wages are part of a vicious circle that seems difficult to break. This large segment of the urban Africans still keeps a foot in the African areas, sometimes on poor and fragmented land. The principal motive for doing so is probably the insecurity that comes with old-age.

21. There is as yet no provision (save in the case of a few individual employers) for old-age pensions and the housing of the aged is in itself a problem. A report on social security for urban workers, prepared by a Kenya Government committee, is to be published in the near future, but whatever its findings, it is essential to recognise that the Kenya economy is not yet strong enough to support, unaided, widespread social services.

22. In the Carpenter Report, published and accepted by the Kenya Government in 1955, the principle was laid down that an

adult, family minimum wage (of $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the minimum for "bachelor" workers) should be reached in stages. It is regrettable that the measured advance envisaged towards the family wage has had to be slowed down this year through economic factors. While we fully recognise the vulnerability of the Kenya economy at the present time we sincerely hope that all employers, rural as well as urban, will move as fast as possible towards higher wage levels. It should not be overlooked that a steady increase in the African's purchasing power is essential to the health of the economy. In the case of non-rural workers the goal should be to provide adequate outlets of employment in crafts and industries, whether in the new villages in the African areas, or in the towns, on the basis of a reasonable standard of life for a man and his family. It is only by this means that the newly reformed structure of peasant farming can be given its full opportunity and the population surplus from the land diverted into productive channels elsewhere.

23. The social consequences of agricultural reform will be serious indeed unless industrial and urban reform run parallel. It is not only to the larger towns, however, that the urban worker should be attracted. We were interested to hear from one of the more progressive employers in Nairobi that in his opinion he would have been better advised to build his factory elsewhere in the Colony. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry does, indeed, offer valuable inducements to industrialists to choose sites in places other than Nairobi, but it is possible that an even more energetic approach may be necessary in order to persuade new enterprise to look to the country districts.

24. This is a matter of some urgency, for two reasons. First, the pressure on land and facilities in Nairobi is great, so that land values are already, in the opinion of many, too high. Secondly, the increasing reservoir of potential labour in the African areas, particularly of those who do not possess economic units of land and will live in the new villages, makes a dispersal of industry into those areas highly desirable, if they are not to become a reservoir of unemployment and unrest. Taking the factory to the people should prove to be more attractive, to both employer and employed, since the alternative has the inevitable result of further swelling the already excessive demand for services in the towns.

25. It is also important not to forget that in some areas, e.g. in Central and parts of North Nyanza, the drain of manpower into the towns creates a social problem. While a proportion of the men who now form the floating urban population will doubtless remain as a part of the future stable labour force, many might prefer to

attach themselves to industries established in their own localities, as for instance in Kisumu.

26. If they were able to do so their presence in the area would not only facilitate land and agricultural reform but also assist in creating the new type of community life, upon which these depend, and help to stabilise the various units of local government. The absence of as much as 50 per cent. of the local effective manpower from some districts, lost by temporary migration to Nairobi, Mombasa and elsewhere, is serious.

27. European farming is still basic to the Kenya economy. By trial and error in the pioneering stages, when many were ruined, the European farmer has learned how to achieve a balanced agriculture, at a high level of production. The crops and cattle to be seen on most farms today are creditable to the industry and invaluable to Kenya.

28. There is, of course, still a good deal of political capital made out of the racial nature of the White Highlands. On this issue, as on all the allied questions of the lands reserved for various tribes, we hope that a solution is not far away. Indeed we feel sure that in the minds of the farming community, both European and African, there is a growing disposition to regard this as an agricultural, rather than a political, matter.

29. It is sometimes forgotten that changes of policy, whether in the White Highlands or elsewhere, need not entail a revision of the law or of the Orders in Council, but merely the sanction of the communities concerned, leading to a modification of administrative practice. For example there is nothing to prevent the Boards which control these matters from permitting the leasing of suitable lands in the White Highlands to African tenant farmers ; or on the other hand sites for industry in the African reserves. This is the sort of natural development under safeguards which would do a great deal to assist the economy, remove frustration, and create a co-operative atmosphere.

30. It is important that the goodwill, to be met with on all sides, is allowed to grow and that the prosperity of the country should not be threatened by feelings of insecurity. This is not incompatible with moving forward, in agriculture as in politics, to a position in which respect is to ability and suitability rather than to artificial barriers.

31. The Colony's urgent need for a heavy industry would be largely met if an oil refinery were constructed at Mombasa. We were

informed that suitable land on the mainland opposite to Mombasa has been set aside for this purpose and that an oil company has an option on its use. We believe that no better site exists to serve the needs of the Indian Ocean area and earnestly hope that the proposal will be implemented.

32. Mombasa is already an important industrial centre and a port of great commercial value not only to Kenya and Uganda, but to East Africa as a whole. The port and railway administration are making progress with a far-sighted development plan which embraces not only an expansion of the harbour facilities but also new marshalling yards and an industrial estate at Changamwe, on the mainland.

33. There is already a small Royal Naval nucleus stationed at Mombasa and a dormant stores depot. The establishment of a naval base, possibly as an alternative to Trincomalee, is another project which would help the economy of Kenya.

SOCIAL SERVICES

34. Allied to the economic problems of Kenya are those of the social services and, in particular, education. The policy of the Government is to provide, as fast as possible with the money and teachers available, the opportunity of eight years of primary education for every African child. On the basis of the Colony's present and foreseeable resources this cannot be achieved until 1985. It is our opinion that such a delay cannot be accepted. A more limited objective, on which the efforts of the Government are being concentrated, is to provide eight years' compulsory education for all African children in Nairobi, as a pilot scheme.

