

# HOPE FOR KENYA

By HARRY JAGUAR

FOR some time in the future Kenya's destiny lies in the hands of the Kenya African Democratic Union, a party which emerged with a minority in the recent elections to Kenya's Legislative Council. KADU has already formed a government and has successfully completed the first few weeks of the Legislative Council session.

Mr. Ronald Ngala is the leader of KADU. He is a moderate and soft-spoken African who has always held the full trust of his fellow members in the Legislative Council. As leader of Government Business, Minister of Education, and leader of the party that commands a majority in the Legislative Council, it is he who will hold the key position in the new Kenya government. If he is successful, it will be because he is the Clement Attlee of African politics—a man who inspires the trust of his equals and can hold a team together. He will be supported by moderate African leaders such as Masinde Muliro, educated at a South African university, and John Keen, whose father was a German and whose mother was from the Masai tribe.

## Responsible Government

Kenya is now approaching the stage in which it will be granted self-government. It has already reached that point in its constitutional evolution which is sometimes described as "responsible government". Politically it is one step behind Tanganyika and one step in front of Basutoland.

The African elected members hold a majority in the Legislative Council over all the other racial groups combined, but there are still members representing the Kenya Whites and the numerous Indian community. The Africans have not got a majority in the Executive Council (Kenya's Cabinet) and the Kenya Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, has certain reserved powers. He can, for instance, appoint official members to carry through government policy in the Council should his supporters get into difficulties.

On the other hand, the Kenya Governor is keen to ensure the continued co-operation of Africans in government and was very anxious to get KADU members to commit themselves during the long period in which they hesitated before taking office.

Before they formed the government, KADU were in an awkward position. Not only were they a minority party, but they would have to depend on

the support of Whites and Asians to carry their policies forward. Moreover, they would be supporting a "colonial" government, always risky for young African politicians on the threshold of their careers.

In the recent elections of February, KADU emerged with 10 seats compared with 18 of the rival Kenya African National Union. Since then there have been the "national seat" elections by members of the Legislative Council sitting as an electoral college. These elections by members of all races benefited KADU by three seats and KANU by one; thus the totals among African elected members are now KADU 15 and KANU 19. But KADU have been able to get the support of most of the European and Indian elected members; thus they can command about 30 votes in the Council.

Prominent European members such as Michael Blundell, Wilfrid Havelock and Peter Marrian have accepted Ministries. The government is also supported by Indians such as Arvind Jamidar, a man who has had a long association with the African leaders.

There was one decisive reason that kept the Kenya African National Union, the majority African party, from forming the government. It was the Kenyatta question. KANU boasts of men like Tom Mboya, the hero of the Nairobi masses; James Gichuru, a venerated Kikuyu leader; Oginga Odinga, a militant, with Communist sympathies. These men are far more powerful than their KADU counterparts and they all pledged themselves before the February elections not to form a government unless Jomo Kenyatta was unconditionally released from restriction.

## Power of Kenyatta

The power of Kenyatta is shown by the fact that KANU refused to form the government. KANU leaders have waited long for the day when they can take Ministries and govern their own country, but they are not willing to do this without Jomo Kenyatta.

Over the past few years a single-handed campaign by Oginga Odinga to get Kenyatta's release has grown into the most important issue in any African's electoral campaign. Without invoking Kenyatta's name elections cannot be won, popularity cannot be maintained. Kenyatta has been built up as "Father of the Kenya nation," as the panacea for all Kenya's political ills.

Most African leaders have campaigned for Kenyatta because they have genuinely felt that he was

not implicated in Mau Mau, that he should end his exile and return to unite his people. But there are others who are using his name to further their own ends.

Kenyatta is gradually revealing himself by means of Press conferences and messages passed to other leaders from his place of restriction. Commentators have been impressed by the lucidity of the 68-year-old leader who has lived for more than seven years in a scorching desert prison. Moreover, Kenyatta still seems to speak with the moderation and good sense of the days before he was arrested for being the leader of Mau Mau.

Though a government has been formed without promising Kenyatta's release, the ultimate stability of the country still seems to rest with him. KANU is committed to Kenyatta and is ready to elect him as president of the party when he returns to ordinary life. With the powerful KANU leaders using Kenyatta's name against the present government, and with the majority of the people behind them, KADU cannot be expected to retain power for very long.

It is government by a minority party, dependent

on the votes of members from immigrant races and on government officials. Against it, is the militant KANU party, with leaders of international standing, much influence in the Pan-African political world and wide experience in the methods of African nationalist agitation.

Even the KADU leaders themselves do not expect their rule to be a long one. The Lancaster House constitution was accepted over a year ago as a temporary constitutional measure, one which would have to be replaced when the time came for self-government. Mr. Ngala has now stated that he expects Kenya will get this self-government at the end of 1960.

But the present government will give members of all races a chance to work together constructively for the future of Kenya. Much time is needed to get rid of the fears and suspicions that divide one race from another and to establish a society without race distinction and social injustice.

