



EAST AFRICA
ROYAL COMMISSION
1953-1955
REPORT

*Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament
by Command of Her Majesty
June 1955*

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Royal Warrant

Dated 1st January, 1953

ELIZABETH II

ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas Queen, Defender of the Faith: to Our Trusty and Well Beloved Sir Hugh Dow, Grand Commander of the Indian Empire, Knight Commander of the Star of India, Our Trusty and Well Beloved Sally Herbert Frankel, Esquire, Master of Arts, Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Science, Our Trusty and Well Beloved Arthur Gaitskell, Esquire, Companion of Our most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Our Trusty and Well Beloved Rowland Skeffington Hudson, Esquire, Companion of Our most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Our Trusty and Well Beloved Daniel Thomson Jack, Esquire, Master of Arts, Justice of the Peace, Our Trusty and Well Beloved Chief Kidaha Makwaia and Our Trusty and Well Beloved Frank Sykes, Esquire, Greeting!

Whereas, having regard to the rapid rate of increase of the African population of East Africa and the congestion of population on the land in certain localities, We have deemed it expedient that a Commission should forthwith examine the measures necessary to be taken to achieve an improved standard of living, including the introduction of capital to enable peasant farming to develop and expand production; and frame recommendations thereon with particular reference to:

- (1) the economic development of the land already in occupation by the introduction of better farming methods;
- (2) the adaptations or modifications in traditional tribal systems of tenure necessary for the full development of the land;
- (3) the opening for cultivation and settlement of land at present not fully used;
- (4) the development and siting of industrial activities;
- (5) conditions of employment in industry, commerce, mining and plantation agriculture with special reference to social conditions and the growth of large urban populations; and
- (6) the social problems which arise from the growth of permanent urban and industrial populations:

and that Our Commission should examine and report on the above matters taking as a basis the general propositions embodied in Part VI of Sir Philip Mitchell's despatch to Our Secretary of State for the Colonies No. 193 of the 16th November, 1951:

and that the Members of Our Commission should hold themselves free to examine, and where necessary comment upon, policy in such related fields as, for example, education and public health which appear to them to have a bearing on the problems with which they are primarily concerned; in particular the extent to which existing technical training facilities are adequate to meet the requirements of extensive industrial development;

Our Commission should also consider probable trends of population in East Africa and make such recommendations as they consider appropriate on this subject in relation to the other problems involved:

and that in their deliberations Our Commission should take account of existing obligations incurred by treaty, agreement or formal declaration of policy in relation to the security of land reserved for the different races and groups in various parts of the Territories concerned:

Now know ye that We reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge and ability, have authorised and appointed and do by these Presents authorise and appoint you the said Sir Hugh Dow (Chairman), Sally Herbert Frankel, Arthur Gaitskell, Rowland Skeffington Hudson, Daniel Thomson Jack, Kidaha Makwaia and Frank Sykes to be Our Commissioners for the purpose of, and to make, such enquiry.

And We do hereby authorise and require you with all convenient despatch and by all lawful means to enter upon and to collect evidence respecting the subject matter of such enquiry, and to render a report and make recommendations in accordance with the terms of this Our Commission.

And We do hereby charge and command all whom it may concern that according to their respective powers and opportunities they be aiding to you in the execution of this Our Commission.

And, for the purpose of aiding you in your enquiries We hereby appoint our Trusty and Well Beloved John Henry Ingham, Esquire, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Commerce, Member of Our most distinguished Order of the British Empire, to be Senior Secretary to this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court of Saint James's this First day of January, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty Three, in the First Year of Our Reign.

OLIVER LYTTTELTON.

Royal Warrant

Dated 9th February, 1953

ELIZABETH II

ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Queen, Defender of the Faith: to Our Trusty and Well-Beloved Sir Frederick Seaford, Commander of Our most excellent Order of the British Empire, Greeting!

Know ye that We reposing great trust and confidence in your knowledge and ability do by these Presents appoint you the said Sir Frederick Seaford to be a Member of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into land and population problems in East Africa.

Given at Our Court of Saint James's this ninth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty Three, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

OLIVER LYTTTELTON.

NOTE. The United Kingdom share of the cost of the Royal Commission is estimated at approximately £30,700. The cost of printing and publishing this Report is estimated by the Stationery Office at £3,173 10s. 0d.

East Africa Royal Commission 1953—1955

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty

May it please Your Majesty.