35. The present estimated annual cost of providing eight years' primary education for all African children is approximately £22 million, a sum far beyond the resources of the Administration in the foreseeable future; the amount spent today is approximately £2½ million annually. These figures exclude capital development expenditure. The annual revenue of Kenya in the last recorded year (1955-56) was £31.5 million.

36. No other cry is heard in all parts of Kenya so consistently and forcefully as the demand for more schools and compulsory education. African parents are no longer loth to educate the girls, as they were a few years ago. On the contrary, they are in fact pressing for more female education. This change of view reflects the veritable thirst for education in the African community, a recognition that it is fundamental to progress.

37. Recently the Colony has produced about 1,200 African teachers a year. This year the number may reach as many as 1,800 ; but even so the minimum requirement is 2,900. This explains the eagerness on all sides (not least the Government), to provide more teacher training facilities. A plan has been prepared, covering a 3-year period, which aims at producing the maximum feasible number of teachers and schools ; but the teacher training segment alone will cost £500,000, and the rest of the plan something like £2½ million. Of this £3 million total, the maximum Kenya can hope to provide is about one-third.

38. Education in Kenya, as elsewhere in the Colonial territories, began with the missionary schools ; and in the early years most of the burden, in money and staff, was carried by the various missions. Today the grants-in-aid to missionary schools from the Government cover most of the expenses. The school buildings are normally provided by the missions. There has been a notable, selfless contribution, which is warmly recognised and acknowledged in the Colony. Nevertheless the time is fast approaching when the Government will probably find it necessary to provide most, if not all, of the schools which will be needed to build up a colony-wide system.

39. An aspect of this change may be found in the trend towards the devolution of administrative control to Local Education Authorities. This policy is being approached with caution, not only because it involves radical changes and considerable risks, but also because the Kikuyu-independent schools which sprang up prior to the Emergency were used as the agencies of Mau Mau propaganda. The approach, however cautious, is none the less being made. We were told by leading Africans that demands for additional funds for local education purposes, by way of taxation or rates, would be met without demur. If this proves to be so, and satisfactory safeguards can be introduced, the local authorities of the future may be able to offer invaluable contributions to the cost of teachers and schools. It should not be forgotten, however, that in this respect education will soon be competing with other social services.

40. Technical education, though in its infancy, is receiving increasing attention and support, to which the new Royal Technical College will, in due course, add prestige. At the moment the College is facing many difficulties, which will have to be resolved before it can look forward confidently towards its long term objectives. Even so, courses are already available which enable students to obtain engineering qualifications. We were gratified to learn that students of all races are living happily side by side in the halls of residence.

41. There are also technical schools, offering craft training, and a considerable number of schools at which basic trade and agricultural instruction is given. Some agricultural instruction is provided in most schools. We were glad to be able to visit the Thika Technical School and to see such excellent tuition being provided. Unfortunately we had not time to see the larger technical school at Kabete. Some of us saw the approved school at Wamumu and were impressed not only by its high standards but also by the technical training given to its charges. On discharge, the boys from Wamumu are found steady and suitable jobs without difficulty, a fact which testifies to the success of the Wamumu training. This approved school is, in many ways, so good that we were told that boys who have committed no offence are anxious to get into Wamumu for training.

42. This emphasis on the technical and agricultural aspects, though comparatively recent, is generally welcomed. It is gaining impetus, as it should, because of the growing demand for such training in the new secondary industries and in the Government service. Both these avenues could absorb greater numbers of trained people, European, African, Asian or Arab, than are as yet being turned out. The demand for technical skill seems likely to exceed the supply for a long time to come. This is equally true for the agricultural industry.

43. European education, hitherto provided mainly in boarding schools—and for that reason expensive—is acknowledged to be good. A start is being made with day schools for European children in towns. The problem now being faced in European education is a reduction in building costs (and building standards) without a reduction in the level of teaching.

44. Asians, however, are facing the familiar difficulty of school shortage which, in some cases, has necessitated dual session teaching. This 'shift' method is disliked by the education authorities as much as it is by the Asian communities. A building programme for Asian schools is making such progress as finances permit.

HEALTH

45. In health services, as in education, it is impossible to compare the situation in Kenya with its counterpart in the United Kingdom. There is no comprehensive national health service, for the simple reason that Kenya cannot afford it. Soon after the last war the European community set up its own hospital scheme which, while not relieving contributors of hospital fees, has helped to keep them down to reasonable levels and to provide the hospitals and

equipment required. The Hospital Tax paid by Europeans is graduated on an income basis and runs from a minimum of 10/- to a maximum of £100 a year.

46. Asians are not affected by this scheme but have, in fact, provided hospital and clinic facilities on a voluntary basis, though these are regarded by the Asian communities as falling far short of what is required. The Government hospitals also provide facilities for Asians.

47. Since the Africans constitute the bulk of the population, it is the African health services that constitute the biggest field and most of the problems. It is for this reason that African problems are given what may appear to be disproportionate attention in this report.

48. Mission hospitals were early on the scene ; the missions were the pioneers in this field as in education and still own and manage many of the hospitals, usually assisted by grants-in-aid from the Government. The Government itself has provided district hospitals at convenient centres, and the best of these (such as that at Fort Hall) are of a very high standard. Other district hospitals fall far short of the best as regards physical facilities and we hope that finances will permit their upgrading at an early date. Wherever we went we saw doctors of every race cheerfully doing admirable work often in the face of formidable difficulties.