Despite Kenya's turbulent past there is a good chance that this can be accomplished. The recent

## The Nompozolo Family finds a Home

**I**N the March issue of *The Black Sash* the story was published of Mr. Gilbert Nompozolo, one of the many Africans who, under the present laws, found that they were "displaced people" in their own country. For two and a half years Mr. Nompozolo had been in this plight and consequently had not been permitted to seek work. He had been living largely on the charity of his friends and in constant fear of arrest.

Mrs. E. Stott (National President of the Black Sash), interviewed Mr. M. D. C. De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and persuaded him to make a thorough investigation of Mr. Nompozolo's case.

As a result Mr. Nompozolo and his family were given rail warrants to Zwelitsha, near King William's Town, where he could obtain a house and a job. Officials asked the Sash to arrange and pay for Mr. Nompozolo's luggage to accompany him.

Although this was a part of the country Mr. Nompozolo had never visited before, it appears from his letter to the Sash in Wellington (part of which we quote below) that he is at last settled.

"I had a safe journey . . . I also got my luggage which was booked and on arrival here got a four-roomed house at a rental of £2 18s. 0d. (R5.80). But I do not have the money to pay the rent. I have been promised a job only for

the end of the month. These two now are my only worries.

"I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Black Sash and to you, Mrs. Pearce (Wellington branch), for the help you gave me, keeping and maintaining my family for 11 months, so that my children should not die of starvation. God will bless you for the work you did."

[*The Black Sash has now been informed by the Bantu Administration Department that "there is a statutory obligation under which homeless Bantu had to be assisted by the State to obtain residential rights within the Bantu territories."*

Mr. H. H. L. Smuts (Deputy Secretary, White Areas) said that "he recognised that it was difficult for any administrative system to be perfect and that cases of hardship did occasionally occur. It was, however, the duty of the officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to give a sympathetic hearing and to render whatever assistance possible to Bantu persons who were confronted with problems arising from the application of the laws affecting them."

*The Black Sash is glad to hear this, but considers that laws affecting free movement should be repealed. In the meantime the Black Sash draws the attention of the public to this information, in order that other displaced Africans can be taken to Native Commissioners and given assistance.—EDITOR.]*

## HOPE FOR KENYA — Continued

elections, which affected most Africans in different parts of the country, passed without any manifestation of ill-feeling between the races. Liberal Europeans were swept to power on the votes of their African constituents. African leaders spoke on white platforms. Everyone was surprised that the elections had passed off so smoothly and that racial bitterness had been buried.

This trend may well continue in the future, for all races are fully aware that Kenya will soon become a "one-man-one-vote" democracy. This means a country with Africans politically dominant, but with the Whites and Indians providing professional, technical and commercial skills for a long time in the future.

Kenya's small "White settler" population has been particularly worried by African political advance. In the past they wanted Kenya to become a White colony. Recently they have abandoned this dream and are hoping to extract promises from the African leaders of security of tenure in their farms in the highlands.

But the Africans argue that they cannot be expected to bind future governments in an independent Kenya by promises of guarantees that they might make today. They have no right to negotiate with a minority group of White settlers. Moreover, they realise that land resettlement for African farmers will be one of the most important tasks for any government in the future.

### A New Society

Luckily more and more Whites are recognising the realities of the political situation in Kenya. Some of them have confidence that the African leaders will not expropriate their farms without fair compensation. For if a future African government began to seize White capital, it would face economic collapse from which it could rescue itself only by falling on the mercy of one of the major world power blocs.

Such a move is a possibility, even if a remote one, but there are certainly no signs of such a situation developing in Kenya politics today. None of the main political leaders, Kenyatta included, is committed to Communism; while some of them such as Tom Mboya, James Gichuru, Ronald Ngala, Dr. Kiano and others have a deep respect for the Western way of life. They do not want to destroy what White skills and African labour have already built in Kenya. On the contrary, they want the White man to help them build their new society in an independent country. And those Whites who cannot bear the idea of African political dominance still have the opportunity to leave the country.



"For the last time, Van der Merwe, just say, 'Here is the news,' and not 'Once upon a time'."

## SASH SLOGANS

A PLACARD demonstration against apartheid was staged on De Waal Drive, Cape Town, on April 14th by Cape Western region.

Hundreds of motorists returning home from work saw the placards. So did a few Cabinet Ministers.

Sashers lined the drive at intervals of about 15 paces. The placards carried these slogans: "Face Facts . . . Condemn these Acts . . . Abolition of Native Representatives . . . Closed Universities . . . Pass Laws . . . Group Areas . . . Job Reservation . . . Removal of Coloured Voters . . . Banishment Without Trial . . ." etc. And lastly: "No Wonder the World Condemns Us . . . Help Right These Wrongs."

Some motorists saluted the demonstrators as they drove past.

A week later a similar demonstration was held at Green Point. Sashers stood a little further apart and the first was nearly a mile distant from the last. A policeman, anxious to stop the demonstration, spent some time trying to locate the leader, being referred by each Sasher to the next. He eventually abandoned the attempt.