Your Majesty's Warrants, dated 1st January, 1953, and 9th February, 1953, appointed us Commissioners with the following Terms of Reference:

'Having regard to the rapid rate of increase of the African population of East Africa and the congestion of population on the land in certain localities, to examine the measures necessary to be taken to achieve an improved standard of living, including the introduction of capital to enable peasant farming to develop and expand production; and to frame recommendations thereon with particular reference to:

(1) the economic development of the land already in occupation by the introduction of better farming methods;

(2) the adaptations or modifications in traditional tribal systems of tenure necessary for the full development of the land;

(3) the opening for cultivation and settlement of land at present not fully used;

(4) the development and siting of industrial activities;

(5) conditions of employment in industry, commerce, mining and plantation agriculture, with special reference to social conditions and the growth of large urban populations;

(6) the social problems which arise from the growth of permanent urban and industrial populations.

2. The Commission should examine and report on the above matters taking as a basis the general propositions embodied in Part VI of Sir Philip Mitchell's despatch to the Secretary of State No. 193 of 16th November, 1951.*

The Members of the Commission should hold themselves free to examine, and where necessary comment upon, policy in such related fields, as for example, education and public health, which appear to them to have a bearing on the problems with which they are primarily concerned, in particular the extent to which existing technical training facilities are adequate to meet the requirements of extensive industrial development. The Commission should also consider probable trends of population in East Africa and make such recommendations as they consider appropriate on this subject in relation to the other problems involved.

In their deliberations the Commission should take account of existing obligations incurred by treaty, agreement or formal declaration of policy in relation to the security of land reserved for the different races and groups in various parts of the Territories concerned.'

We now humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty the following Report.

* These propositions are embodied in paragraph 55 of Sir Philip Mitchell's despatch which is reproduced in chapter I of this Report.

Preface

Your Majesty's decision to appoint this Commission was announced, together with the name of the Chairman, in October, 1952, and the Warrant appointing us, with the exception of Sir Frederick Seaford, whose name was added by a further Warrant dated 9th February, 1953, was signed on the 1st January, 1953. Owing to the absence abroad of some of the members, the Commission was unable to meet until the 4th February, 1953, but this delay enabled the Chairman in England, and our Senior Secretary, who was then in Kenya, to set in train the collection of material and to make some preliminary study of the history and economic and social conditions in the three territories of East Africa and of the policies being pursued by their Governments.

The Commission first considered its plan of operations and decided that it would be necessary to make two fairly extended tours to East Africa. The object of the first tour was to see as much of the varying conditions in the country, and to make, both as a Commission and individually, informal contacts with as many people of all races and public bodies or other associations, as was possible in the time at our disposal. We also discussed our problems and theirs with the Governors of the three territories, and with the principal officers of government at headquarters and in the districts. A general invitation was issued to all who were interested to send to the Commission written memoranda on any subject included in the terms of reference, and some of our members and the secretarial staff were able to obtain much data and material from official records.

The Commission left London by air on 25th February, 1953, and assembled in Nairobi on the 26th and 27th February, and after a few days proceeded on tour. The details of our itinerary, which was a very strenuous one, are given in Appendix I. In order to cover more ground the Commission sometimes found it necessary to work in two sections. On this tour we devoted the greater part of our time to Kenya and more particularly to its problem areas, and then passed into Uganda, and finally into Tanganyika. The whole of March, April and May was spent on this tour, and we returned by air to England on the last day of May, 1953. Beyond the collection of material and the receipt of written memoranda, we did not attempt to take any formal evidence during this tour.

We returned to East Africa for our second tour on 15th October, 1953. The Commission met frequently in London during the interval, which was spent in the study of the material we had collected, and of the large number of written representations which were received in reply to our invitation. A list of the sources from which memoranda were obtained is given in Appendix II. We also took the opportunity of examining in London a number of officials and others who had special knowledge or experience of some of our problems. Our itinerary on the second tour was less strenuous since it was arranged largely to meet the convenience of the members of the public and the officials from whom we took evidence, and therefore involved stays of longer duration in the more accessible centres and towns of larger population. The names of those who submitted oral evidence are given in Appendix III. We however took advantage of the opportunity to visit various places which we had been forced to omit on our first tour, or which our

study of the material already before us indicated that we ought to see. On this occasion we visited the territories in a different order. For climatic reasons our first visits were paid to Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam, and we then went to various centres in Tanganyika and to Uganda, and completed our tour in Kenya. In our first tour we had thought it best to start with Kenya, which appeared to present the most serious problems and was in a disturbed state owing to the emergency, and in our second tour we left Kenya to the last, partly in the hope, which was not altogether fulfilled, that more settled conditions would prevail, but principally because Nairobi was a centre where the officers and records of the High Commission were available for examination, in addition to those of the territorial Government.

We give in appendices the details of our itineraries, a list of the persons and associations or public bodies from whom oral evidence was taken, and the sources of the documents submitted to us. We also feel that we should make some acknowledgment of the help we received in the course of informal talks with large numbers of people of all classes whom we met in the course of our travels. Many of these were humble folk who had no idea that they were being interrogated by members of a Royal Commission, but were none the less able to throw some light on the human problems with which we were concerned, and there is scriptural authority for the belief that things hidden from the wise and prudent are sometimes revealed unto babes.