49. In the countryside there are health centres, provided by the Government, but maintained by the African District Councils with the assistance of Government contributions, which start at full maintenance and drop over a period of time to a 50/50 basis.

50. It is in the health centres that the closest contact can be made with the health problems of the African people and we were impressed by the standard of their work. We sympathise with the desire of the Medical Department in Kenya to increase the number of health centres, which are far too few as yet, and to extend domiciliary treatment. This is of special importance to African women.

51. This aspect of health work, which provides not only treatment but education in the prevention of disease, hygiene and the care of children, deserves the emphasis now being placed on it and we share the belief of the medical department in Kenya that the money required to extend the health centre service should be regarded as a high priority.

52. A good deal of publicity has been given to the charges recently imposed by the Government for hospital (inpatient) and

clinic (outpatient) treatment. Mission hospitals have made such charges for many years past and the African District Councils make charges for outpatient services at their health centres, or for the use of their ambulances. The recent change of Government policy is admittedly retrogressive, but it is not a new element in the health services taken as a whole. None the less we were told, by doctors and others, that the introduction of these charges in Government institutions had led initially to a severe drop in the number of African patients. There may be particular hardship where a woman has little money at her disposal and finds it hard to pay for herself or her children. We trust that a careful watch will be kept, and that if it is found that people who need treatment are debarred from it by the charges raised, a revision will be considered. At the moment all medical officers have the authority to waive fees in cases of hardship, a fact which may not yet be sufficiently well known. In any event it is extremely difficult for the doctor to establish need and it would be far better if there were no necessity to do so.

53. There are two other services in which a modest injection of capital expenditure would yield a valuable return in human health and contentment, namely the training of medical assistants and nurses and the provision of piped water supplies, especially to villages. We were impressed by the training school, for both sexes, now being run in Nairobi by the Medical Department and by the section devoted to producing visual propaganda for simple, everyday, hygiene. One of the outstanding successes in medical training is to be seen in the Nurses Home of the King George VI Hospital for Africans in Nairobi. Young African and Asian probationer nurses are not only receiving a sound medical training, but also a first-class education in modern living and citizenship. Those responsible for this adjunct of a very good hospital have every reason to be proud of it.

54. Kenya's mental hospital, at Nairobi, is overcrowded, but even so it cannot cope with the numbers of patients who require treatment. There is a need for separate establishments for criminal lunatics and for mental defectives. Seriously ill mental patients have still to be kept in the general hospitals of the Colony without psychiatric treatment facilities, because the mental hospital cannot accept them, a state of affairs which should be terminated by providing more accommodation elsewhere. This is an urgent need, even at a time when funds are restricted.

55. Before we leave the field of social services and amenities we should like to comment on the importance of rural water supplies. Some of us (in Group B) were invited to open a new water supply in a Kikuyu village during our tour. To the inhabitants, more

particularly the women, it meant the end of water portorage over a considerable distance, sometimes twice a day. It is such amenities as this, together with the village school and the health centre, that constitute the practical appeal of village life to people hitherto unaccustomed to community living. Moreover the value to public health of a pure water supply is self-evident. Here again a modest capital outlay made available now, would be of the utmost service. Health centres and rural water supplies are part of the Development Plan. The cost of extensions required in the immediate future, which would be about £300,000, although in itself a modest sum, cannot be met out of the money available in the Development Fund at the present time.

GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

56. As we have said above, we were able to meet all the Ministers of the Government during our tour (except the Minister for African Affairs who was not in the Colony), as well as the various groups of Members of the Legislative Council. From these meetings it was clear to us that the Lyttelton Plan, which amended the Constitution so as to include European, Asian and African Ministers from the unofficial side (in the proportion 3 : 2 : 1) has now been accepted as an interim working arrangement by all groups and is functioning satisfactorily. Since the Lyttelton Plan came into being in April, 1954, the figures in the Legislative Council have been 35 on the Government side and 19 on the Unofficial (or opposition) side.

57. Last November (1956) it was agreed to increase the unofficial side by two African Members, and two other nominated Members and that the Government should be increased by a further two Ministers, one European and one African. When these changes have been made, after the African elections in March, the position will be 37 on the Government side and 21 on the unofficial side. It is hoped to correct the disparity between these numbers by arranging for extra seats on the unofficial side, including one for an additional Arab member.

58. Since the numerical position within the Legislative Council is probably on the eve of adjustment, it may not be inappropriate for us to refer to a question which is exercising the minds of many people in Kenya and in particular the large—and growing—group of moderates, comprising all races in the Colony; namely, some alleviation of the racial approach to common problems which results from the communal franchise.

59. It was heartening to encounter the improved relations which exist in Kenya between all races, particularly at the end of an Emergency which might have been expected to result in bitterness and explosive racialism. Instead we found that progressive thought and energy are being displayed in tackling the difficulties of the country, whether economic, social or political. In spite of the barriers of race, culture, religion and education, the moderate elements from each community work well together and understand each other's point of view.

60. This general impression was strongly reinforced in private conversations. We formed the opinion that men of good will, in all races, are more anxious to work together towards a common ideal, to secure the highest development of the country, than they felt able to express publicly. This is probably due to the fact that in the political arena there is little or no common ground on which those whose interests transcend racial barriers can base themselves. One reason why such men express themselves as citizens of Kenya first rather than as representatives of a particular race, when discussing matters in private, yet find difficulty in carrying their ideas into the public forum, is perhaps the constraint of the racial, or communal franchise.

