

tries, the principal problem is the collection of taxes. In others, it is the need for stiffening tax rates in the upper brackets, when to do so may mean an outflow of domestic capital for more profitable investment abroad. For immediate financial reasons a balance must be struck between the need to tax equitably and the need to keep capital at home. Perhaps one rational solution was found recently by Peru when it decreed that companies investing half their profits in low-cost housing were to be exempt from certain taxes.

When all these problems are better understood, the Alliance will still face questions of what is proper planning and what should be the scale of priorities. Under the Punta del Este charter, a nine-man committee of economists—the “Nine Wise Men” of the Alliance—are to pass judgment on the soundness of development plans. But no criteria exist to help determine whether a government is wise in pushing, say, road-building rather than electrical power, or if resources should be divided to provide for both. An added complication is that in numerous instances Latin American governments know precious little about their own resources and needs. As a result, hastily-drawn development plans often deal in generalities and economic programs are built on faulty premises.

Although political and social pressures seem to leave little if any time for careful studies, a proper survey of basic resources—prosaic as the idea may appear to aroused and impatient populations—should be the first step in the planning of Alliance projects. For example, in the Brazilian northeast, one of Latin America's most tortured and destitute areas, planners propounding grandiose schemes are ignorant of such vital information as that concerning the salinity of the soil, the volume of flow and evaporation rate of the rivers, and even the amount of rainfall in some of the hinterland areas.

These, then, are some of the problems that confront the Alliance for Progress as it makes its first enthusiastic but uncertain steps along the impressively ambitious road of rebuilding Latin America. Given time, it has superb chances of success. But the fundamental question persists: is their enough time?

# KENYA on the verge

by LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

1962

**I**F YOU WANT to see the world on a small scale, Kenya is the best place to go, for within its borders are peoples of the world's major races and most of its religions, all the important types of landscape, all stages of economic and social development, and almost all of the world's problems in microcosm.

This shield-shaped country, bisected by the Equator, contains most of the major geographical features found on our planet. Three-fifths of it is desert and scrub country, but much of it is plateau land suitable for varied and productive farming. There are mountains like Mount Elgon and Mount Kenya, whose snow-capped peaks pierce the sky at 14,000 and 17,000 feet, and there are two large lakes, Lake Rudolph and Lake Victoria, the latter the second largest in the world. Then there is the breathtaking Rift Valley, a gigantic gash in the surface of the earth which runs from Jordan through Kenya to Mozambique.

Included in the population of approximately 6,500,000 people are about 6,215,000 Africans; 175,000 Indians, Pakistani, and Goans; 65,000 Europeans (the name used to describe all whites); 40,000 Arabs; and 5,000 others.

These people represent every stage of economic and social development, from tribes like the Somali and Masai, who are still nomadic and count their wealth in camels and

cattle, to the semi-sophisticated city dwellers of Nairobi who work in shops, factories, government bureaus, and offices in the small skyscrapers which are beginning to stud the skyline of this “Little London” of East Africa. Their homes include the movable tents of the nomadic peoples, the beehive shaped huts of most Africans, the oblong or square houses characteristic of the coast, the pastel-tinted housing projects of Nairobi, Mombasa, and other towns, and the Western style homes of the European settlers.

Kenya is divided religiously, too. Most of its inhabitants are animists, but there are three-quarters of a million Catholics and a quarter of a million Protestants (plus many others who identify themselves as Protestants,) as well as Moslems, Hindus, and Sikhs. And there is a small Jewish community. Curiously, the largest single group of Quakers in the world is in western Kenya, where there are more than 30,000 African members, and an extensive network of educational institutions ranging from 350 bush schools to a junior college and a Friends Bible Institute.

Within this British colony and protectorate one can see most of the world's problems in concentrated form. Most pressing at the moment are tribalism, race relations, and land reform and agriculture. But internal security, colonialism, the need for water, industrialization and the need for capital; unemployment, crime, education, and health all cry out for attention as Kenya moves rapidly toward independence and modernization.

The winds of change have been blowing strongly in Kenya, rising in

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LEONARD S. KENWORTHY recently completed another journey through Africa. He is a professor of education and social science at Brooklyn College, and the author of “Leaders of New Nations,” “Twelve Citizens of the World,” and “Profile of Nigeria.”