A few words are necessary as to the way in which our oral evidence was recorded. Throughout, we have thought it necessary to encourage witnesses to speak freely, which has meant in the case of officials that they should not feel inhibited from criticizing governmental or departmental policies, and in the case of non-officials, considering the disturbed state of part of the country, that they should not be deterred by the fear of reprisals or victimization from speaking whatever was in their minds. During our preliminary tour, we laid stress on the informal nature of our enquiries; we made no verbatim record, and explained that the notes we took were for our own information only, by way of an aide-memoire. At the same time we made it clear that non-official witnesses were at liberty to publish, if they so desired, any written memoranda which they submitted to us.

The same principles were applied to the taking of more formal oral evidence on our second tour and again we found it desirable to give an assurance that this was not for publication. But on this occasion a verbatim record was taken of much of the evidence. Most of the official evidence was, in order to cover more ground in the time at our disposal, taken by sub-committees of the Commission, and it was generally found sufficient to take notes of the more important points which were made. Non-official evidence was generally recorded verbatim, and witnesses were furnished with a copy of it if they so desired, and they were informed that they were at liberty to publish any written memoranda submitted by them if they wished to do so.

It follows from this that our sessions were not open to the press, and from the lack of any hostile comment on this it may be inferred that the necessity for this was generally appreciated. It also follows that our recorded oral evidence is not for publication, and, indeed, its sheer bulk and unequal value would in any case have rendered such a course inappropriate, and would have caused much delay in the presentation of our Report. We have, however, considered ourselves at liberty to quote freely, whether in the text of the Report or in appendices, from the official memoranda which were prepared for us.

One particular difficulty arose in the case of persons who were detained in Kenya under the present emergency. We thought it desirable that such *détenus* should not be prevented from expressing their views to us on the matters contained in our terms of reference, and with the approval of the Kenya Government, we were able to arrange that they should be given facilities to prepare and submit written representations to us. A number of such representations were in fact submitted. Many of these representations dealt, as did those from other Africans, with individual grievances of which we could not take cognizance, and, where they treated of more general matters, did not differ materially from those we received from other African sources. We were not concerned with current political issues, but with the deep-rooted economic and social issues which underlie them, and in the consideration of these we have not been embarrassed by reluctance on the part of any section of the public to express their views.

Our task has been a laborious one, and might well have taxed our full energies for longer than the two years which we have spent over it. But we have not been dealing with a static state of society, and we have felt that any guidance we could give as to the future direction of its development should be given with as little delay as possible.

We have been fortunate in the amount of time which all members of the Commission have been able to devote to the work. Our tours in East Africa covered some seven months during which the work of the Commission occupied all of us to the exclusion of other matters, and the Commission, or sub-committees of it, have met on a hundred and fifty days in London.

Apart from this, a great part of our time and energies has been taken up by the study of the large amount of material which was collected by us or in other ways made available, and by the preparation of this Report. Our thanks are jointly and severally due to the Governments, academic bodies and other employers who, recognizing the importance of the task which it has pleased Your Majesty to assign to us, have made it possible for us to give it the sustained attention without which it could not have been brought to completion.

PART I

Introductory

CHAPTER I

Interpretation of the Terms of Reference

1. We have interpreted our terms of reference very broadly on an injunction to examine all possible measures to achieve improved standards of living, having regard to possible increases in the population and to the present congestion of African population in certain areas. To this end we have found it necessary to extend our enquiries over a somewhat wider field than that strictly covered by the wording of our terms of reference. It has been necessary to make some study of the historical background to the problem, to consider the results, often unintended, of past legislative and administrative measures, and to seek to understand how East Africa's modern environment has been brought about. We have, indeed, made as careful a study as we could of the possibilities of advancing the material and social welfare of the people, and of the factors by which this has been limited or conditioned, whether or not these were specifically referred to in our terms of reference.

2. What Sir Philip Mitchell describes as these 'complex and recalcitrant problems' are briefly indicated in our terms of reference, and are set forth in more detail in paragraph 55 of his despatch No. 193 of 16th November, 1951, which for convenience of reference we print as follows:

'I recognise that I have ranged over so wide a field in this despatch that it may appear difficult to bring the matters to be referred to a Royal Commission for investigation within terms of reference sufficiently precise and coherent. But I believe that that is a difficulty which is more apparent than real, provided certain general propositions can be made and accepted, and care is taken to avoid the introduction of excessive detail. I suggest that these general propositions might be stated in the following terms:

"(a) Small-scale family cultivation of land under tribal conditions of tenure and according to traditional African methods is unable, except in specially favourable conditions in certain relatively limited areas, to do more than provide a low standard of living, little above bare subsistence and then only in the absence of drought, flood or locusts; and cannot continue without destroying the land unless it takes the form of shifting cultivation.