61. Certainly this may be regarded as one reason for the accentuation of the difficulties, which are in any case serious, in progressing beyond the communal approach to common problems and interests. At the same time the negative and reactionary influence exerted by racial extremists on the political scene, even though they are relatively few in number, is powerful and disruptive.

62. One of the fears which underlies the reluctance of minorities to approach this question with an open mind, is that a rapid transition might be undertaken, on the basis of "one man, one vote", thus eliminating the influence of the minority groups at a stroke, and creating insecurity and instability at a time when security and stability are the twin foundations of development and progress, not least for the African people.

63. There is, however, a great difference between adopting a universal franchise in a country which is immature and undeveloped and the rigid maintenance of the racial or communal franchise which helps to intensify racial political antagonisms. We do not believe that the present system is in the best interests of the minority communities, outnumbered as they are by something like 100 to one, or indeed of the country as a whole. It is because we have been so impressed by the capacity of the moderate people, in each community, to work together that we feel, as friends of the people of Kenya,

we can do no less than emphasise the dangers of adhering for too long to a purely communal structure of representation.

64. We suggest to the leaders of each community that the intention to create additional seats in the Legislative Council offers the opportunity for a fresh examination of these problems ; this should, in our view, be regarded as a matter of urgency. It may be that upon reflection and discussion they could agree upon such an examination, with the object of suggesting a franchise which, avoiding the Scylla of a general common roll and the Charybdis of the existing communal rolls, would assist in bringing together the moderate elements of all races in Kenya.

65. This examination, if it bore in mind the fear of the minorities of exclusion from political influence and the fear of the African that it might be used as a device to hold him back, could prove useful in suggesting a basis for a selective and protected franchise, creating a superstructure of a few common roll seats in the Legislative Council. If successful, such an experiment would provide a political outlet, and common ground, for some of the best elements in Kenya on a non-racial basis. That in itself would be an invaluable contribution to the security, stability and future contentment of the country and we sincerely hope that our suggestion will merit and receive the serious consideration of our friends in Kenya.

66. During our visit there was already considerable African political activity in preparation for the African elections to be held in March, the first to be held in Kenya. Whatever the shortcomings of the first electoral rolls we have no doubt that the experience gained will lead to amendment and improvement between this election and the general election to be held in 1960. It is to an efficient procedure in the future, rather than to argument about the present, that we believe attention should be directed.

67. Nevertheless, we were disappointed to discover that registrations, which had been closed at the end of December, were so low. This is a reflection of indifference on the part of many Africans, but may be due to factors which can be rectified before the next elections. One is the complicated nature of the registration forms used. Another is, of course, the loyalty test, which we assume will have disappeared before another election takes place, particularly since otherwise the loyalty certificate may assume a social importance completely divorced from its electoral use. In the meantime the loyalty test should not be used for anything other than the electoral purposes for which it was devised. Inadequate education in the meaning and force of the vote is yet another cause of apathy which

may explain why some areas appear to have registered much more heavily than others.

68. It also seems likely that African District Councils will in due course benefit by the introduction of the elective principle. These Councils, and the entire structure of local government bodies from County Councils downwards, are largely based upon the principles of similar institutions in the United Kingdom. They afford opportunities for public service at all levels and to every race. Some of the more advanced African councils, of which the various District Commissioners are still the *ex officio* chairmen, will be electing their own chairmen by the end of this year. Their responsibilities are steadily increasing, as are those of the City, Municipal and County bodies. Nairobi is, we believe, the only Colonial city with the right to raise loans direct, on the local or London markets.

HOUSING

69. An important review is being undertaken of the legislation affecting land planning in the township areas. The future development of industry, no less than of housing, depends upon early planning, and the rapid changes now taking place in Nairobi afford ample proof that action as well as foresight in this sphere is essential.

70. The local authorities in the townships are responsible not only for the public services and amenities but also for housing. Money is now being made available from the Central Housing Authority to which a loan of £2 million was made by the Colonial Development Corporation. An example of the magnitude of the housing problem is that in Nairobi tenders are out at this moment for 5,000 houses, intended to make good shortages in the African sector. Most of the other urban authorities in Kenya are undertaking considerable housing schemes, especially in Mombasa; and some, notably Nakuru and Mombasa, have produced houses of a very high standard. We were disappointed to find that in some of the new schemes no provision is being made for electric lighting in the houses, for it seems a pity that improved standard housing should be marred by such an omission. A few pilot schemes, introducing electric lighting on a flat rate cost basis, are being undertaken and it is to be hoped that this will become the standard practice.

71. We heard a good deal about housing and its cost, not only the capital cost to the local authority, but also the rents charged. Certainly the rent element in Kenya, for every race, is a serious burden; and it is surprising in these circumstances that relatively little use is made of multi-storey buildings, particularly for low-rent

dwellings. We understand that in Nairobi, the land on which African housing is built carries a disproportionately high rateable value (based on the unimproved site value) which is, of course, reflected in the cost of the housing and thus in the level of the rent charged to the African.

72. There is a notable difference between the policy of Nairobi and that of both Nakuru and Mombasa regarding African housing. In Nairobi the aim is to produce housing for letting at economic rents, but in Nakuru and Mombasa housing is subsidised. In view of the fact that the cost of a room in Nairobi is often as high as a third of the minimum wage, we suggest that this policy may merit reconsideration, in conjunction with the Government.