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force in recent months, effecting profound alterations in the political, social, and economic landscape. And even more radical changes are in the offing. Most Europeans are adjusting to them as inevitable—even if undesirable in their minds. Yet they cannot help but wonder if the strong winds will turn into a tornado, destroying them and their place in the new Kenya which is beginning to emerge. But to most Africans the winds are merely gentle breezes compared to the gales they would like and now expect in the months ahead.



The most obvious sign of change between the time of my previous visit to Kenya three years ago and today is the amount of building construction. There is an imposing and beautiful new airport near Nairobi and several new office buildings in the city itself. One hotel has been greatly enlarged and another is under construction. Within a lion's roar of the famous Nairobi National Game Park a giant cement plant has been built. In Mombasa (the leading port city of East Africa) the wharves have been enlarged, modern equipment installed, and a lubricants blending plant has been built. In Nakuru the world's first pyrethrum laboratory has been started and Kenya now points with pride to two small processing plants for the making of D.D.T. and other insecticides. But these and other industrial establishments are still European or Asian financed and operated. The only major change on the economic horizon for Africans is the proposed Bank of Africa which American-educated Gikonyo Kiano, a former minister of economic affairs, and other Africans are pushing.

Probing beneath the surface, however, reveals a much less healthy society economically. A great deal of capital has fled from Kenya in recent months. A few of its best trained people have left and others are considering emigration. Many merchants are not replenishing their stocks until they are more certain of their future. A drought in 1960 and another in the past year caused economic havoc and brought misery to large numbers of people. Then, last fall, disastrous floods compounded the misery. Unemployment is on the rise, partly be-

cause of uncertainty over the future.

It is obvious to the outsider that the walls of racial prejudice and discrimination are beginning to crumble. Three years ago I entertained a leading African political leader in the restaurant of an international hotel; he was the only African I saw in that particular place during my extended stay. Today Africans come and go freely in the same locale. Three years ago Africans were not allowed to grow the lucrative pyrethrum crop, and they were producing very little coffee and tea; today one sees small amounts of pyrethrum on African *shambas*, or farms, and much more coffee and tea. The walls of prejudice between the races are still high but there are cracks and holes which did not exist before.

In this same interval a national election was held in which a large percentage of Africans voted for the first time. Today a majority of the members of the Legislative Council are Africans and one of them, Ronald G. Ngala, is the leader of Government Business.

Even more startling is the changed attitude toward Jomo Kenyatta. Three years ago he was in exile in the Northern Province, near the Ethiopian border. Today he is a free man. Many Europeans still look upon him as the diabolical leader of darkness, but they also hoped that upon his release he would be able to stand above party differences and become a unifying force in Kenya. These hopes were dashed by his acceptance, late in 1961, of the leadership of the Kenya African National Union, the party dominated by the Kikuyu and Luo tribes.

A most heartening development in Kenya in the last three years is the progress in education. Between 1958 and 1960 the enrollment of Africans in primary schools (grades one through four) increased from 530,355 to 619,168 and in intermediate schools (grades five through eight) from 71,075 to 107,724. Even more gratifying was the increase in secondary school pupils, from 3,922 to 5,409.

There has been a small advance, too, in the consolidation of land in the western sections of the country, although progress in this respect is

still too slow. As a result of the Mau Mau rebellion a widespread program of land consolidation of the small plots of ground held by individuals was forced upon the Kikuyu tribe and they were compelled to live in villages, a new thing for them. These moves were bitterly resented initially but more and more Africans have come to approve of the consolidation program if not of village living.

To balance these highlights of progress in Kenya in the last three years, two other trends should be mentioned.

One is the increase in the crime rate. In 1958, there were 34,557 offenses against the Penal Code; in 1960, 44,697. At the current rate the number will climb to 46,300 in 1961. Some of this increase has come from the tensions underneath the surface of this multi-racial and economically depressed society. Some of it has come from the revolution of rising expectations which has broken out all over the world. But some of it has also come from the development of a class of professional criminals, highly skilled and ready to resort to violence. Kenya is not the only society which is cursed by such a situation but in Kenya it is a new development.

The other discouraging factor is the growth of the Kenya Freedom Army, whose present membership is estimated between 500 and 2,000. Although not so well armed as the Mau Mau supporters were, it is generally conceded to be better organized and a potential threat to the security of Kenya and an obstacle to speedy independence if it gathers momentum. It is not considered in Kenya as Communist-inspired, contrary to some American reports. To some it is proof that you cannot kill the Mau Mau spirit by military measures any more than you can exterminate Nazism merely by a military victory.



What of the future?