(b) Due to the rapid but at present not exactly known rate of increase of parts of the African population, there is acute local congestion on the land and excessive pressure of people and livestock in some districts in all the Territories. It is, therefore, necessary as a first step to examine how best to relieve this situation, within the limits of what is financially practicable and agriculturally desirable, by agricultural resettlement.

(c) There are throughout the region vast areas of land at present unused or very inadequately used, for a variety of reasons, including in some cases the simple reason that there are no, or not enough, people to occupy them; or tribes unable to use the land may still claim it to the exclusion of others. Since no long-range purpose would be served by measures to enable land of this type to be occupied by uncapitalized peasants on traditional kinds of tenure and use, it is necessary to study the methods of settlement or resettlement which may be expected to succeed. Examples, particularly of methods which have not succeeded, are common and should be studied.

(d) There is already occurring in most congested areas a process of enclosure and purchase of land by the more prosperous Africans, and this process seems likely to increase in speed and extent as economic replaces

subsistence agriculture. It is inevitable that tribal systems of tenure should be profoundly modified under the combined impact of cash farming and pressure of population, with both of which it is ill-designed to cope. The problem presented, therefore, is the extent to which Government should endeavour to control, divert or assist this process of agrarian change, as part of their inescapable responsibility for seeing that land is not reduced to desert as a result of over-population by man and his stock.

(e) Existing developments in industry, plantation agriculture, mining, transportation and afforestation have created special problems, including the growth of large, and in some cases excessively large, urban populations, and the need for housing, public health services and social security, especially provision for old age in the case of those who have severed their connexion with the land. The speed of these developments has recently been accelerated to a point where very large increases in labour in employment must soon be expected, both skilled and unskilled. Employers may be assumed to be willing to offer wages, housing and food and other terms of employment sufficient to attract the necessary labour but cannot be expected to be either able or willing to take full responsibility for the social and economic problems which must arise.

(f) If the African populations of the Territories are to enjoy a fair share of the benefits obtainable by these developments and employers are to be able to obtain locally the quality of labour they require, especially skilled labour in adequate numbers, provision must be made in the education system for training in the trades and professions most urgently needed. Existing and projected institutions must therefore be examined, and their location and curricula studied, so as to ensure a proper relation between the education available or planned and the needs of the Territories as development gathers momentum.

(g) The remuneration of labour, skilled and unskilled, whether expressed in cash, housing, health services, education or pensions and other social security measures, must be earned by the productive enterprises, agricultural, industrial, mineral, transport, etc., of the region. The cost may be met directly by the labourer out of his wages, by the employer (e.g. by housing, factory clinics or canteens, etc.), or by Central or Local Government authorities from revenue derived from taxes or rates. It is of great importance to examine this aspect of the problem and, if possible, to define some broad general lines of policy and responsibility in the matter.

(h) While it must rest with those who propose to establish new enterprises to select the location best suited to their purpose within certain broad general limits, Governments have a responsibility for the development of new centres of dense population, for regulating the growth of towns within such limits as economic, physical (e.g. land or water) or social conditions may require, and for studying the relation of these factors to each other and the weight to be assigned to each in planning development."

3. We have dealt with all these problems, but our method of approach has involved taking them in a different order. We have had to deal with a great mass of refractory and overlapping material, and our Report is inevitably a long one. Owing to the complicated nature of many of the issues involved, and their interaction upon each other, the arrangement of our Report in logical order, while at the same time avoiding too much repetition and too many cross references, has been a task of great difficulty. It is only by a fairly full description of present day conditions that it has been possible to throw into relief the main problems on which our attention has been focussed.

4. After this brief indication of our general approach, it is necessary to state more specifically how we have interpreted the injunction in our terms of reference 'to take account of existing obligations incurred by treaty, agreement, or formal declaration of policy in relation to the security of land reserved for different races and groups in various parts of the Territories concerned'.

5. These land reservations, using the term in its broadest sense, are some of the most important factors influencing the economic life of East Africa today, and we could hardly have pursued our enquiries at all without 'taking account of' the various obligations which have been incurred in respect of them. By some of those in whose favour the reservations have been made, it has been argued that they should only be taken account of by being regarded as sacrosanct, and that the Commission was debarred from making any recommendation in respect of them. On the other hand, a very large number of the witnesses examined would have regarded the Commission's work as entirely useless if no attempt were made to bring the results of these various undertakings under fresh examination. The truth is that each of these reservations has a reverse side, and while they may be regarded, wrongly as we believe, as the sheet anchor of their security by some of those whom they were intended to benefit, they may also be felt as a complete bar to the progress of their neighbours. There are few things more irksome than a measure of protection which is no longer needed, and in some cases obstacles erected for defence now operate only as bars to progress. The late Lord Darling* has pointed out that the essence of private property lies not in being able to say 'This is mine' but in being able to say 'This is not yours', and it is the negative aspect of these reservations, which in some instances has kept land for the future use of those who do not at present need it, as against others who feel circumscribed and are clamorous for new outlets, that has been most prominently brought before us.