73. The new villages in the Kikuyu districts, some of which are destined to become dormitories for the Africans who work in Nairobi, present a new range of local government problems, peculiar in this case to the African areas. Although the peasant farmers whose consolidated holdings lie at a distance from a village will doubtless soon return to their holdings, many thousands will remain in the villages. We visited examples of newly built villages intended for permanent occupation. In them what are known as the *ahoi* (the owners of small patches of land or landless peasants who either worked as labourers for others or tilled the soil as tenants-at-will) will be provided with $\frac{1}{4}$ -acre sites. So will the craftsmen and others who form the village community.

74. We regard village communities, for the most part established as a security measure, to be a permanent feature of the future Kenya, both in the Kikuyu country and elsewhere ; and this opinion is shared by leading Africans. The growth of villages produces problems that will tax the ingenuity and resources of both Government and local government and for this reason sound local government, capable of harnessing the interest and energy of the population, should be encouraged by every means.

THE EMERGENCY

75. The villages to which we have just referred owe their existence mainly to the State of Emergency declared in September, 1952, as the Mau Mau rebellion spread. They were one of the measures taken to protect the Kikuyu people from terrorist attacks and to deny supplies to the terrorists. Watchtowers, which dominate both the villages and the surrounding country, are a grim reminder that until very recently armed bands of Mau Mau fanatics put to fire and sword the houses and families of their own fellow tribesmen, for if the Mau Mau trouble was rebellion it was also civil war.

76. Today law and order has been restored to Kenya. The picture during our visit was very different from that which confronted the Elliot-Bottomley delegation in 1954. At that time the Emergency was at its height, the security forces, including the police, were being expanded fast, and emergency legislation was being brought in to deal with an alarming situation. The restoration of law and order has been costly in human lives, as well as in money and effort, but it has been accomplished. There are still some Mau Mau terrorists at large, but they are now no more than a handful of fugitives in the forests. Many thousands of the Mau Mau and their sympathisers are in the prisons and detention camps.

77. It was found necessary at the time of the Elliot-Bottomley delegation to condemn, in the sternest terms, the actions of a minority of those who constituted the security forces of the Government, because of their maltreatment of those who were taken into custody. Since then there have been, from time to time, allegations of incidents in detention camps, and, on occasion, successful prosecutions of other offenders in this respect.

78. There may have been further cases of malpractice, some of which may never have been brought to light. It would be surprising if this were not so, in the light of the rapid, almost indiscriminate recruiting of personnel at all levels that had to take place at the height of the Emergency.

79. Thousands of Africans and many hundreds of Europeans and Asians were absorbed into the forces of law and order, to deal with an emergency which aroused considerable passions. It says much for the integrity of the regular forces and of the Administration that they were able to cope with this situation as well as they did.

80. From our own careful observations and enquiries we are satisfied that the Government of Kenya and its officers have done, and are still doing, everything possible to make malpractices impossible, and where they occur to detect them and bring the offender to justice. It would be ungenerous and unrealistic not to recognise this and to say that in both the Administration and the field of law and order, Kenya is fortunate in having the services of men of the highest integrity and goodwill.

81. We took the opportunity offered to us by the Government of Kenya to visit prisons and detention camps of every category, from those containing Africans who are regarded as the hard core of the Mau Mau to those through which rehabilitated detainees were being released back into their own homes. We also discussed the subject of detention not only with the Governor, the Attorney General,

the Minister of Defence and other Ministers, but also with many officers in the field and with private persons. Conditions in the camps appeared to be reasonably good, within the limits of any detention system.

82. There is, however, another aspect of the general problem of law and order, namely the principles which govern the detention system, particularly now that the period of violence is virtually at an end. For the most part detainees were held in large camps, of which Manyani is an example, those who were classified as the most intransigent of the Mau Mau occupying special camps in the remoter areas, where (at the height of the Emergency) there was greater security.

83. The classification, which cannot be described as complete, or necessarily accurate, grades detainees into categories of "Y" and "Z" and sub-categories. The "Y" detainees (who were regarded as less seriously infected by and implicated in Mau Mau) received priority of treatment in the earlier stages of rehabilitation.

84. There is general agreement among those who are close to the problem that the effective way of ridding a man who has taken a Mau Mau oath of its binding force is that he should confess having done so, the mere act of breaking the vow of secrecy being in itself the step which robs it of its terror, since each oath contains the affirmation, "if I break this oath may it kill me". Once the oath is broken so also is the power of witchcraft on which it is based, whether it be a "light" oath, i.e., in the first few phases of initiation, or the later and thoroughly bestial oaths. Teams of elders, from the various locations—from the man's own locality—of the Kikuyu country, carry out the screening which leads to confession and rehabilitation.

85. Already by means of the rehabilitation processes many thousands of detainees have been released (20,000 last year alone), without any serious incidents in the districts to which the detainees have been returned. This is probably due to the fact that the policy of the government is to push the detainee down the pipe-line to the exit and then depend upon the verdict of the local community as to whether he should be finally released. Very few have, in fact, been rejected by the local teams and those who are rejected now return to a special camp at Athi River.