The first item on the agenda of pressing business is the granting of independence and the establishment of a stable government, with the Africans in control. This may not be the next move when one considers the future logically, but it is without



doubt the next step psychologically. Africans in Kenya are acutely conscious of the fact that many new nations have been formed in Africa in recent years and that their neighbor, Tanganyika, has just become an independent country. Kenya's independence can be postponed a short time, but probably not much more than a year.

The nature of the government which will be established is certainly not clear. One of the two leading European daily newspapers in Nairobi has even questioned whether the British type of government set up in other former colonies should be the model for Kenya.

Because of his widespread popularity, it is almost certain that Kenyatta will head the government once independence is achieved. But it is not yet clear what position he will occupy or who the other top men will be.

Tom Mboya is considered by many to be the shrewdest politician in Kenya today. Kenyans describe him as able, astute, and aggressive. Some add, "and a bit arrogant." The present Leader of Government Business, Ronald G. Ngala, will certainly play a prominent part, too. He is characterized usually as serious and sincere. And, some add, "a straddler." Other outstanding figures include James S. Gichuru, president of the Kenya African National Union; Oginga-Odinga, vice president of KANU, and Masinde Muliro, deputy leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, known as KADU.

A second problem facing Kenya as it gains its independence is the question of the treatment of the minority communities of Asians and Europeans. At the moment the Asian community is suffering most from insecurity. For years they have been the middle class merchants, the bank and postal clerks, the money lenders. They have prospered through hard work and business acumen. But many of them have also loaned money at high interest rates, squeezed their shillings hard, and sometimes shown prejudice against the Africans. Now they wonder what their future will be. Will the Africans seek revenge against them? Will they have a place in the new society which is emerging? Or will they be caught in a vise between the Europeans and the Africans?

The Europeans feel uncertain, too. Despite assurances from Kenyatta, they wonder if their farms will be confiscated and their lives endangered. Should they leave Kenya now or is there a place for them here in the future? Can they face the probability of integrated schools for their children? Can they work with the new African leaders? These are some of the questions that are discussed with feeling wherever Europeans gather.



A third problem of great importance in the months immediately ahead is the question of the treatment of the African minorities. The two dominant tribes are the Kikuyu and the Luo, united now in the political alliance, KANU. The other tribes, fearful that they will be treated as minorities, have united to a large extent in KADU. The intense tribal rivalries of the past could erupt in the foreseeable future and cause great damage, a fear which is widespread here and one which must be reckoned with in creating an independent country.

Beyond these problems is the need for attention to agriculture, vital to Kenya's economy. Attempts to find minerals are continuing but today cement and soda ash are the only two minerals of any value. Experts maintain that the agricultural potential is tremendous if further fragmentation of land can be stopped, consolidation of tiny plots accelerated, resettlement encouraged, and new land brought into use. Much of the best soil of Kenya is in the "White Highlands" which Europeans control.



A small start has been made in opening up this area to Africans but revolutionary changes in this regard still lie ahead. There is also good land in some other parts of Kenya which can be developed with modern scientific methods. Even on ten or twelve acre plots a farmer can make a respectable living if he farms the land well.

The future for coffee production is uncertain but production of tea, sisal, and other crops can be expanded. Another possibility for the future is the development of secondary industries based upon agricultural products.

Still another problem on which Kenya must work creatively and diligently is its educational system. At present there are four basic systems—European, Asian, Arab, and African. An integrated system is inevitable, but it presents tremendous problems. Encouraging strides have been made in increasing the number of children in the primary schools but Kenya needs now to concentrate on swelling the number of children in the intermediate and secondary schools. This will require hundreds of new teachers, new buildings and equipment, and a broader economic base. And it means that more attention must be given to a basically Kenyan education rather than the classical educational program inherited from the British.

A sixth major problem is that of health. This, too, is basic, for the great sanitary revolution which followed the industrial revolution in Europe has not yet arrived in Kenya. There is a high incidence of malaria, bilharziasis, anemia, leprosy, and venereal diseases. Malnutrition, while not a disease, is also a serious concern. A few Kenya doctors and nurses are being trained but many more are needed; 130 small clinics have been established throughout the country, but the target is 300, and they are all urgently needed.

Kenya has come a long way in the last few years. It has a promising future if it can survive the next few months without violence and without too many tensions, expending its energy on constructive measures to build a strong, independent nation. It is an exciting place to visit and to watch as it wrestles with the problems of the world in miniature.