6. Again it is clear that a somewhat different degree of sanctity attaches to formal treaties and agreements concluded between government and other parties, and to those declarations which are merely *ex parte* pronouncements of the policy of governments. In the former case it would be unjust as well as impolitic to abrogate these by one-sided action, but it might yet well be to the advantage of both parties to modify them by mutual agreement. In the case of declarations of policy, one has to bear in mind that in Africa these are regarded as pronouncements of the British Government, and not merely as declarations of a particular British Government. Great caution must therefore be exercised in changing policy to meet new and unforeseen circumstances. But bearing this caution in mind, there would appear to be no valid reason why a formal declaration of policy should not in the future be abrogated or modified, as has been the practice in the past, when government considers that, owing to unrealized hopes or changed circumstances, such action is desirable in the public interest. The practical administrator will, of course, have in mind the necessity of mobilizing public opinion in favour of such changes before they can be carried out. The Commission has therefore viewed this injunction in relation to its main objective of improving the standards of living, and where the attainment of this objective is seriously hampered or retarded by the existence of, or by the particular form of, a treaty, agreement or formal declaration of policy, it has been necessary to point out what seem to us to be the probable or inevitable results of a refusal or neglect to modify them. And where changes appear to be necessary, it has been our duty to give advice as to the changes, and sometimes as to the administrative measures by which they can best be carried out. But we are not required to advise on constitutional questions, and we can only proceed on the assumption that East Africa will continue to have stable governments in which such orderly constitutional developments will take place as will keep them progressively fitted for the changing tasks which they will have to undertake.

* Lord Darling, *Scintillae Juris*, Stevens and Haynes, 1914. p. 3.

PART II
Basic Problems

CHAPTER 2

*The Background Picture**A. Introduction*

1. In order that our assessment of the physical and human resources of East Africa and our analysis of social and economic problems may be examined in perspective it is necessary to present, at the outset, a brief general picture of the territories with which we are concerned.

We have not considered it to be part of our task to make a comprehensive economic survey of East Africa. Such a survey has been published recently by the Colonial Office.* Our endeavour has been to direct attention to the more important aspects of the physical and human resources of the territories, to outline policies which we consider germane to our enquiry and, in so far as facts in isolation have little meaning, to offer some historical explanation of current circumstances.

2. To this end, we have sketched in the background first by describing the geographical and physical features which determine land use. Next we have dealt with the African people, their number and their origins, their principal characteristics and the way in which they derive their livelihood. This we have followed by a brief history of the impact on the African of other races and of British and German rule. We have then outlined what we believe to be some of the main facts and policies which have changed the way in which the African lives and the nature of the changes, and finally we have described broadly the main features of the territories' economies. Whenever it has been possible to treat our subject on an overall East African basis we have done so, but there are particular subjects, such as the impact on the African of other races which, owing to the different histories of the three territories, have necessitated separate treatment.

It has been our deliberate intention throughout this part of our Report to focus attention on those factors, both human and material, which we consider to be of major importance for the purposes of our enquiry.

B. Geographical and Physical Features

3. The three East African territories of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda form a compact block covering 642,728 square miles of land and 38,901 square miles of water lying between the great lakes of central Africa and the Indian Ocean. This block, which extends from latitude 4° 45' north to 11° 50' south, is about the size of Europe west of the Oder. Tanganyika comprises a little more than half of the total land area, Kenya a little more than a third and Uganda rather less than a sixth.

Almost every variation of physical feature is to be found, from the permanent snows of Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya to the hot humid

* *An Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories, 1951*. Vol. II. H.M.S.O. 1954. Colonial No. 281-2.

coastal belt, and from the arid deserts of Kenya's Northern Province to the lush parklands of the high plateau.

4. Climates vary greatly in different parts of Kenya and Tanganyika. They range from those of the tropical coastal belt which has mean temperatures of over 80°F, high humidity and a narrow temperature range, to those of the temperate climate of the highlands, where mean temperatures vary between 70°F and 50°F, with daily ranges of as much as 30°F. Throughout Uganda, where climatic variations are much less marked, mean temperatures are for the most part between 75°F and 70°F, and daily ranges nowhere exceed 20°F.