86. It has been discovered that large camps do not encourage rehabilitation once the top layers of the "Y" categories have been taken out into the Works Camps, which are in or near the Kikuyu country. Furthermore, the remoteness from their home scene seems

to render the remaining detainees highly susceptible to rumour, particularly about conditions in their home locations. We ourselves found at both Manda and Manyani Camps that the detainees were not prepared to accept our own descriptions of, for example, life in some of the new villages we had seen.

87. The Works Camps are in the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru districts, so that detainees in such camps, while out at work, are able to see for themselves the changes that have taken place. Once a detainee realises that Mau Mau has been defeated and that the countryside has progressed at a tremendous pace since he last saw it, the effect is almost spectacular. The Government of Kenya is turning over to a policy of breaking down the large camps as fast as it is physically possible to do so.

88. This enables the rehabilitation staffs to introduce into a Works Camp consisting of detainees who are co-operating in rehabilitation a dilution of those regarded as "hard-core" Mau Mau. So far the results have been excellent. Most of the men, once back in their own country, albeit still in detention, accept the evidence around them and abandon the non-co-operative attitude characteristic of the bigger or remoter camps. Successive dilutions rapidly reduce the numbers in the big camps; and at the time of our visit 500 a week were leaving Manyani.

89. It has also been found that segregation in such places as Mageta and Saiyusi—the island camps in Lake Victoria which time did not permit us to visit—causes the "hard core" to become even harder, in the belief that transfer to these camps means the end of hope. We were glad to hear from the Governor that it is the Government's intention to close these camps in the near future and transfer the detainees held there into the rehabilitation stream.

90. At Manyani, confession used to be a condition precedent of release into the pipe-line. This has ceased to be the case. All detainees there, whether they have confessed or not, can now be put into the stream.

91. Some of the districts into which ex-detainees are returning are beginning to feel the pressure of extra mouths to feed. Although some thousands of Kikuyu from the Kiambu district, for example, have gone back to European farms there are restrictions on movement into Nairobi and other towns. Poverty and unemployment have resulted from these causes, and constitute problems which need to be watched carefully. We believe it would be found of great practical use if social surveys could be carried out and maintained during the transitional period in these districts. From them the Government would probably obtain much useful and objective data.

92. There are a number of problems arising out of the detention system itself to which we must refer and first, of course, is the repugnance which detention without trial arouses anywhere in the free world. A dispassionate examination of the history of Kenya since 1952, in particular the terrorisation and murder of witnesses, provides reasons for the introduction of what is at best a distasteful system.

93. Now, however, we are faced in Kenya with a return to normal conditions. Release from detention is being pushed along by the Government energetically and we recognise that "the shooting war" is barely over; nevertheless, we feel we must stress the fact that the liberty of the subject is imperilled so long as detention without trial exists and that this should be kept in mind in Kenya as being fundamental to human rights. The very reasons for which such detention is acceptable in times of violence, namely the security of law and order and the preservation of the State, are also the reasons why detention is unacceptable once normal conditions return. The utmost speed in ending detention is then required.

94. Also there is a segment of those in detention, the size of which is as yet unpredictable, who may not pass the test of acceptability back in their former home country, at the hands of the local population. This is understandable after a civil war in which appalling atrocities were committed. Nevertheless, in considering what is to happen to such people during the period of time (whatever it may be) between now and the mellowing of local thought, we strongly suggest that the principle to which we have referred should be kept continually in the forefront by the Government of Kenya and by its Law officers. Detention ought not to be regarded as a normal part of the legal system.

95. Finally there are those who have been convicted of serious crimes or are self-confessed criminals under the former amnesty or for other reasons will be regarded as inimical to the security of the State and of law and order for a long time ahead. The policy which determines their future should be based on the premise that although detention cannot be regarded as a substitute for the processes of the law, provision will have to be made to ensure that such persons—whose numbers will probably be relatively small—do not endanger public security or are enabled to resume full liberty of action until they have renounced Mau Mau.

96. A new problem has arisen because new information is coming to light about crimes committed at the height of the Emergency. Some of this information arises out of the working of the

rehabilitation scheme and some in other ways. We commend to the Government of Kenya a revised approach to these problems. The time has probably now arrived when the best interests of all, no less than the highest standards of justice itself, will be well served by taking the view that a tragic chapter can be closed and a new one begun.

97. These matters have an added significance and importance as Kenya gets closer to the time when the State of Emergency can be rescinded and the emergency laws abandoned. Amendments to the permanent code, whatever their motive, could not be justified solely on the basis of administrative convenience.

98. We heard a good deal during our tour of the relationship between the Police and the public in Kenya. The Police force is still undergoing re-organisation. Good work is being done by the Police Training School at Nyeri, not only to educate police recruits and to refresh the training of members of the police force, but also to inculcate a high sense of public duty. We hope that this School will be given far more time in which to impress this ideal upon its students than is now the case.

99. There is still much to be done, in absorbing the tribal force gradually into the local force and raising the standards of education and training of the rank and file. It will take time to create in the Force traditions and pride which will exert the necessary influence throughout its structure.

100. Most of the troubles of the present time arise from the lack of these things and of that sense of service on the part of some of the police which encourages the general public to regard any sound Force as the friend and guardian of all who desire to live peaceable, law-abiding lives. Once this high standard is reached it will be possible in Kenya to look forward to creating the common law constable, as a member of an independent force.

101. There is also a need to keep in mind the long-term recruitment of the Special Branch, especially in view of the political duties it must undertake and the exceptionally high quality of recruit required for this type of work. Whether it should remain a part of the ordinary Force is a question which merits study.