5. There are great annual rainfall variations throughout the region, from about 5 inches in parts of Kenya's Northern Province to about 50 inches in the coastal belt and the Lake Victoria basin. In some of the mountainous areas precipitation is as much as 100 inches per annum. In addition to this considerable range of annual total rainfall other important considerations are that in much of Kenya and Uganda and in part of Tanganyika the rainfall occurs in two distinct seasons each year, in some areas the whole annual fall is deposited in too short a period for many kinds of crops to mature, and yet other areas often receive their annual quota of rain in the form of a few storms of great intensity. As an indication of its effects on agriculture potential, rainfall is best expressed in terms of reliability and attention is directed to maps 2, 3 and 4 which accompany this Report. A full description of the purposes served by these maps is included in section B of chapter 20.

6. For the purpose of outlining the physical features of the East African region, it is convenient to treat the area in four main divisions: the coastal belt, the coast hinterland plain rising to about 2,000 feet, the main East African plateau and the Lake Victoria depression.

THE COASTAL BELT

7. The coastal belt comprises a strip of land varying in width from about 40 miles to 10 miles, and extending from the Somaliland border in the north to the borders of Portuguese East Africa in the south. It is an area of fairly high rainfall, dependent upon the south-east and north-east monsoons which, owing to their deflection from the shore somewhat north of Mombasa, result in a tailing off of rainfall towards the Somaliland border. There is also less rain south of the Rufiji River. In the central part of the coastal belt Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam with annual rainfalls of 47 inches and 45 inches respectively, are fairly typical of the coastal region as a whole. There are considerable soil variations to be found ranging from the fertile alluvial soils of the river deltas to extensive infertile patches of coral shag, and, as is the case throughout all the regions, not enough is known either of their deficiencies or of their potentialities.

THE COAST HINTERLAND

8. Behind the coastal belt lies an extensive plain which assumes an hour-glass shape with the northern bulge covering most of the Northern Province of Kenya and the southern bulge covering the whole of the Southern Province of Tanganyika. The neck narrows to a strip about 100 miles wide inland from Tanga.

Rainfall in the area varies between about 5 inches and 30 inches a year and the local name of 'Nyika' which is given to this country, and which in Swahili means 'wilderness', is in itself a graphic indication of the general nature of the terrain and vegetation.

The rainfall is lowest in the north where desert or semi-desert conditions prevail and the nomadic inhabitants eke out a precarious existence by

following with their flocks and herds the scanty surface water supplies and grazing. The amount of vegetation increases with the rise in rainfall towards the south, and map 2 clearly shows that, whereas all of the Kenya and some of the northern Tanganyika part of this area can expect less than 20 inches of rain at least one year in three, the area which lies in the southern part of Tanganyika can with certainty rely on a rainfall of more than 20 inches. Map 3 indicates, however, that within this southern area there is considerable variation of rainfall and that over much of it there is a high probability that the fall will be less than 30 inches.

The soils are for the most part of a light, easily exhausted and erodable nature, interspersed with patches of black, heavy clays. Concentrations of African cultivators are to be found on the alluvial soils on the banks of the rivers, such as the Tana, the Galana and the Rufiji, but for the most part the area contains scattered settlements living on a bare subsistence basis by cultivating small patches of the more fertile soils and herding sheep and goats in the scrub bush that characterizes much of the region.

The factors which limit a more extensive use of this plain for ranching purposes are the lack of water for men and livestock and the presence of tsetse fly, whose elimination by bush clearing requires careful examination of the capital cost in relation to the return from land which, when cleared, may have such a low livestock carrying capacity that it could never become an economic ranching proposition.

The area is broken in places by high outcrops and ranges of hills which are the eastward isolated bastions of the inland plateau. Some of these hilly outcrops, one of the more notable examples being the Teita Hills in Kenya, enjoy the advantage of higher rainfall, and with their fertile volcanic soils support dense populations of African cultivators.

THE PLATEAU

9. To the west the plain rises gradually towards the true East African plateau, which itself constitutes part of the tableland extending from Ethiopia to the Cape Province.

This great East African plateau, which lies for the most part between altitudes of 4,000 feet and 10,000 feet, is split in a striking manner by the two arms of the Rift Valley which form part of the system of fissures extending across Africa from the Red Sea to the Portuguese East African coast north of Beira.

The eastern arm of the Rift runs in a southerly direction from Lake Rudolph to Lake Nyasa and in it are situated Lakes Baringo, Hannington, Nakuru, Elmenteita, Naivasha, Natron and Eyasi. The western arm of the Rift runs southward from Lake Albert and is marked by Lakes George, Edward, Kivu (in Belgian territory), Tanganyika and Rukwa. These two fault-lines converge on Lake Nyasa, whence the Rift follows the Shire River to the Zambesi and thence to the sea.

The Rift Valleys, which are flanked by escarpment walls rising as high as 3,000 feet in places, form in effect two great converging troughs scored across the highlands. The northern and southern portions of the Eastern Rift consist of dry, infertile grasslands or scrub, with a low and unreliable rainfall. That part which traverses the highlands of Kenya, however, contains some excellent ranching land in places where the difficulties of providing water can be overcome, and there are small areas enjoying higher rainfall which sustain successful arable farming. The width of the Valley varies between about 60 miles and 10 miles, and the altitude of its floor ranges from 4,000 feet to 6,000 feet.

The floor of the Western Rift is at a much lower altitude, Lake Edward being only 3,000 feet and Nimule a bare 2,000 feet above sea level. The Valley is relatively dry and hot and the soil is, for the most part, infertile.

10. Within the area of the highlands between the Rifts is a depression containing Lake Victoria and the drainage system of the Nile. This depression which includes a large part of Uganda, much of the Nyanza districts of Kenya and part of the Lake Province of Tanganyika, forms a separate physiological sub-division within the confines of the plateau.

Most of the rivers of East Africa rise in the highland region of the plateau. They drain ultimately either to the Mediterranean via the Nile, to the Indian Ocean, or to the Atlantic via the Congo. There is also some inland drainage towards the basins of the Rift Valley lakes, and some of these rivers, such as Kenya's Uaso-Nyiro, flowing through the drier areas of porous soils, fail to reach the sea.

11. The East African plateau is an area of great ecological variety, for the considerable diversity of height is reflected in wide ranges of rainfall and temperature. The tableland country of Laikipia, Uasin Gishu, Masailand and central Tanganyika is of a savannah type. At its best this is tropical parkland; at its poorest it is dry grassland, thornbush or scrub.

12. The agricultural use to which land in this region is put by Africans, ranges from intensive peasant mixed farming, as practised by the Kikuyu, to the communal grazing of stock by nomadic herdsmen such as the Masai.

The rainfall may vary from as much as 100 inches per annum in part of the highlands to 10 inches or less in parts of the Masai plains and in central Tanganyika. Even the mountainous or highland areas are not of uniformly high fertility and are subject to considerable variations of rainfall, and it has been estimated* that only about half of the area of the Kenya Highlands was suitable for arable farming.

13. The plateau region is broken by mountain masses, the largest of which covers the Kenya Highlands and some of the adjoining districts. In Tanganyika, the main mountain areas are Mounts Kilimanjaro and Meru, the Usambara, Pare and Uluguru ranges and the massif at the head of Lake Nyasa which includes the Livingstone Mountains. Mount Elgon stands on the borders of Kenya and Uganda, while in Uganda itself the Ruwenzori range which flanks the Western Rift and the Kigezi highlands lie along the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi border.

A large part of these mountainous areas was at one time covered with forest, and it is in such places of deep fertile soil and high reliable rainfall that there is the greatest concentration of agricultural peasants. These are the main problem areas, to which our attention is particularly directed by reason both of their present deterioration and of their productive potential.

In all three territories much of the highest mountain area is protected forest reserve or, in the case of the Aberdares and Mount Kenya regions, has been declared to be National Parks.

THE LAKE VICTORIA DEPRESSION

14. The area covered by the Lake Victoria depression and the drainage area of the Nile is in general one of high reliable rainfall to the north, north-west and north-east of the Lake, with a somewhat lower rainfall to the south, south-east and south-west.

* L. G. Troup, *Inquiry into the General Economy of Farming in the Highlands having regard to the Capital Invested and Long- and Short-term Financial Commitments whether Secured or Unsecured: excluding Farming Enterprises solely concerned with the Production of Sisal, Wattle, Tea and Coffee.* Government Printer, Nairobi, 1953.

Most of the Nyanza Province of Kenya and the whole of Uganda, with the exception of the Karamoja District and an area covering part of the Masaka and Ankole Districts, has a reliable annual rainfall of over 30 inches. The drier parts of the Masaka and Ankole Districts are short-grass country studded with thorn trees and, like parts of Karamoja, suitable for extensive ranching.

In the north of Uganda, the country is gentle rolling savannah interspersed with rivers and wide swamps, while in the south the swamps are separated by flat-topped hills. Much of the southern and eastern part of Uganda is elephant-grass country, with the exception of some considerable forests, such as the Mabira Forest of southern Mengo, which covers 120 square miles.

OTHER IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE ENVIRONMENT

15. A description of the East African environment, however brief, would not be complete without reference to the limitations of ground and surface water supplies, the presence of the tsetse fly in enormous tracts of the territories and the particular problem of communications. All these factors are discussed in detail later in the Report, and we will say no more here than that the whole region is singularly poorly served with permanent rivers, that geological circumstances make boring for water an expensive and uncertain operation over a large part of the area, and that a high evaporation rate and porous soils present particular problems of surface water conservation; the tsetse fly affects the inhabitation by either man or domestic animals of almost two-thirds of the territories of Tanganyika and Uganda and about a tenth of Kenya; and the scattered location of areas of high agricultural potential and of discovered mineral deposits makes communications extensive and costly.