FINANCE

102. It will have been noted, in our references both to the economy and to social services, that during our visit to Kenya we discovered no lack of a desire to go ahead with expansion and reform. We are disturbed, however, by the immediate financial

problems of the country, which appear to leave far too many essential projects dependent on the existing financial capacity of the Colony.

103. When the Emergency began the surplus balances were about £9 millions. These were intended to cover development projects in the various revisions of the Development Plan drawn up as long ago as 1946. The Emergency swiftly drained these reserves dry and Her Majesty's Government has for several years been making annual provision, by grant or loan, to cover the difference between revenue and expenditure.

104. A sudden reversal of the United Kingdom policy of helping to bridge the gap in the Kenya budget, which is now running at about £4 million a year, would be extremely serious, since not only the local allocation of funds for development but even the maintenance of projects in being would be affected. Far from curtailment, as we have said above, there is no doubt that expansion is imperative in certain fields of expenditure. We hope that the present policy of assistance will be maintained, and reduced only as the need for it disappears.

105. Before we pursue the financial implications of what we believe to be necessary in such activities as agricultural reform and education, it may be well to refer to taxation in Kenya. It is, admittedly, lower than in the United Kingdom, particularly the income tax. On the other hand the taxpayer in Kenya provides for himself many services which are provided on a national basis in the United Kingdom, examples being medical attention, provision for old age and part of the cost of education.

106. A truer comparison with Kenya is probably the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which is a competitor for both capital investment and technical skills. Kenya must be in a position to attract both of these on a sufficient scale, if the country is ever to become viable and provide adequately for its population. A comparison of this kind leads inexorably to the conclusion that increases of any serious order in Kenya taxation at the present time would merely lead to the exclusion of investment and technical skills.

107. If we are correct in our belief that little substantial additional taxation can be raised in Kenya without serious detrimental effects on the future of the economy, there is a period of years ahead during which the injection of capital, from both public and private sources, will be of paramount importance.

108. Indeed, in the public sector it might have been better not to set the process of reform in motion at all, unless it can be carried through to a successful conclusion ; and so far as agriculture is concerned, this is our firm opinion.

109. The Development Plan in Kenya was drafted in 1946 and has been revised regularly since then. At the moment it foresees claims of over £23 millions. The development budget is kept separate from the ordinary budget of the Colony and is financed by votes from the Legislative Council for development purposes, as and when money is available, and by grants or loans from the United Kingdom, largely through Colonial Development and Welfare Act funds. It was through this channel that Her Majesty's Government made £5 millions available for African agriculture in 1954. We explored with the Government of Kenya the cost of extending the Swynnerton Plan for a further five years (the period best suited for agricultural planning of this kind in Kenya), of giving education (on which no return can be expected for a period of years) the necessary interim support, and of other essential developments. The figures are :—

Agriculture	£5 million over 5 years
Education	£2½ „ „ 3 „
Teacher Training	£500,000 for immediate use
Health Centres and Water Supplies	£300,000 „ „ „

110. The Kenya Government is much exercised by the consequences of slowing down the development plan and hopes, once the Colony's economy is balanced, to be able to put £2½ million to £3 million a year into it. Even this rate would have to be cut severely if the export trade were to flag. The figures given in paragraph 109, amounting to £8,300,000, represent minimum priority needs, of which the agricultural element alone would become productive (and revenue-earning) at an early date.

111. So long as finance is painfully restricted the least productive projects, which are often by no means the least essential, are bound to suffer, since the available capital is used to expand production, boost the economy and meet by that means the annual bills. It is not in the best interests of Kenya that a hand-to-mouth policy should be enforced, at the end of a severe crisis which has involved an immense unproductive expenditure on security measures and the military campaign. The money and effort spent on quelling the Mau Mau insurrection, had it been used for productive and long-term peaceful projects, would have changed the whole situation in Kenya.

112. We were impressed by the fact that the Government of Kenya has grasped the opportunities offered to build up a stronger and more progressive economic and social structure. Having taken the initiative the Government finds itself in the position of being followed so eagerly that there is a grave danger of the resources available failing to maintain its basic development programmes. This must not happen, for if it does the consequences would be unpredictable.

113. Out of the evil of the Kenya Emergency great good has been wrested by a forward-looking policy which was made possible by generous financial support from Her Majesty's Government. It would be disastrous to halt at this, the crucial, period in the development which has ensued.

GENERAL

114. The strong plea we have made for substantial aid to Kenya is based upon our view of the economy in all its aspects. There are, nevertheless, other considerations. Much has been said, from time to time, of the colour bar. These are progressive days in Kenya and many of the grounds for complaint of even four years ago no longer exist. We ourselves met and had meals with Africans and Asians in the best hotels, as well as in the Parliament buildings. There is still room for improvement, but we believe the complete end of the colour bar will not be long delayed particularly as educated and qualified Africans, Arabs and Asians play an increasing part in the general life of the country. The education programme has a major contribution to make in this respect.

115. Multi-racial education is still an explosive topic of discussion in Kenya ; and not exclusively in European circles. What is feared, on many grounds, as a matter of compulsion assumes quite another aspect on a voluntary basis. The single multi-racial primary school in Nairobi, the pioneer in this field, is doing well and will in time acquire its own influence and importance. A secondary school, on the same voluntary basis, should in our opinion be the next step. It is by such experiments, carried out on the best possible foundations, that tolerance is spread, rather than by controversial legislation which begins in bitterness and may poison the natural flow of goodwill among moderate people of all races.

116. Before leaving Kenya we were able to meet the Administrator of the East Africa High Commission (Sir Bruce Hutt) and some of his principal colleagues. We also visited the High Commission's research stations for agriculture, forestry and veterinary

science at Muguga, near Nairobi. There is no disposition in Kenya to underrate the value of the services common to East Africa which are administered by the High Commission and we hope their economic importance will be fostered throughout the region. The research being carried out at Muguga is of the greatest importance, not only to East Africa but to other parts of the continent.

117. On our travels in Kenya, which covered most of the Colony, we were in daily touch with the administrative and specialist departmental officers in the field. They merit the highest praise, for their work and for the sense of urgency and mission they bring to it. The administration displays leadership of outstanding quality to which we wish to pay a sincere tribute.

118. We wish to thank our friends in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in Kenya, and the Government, not only for making our tour possible but for providing us with an invaluable and unforgettable experience. Immense care was taken to ensure that we saw as much as possible of every facet of Kenya and met people of every race and from every walk of life. We include in our thanks the Assistant Secretary of the Kenya Branch (Mr. A. W. Purvis) and the temporary Executive Officer (for the tour), Major T. E. Glancy, whose constant attention and help were invaluable.

119. We were particularly fortunate to have the services of Mr. Granville Roberts as our Secretary. His knowledge of Kenya and its people proved an invaluable help to us all. His assistance in drafting this report has eased our burden immeasurably. We should like to express to him our sincerest thanks.

Thomas Dugdale
Kenneth Robinson
Balniel
C. F. H. Gough
F. W. Mulley
Polwarth
Eirene White

APPENDIX A

SOME KENYA STATISTICS

Kenya comprises some 225,000 square miles, situated between 5° North and 5° South.

Revenue (actual) for the year 1955/56—£33.3 millions.

Population : (De facto civil population estimates as at mid-year)

Year	European	Indian & Goan	Arab	Other	African	TOTAL
1946	24,900	88,400	23,300	3,000	5,087,000	5,227,000
1956	57,700	151,900	33,000	5,300	5,902,000	6,150,000

Main tribes of Kenya (Population Census, 1948)

Kikuyu	...	...	...	...	1,026,341
Luo	...	...	...	...	757,043
Baluhya	...	...	...	...	653,774
Kamba	...	...	...	...	611,725
Meru	...	...	...	...	324,894
Nyika	...	...	...	...	296,254
Kisii	...	...	...	...	255,108
Embu	...	...	...	...	203,690
Kipsigis	...	...	...	...	159,692
Nandi	...	...	...	...	116,681
Other tribes	...	...	...	...	845,918
Total	...	...	...	...	5,251,120

No figures available for increases in population by tribes since 1948. Estimates on the basis of 1½% show the following increases :

1948	...	...	...	...	5,240,000
1949	...	...	...	...	5,319,000
1950	...	...	...	...	5,398,000
1951	...	...	...	...	5,479,000
1952	...	...	...	...	5,561,000
1953	...	...	...	...	5,644,000
1954	...	...	...	...	5,729,000
1955	...	...	...	...	5,815,000

Population of Nairobi

Year	Europeans	Asians	Africans	Others	TOTAL
1948	10,830	41,810	64,910	2,450	120,000
1956	20,000	70,000	120,000		210,000

APPENDIX B

RELEASE OF DETAINEES IN KENYA

The following figures cover the numbers held in detention as at various periods from early 1954 onwards :—

After " Operation Anvil "	...	60,000
20th October, 1954	... ..	65,457
Early 1955	... ..	50,000
26th October, 1955	... ..	48,241
31st December, 1955	... ..	45,000
13th February, 1956	... ..	43,516
26th March, 1956	... ..	42,235
14th May, 1956	... ..	39,302
30th July, 1956	... ..	38,870
10th October, 1956	... ..	35,000
13th November, 1956	... ..	34,000
30th November, 1956	... ..	32,449
31st December, 1956	... ..	30,826

APPENDIX C

ITINERARY OF TOUR

5th January, 1957 Arrive Nairobi.
6th January Visit Kinangop.
7th January Nairobi.
8th January Nairobi.

GROUP A

Mr. K. Robinson
Mr. C. F. H. Gough
Mr. F. W. Mulley
Lord Polwarth

GROUP B

The Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas
Dugdale, Bart.
Lord Balniel
Mrs. Eirene White
Mr. Granville Roberts (Secretary)

9th January

Visit Nakuru and Mau Narok. Visit Kiambu District and
Limuru.

10th January

Visit Kericho District and Tea Estate. Visit Nyeri District.

11th January

Visit Kisii. Visit Thomson's Falls and
European Farms.

12th January

Visit Kisumu. Visit Maralal.

13th January

Return to Nairobi. Visit Eldoret and farming areas
of Trans Nzoia District.

	14th January	
Visit Fort Hall.		Visit Kakamega.
	15th January	
Visit Gichugu Division.		Visit Kisumu and return to Nairobi.
	16th January	
Visit Kitui.		Nairobi.
	17th January	
Return to Nairobi.		
		Whole delegation leaves for Mombasa.
18th January		Mombasa.
19th January		Mombasa.
20th January		Visit Manda Island Detention Camp and Malindi.
21st January		Malindi.
22nd January		Visit Manyani Detention Camp and Magadi, then return to Nairobi.
24th/28th January		Nairobi.
29th January		Leave Nairobi for London.

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