SUMMARY

16. This, then, is the broad physical environment which, with the application of scientific knowledge and techniques, determines the agricultural productivity of East Africa, and the standard of living of its people on the land.

It is a varied and on the whole a harsh environment. We have drawn attention to the great importance of rainfall, both as regards quantity and reliability, which excludes from intensive agricultural use about half of the whole region, and we have referred briefly to the extent of other factors restricting development.

This discouraging background brings into relief the overriding importance of proper use being made of the limited areas of high productivity. Much of our Report is concerned with this matter, for in the absence of mineral and industrial resources of magnitude we believe that it transcends in importance all other problems in East Africa.

C. The People

NUMBERS

17. The total population of all the races inhabiting East Africa at the date of the last census in 1948 was 17,842,163, of whom 98.5 per cent were Africans. The distribution in the three territories and the racial and age groups are shown in Appendix IV.

18. The African populations of the three territories were as follows: Tanganyika, 7,407,517, Kenya, 5,251,120 and Uganda, 4,917,555. The Africans do not form a homogeneous group but are divided into many different tribes. Appendix V taken from the 1948 census shows broadly the tribal groups and gives their numerical strength. There is, however, a considerably greater actual diversity of tribes than that shown in the appendix. In Kenya the Kikuyu with a population of just over 1,000,000, form the largest single tribal group, and together with the kindred Embu and Meru constitute a third of the population of the Colony. In Tanganyika the largest single tribal group is the Sukuma with 888,800 people. In Uganda the Ganda tribal group with 836,091 people is nearly twice as large as any other single group.

In 1948 over 64,000 Africans were recorded as living in Nairobi, 43,000 in Mombasa and 51,000 in Dar-es-Salaam, and besides these main urban centres, Nakuru, Tanga, Tabora and Kampala all had African populations of over 10,000.

19. The Europeans in East Africa still form a numerically small racial group. Of the 43,756 recorded in 1948 (representing 0.25 per cent of the total population), 29,660 were in Kenya, about a third being in Nairobi; 10,648 were in Tanganyika; and 3,448 were in Uganda. Of the Kenya Europeans 24.7 per cent were born in the Colony.

20. The 1948 East African total of non-Africans other than Europeans was 222,215 (1.25 per cent of the total population), of which 168,543 were in the group designated in the census as Indians but which in fact includes Pakistanis. There were 36,723 Arabs and 10,613 Goans. Of the Indian total, 90,528 were in Kenya, 44,248 in Tanganyika and 33,767 in Uganda. Nearly all were living in the towns and trading centres.

ORIGINS AND PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS

21. The most generally accepted theory is that the African people of East Africa, in common with those of Central and South Africa, have derived over a period of many thousands of years from three main stocks, the aboriginal, the negroid and the hamitic. The yellow-skinned aboriginal people, who lived by hunting and gathering of natural foods, have now almost ceased to exist in any form in East Africa, although they are perhaps represented by the 'click-speaking' Sandawe and Kindiga of north-central Tanganyika, by the Dorobo of Kenya and by the Twa of Uganda on the edge of the Congo forest.

It is believed that the first invasion of the east and central African region was by a negroid race, thought to have originated in western Asia. This was followed after many millenia by waves of conquering proto-Hamites, light-coloured or non-Negroid people of Caucasian origin, who mixed with the negroid people and produced by a process of inter-marriage that large group of people now identified linguistically as Bantu.

At a comparatively recent date the process of Hamitic invasions was repeated in a second series of intrusions from the north-east by the Hamites proper. These tribes of nomadic cattlemen pushed progressively south and south-west from the coasts of the Red Sea and, to a varying degree, became largely absorbed by the Bantu as in Buganda, or remained aloof and in a position of supremacy, as in the case of the Hima overlords in some of the other districts of what is now the Uganda Protectorate.

A second wave of intrusion took place from the southern Sudan by tribes of already Hamiticized negroes who spoke a Sudanic tongue, and who are

commonly referred to as Nilotics. They are represented by a considerable group of tribes in northern Uganda and by the Luo of Kenya and northern Tanganyika.

The final great movement of tribes in the region has taken place as recently as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and consisted of the steady push southwards of the half-Hamitic Masai until, at the time of the advent of the European, they had reached their present domicile on the great plains of southern Kenya and northern Tanganyika, while at much the same time the Ngoni, an offshoot of Chaka's Zulus, had returned northwards almost as far as Lake Victoria and, after retracing their steps to some extent, had eventually settled in south-west Tanganyika, the eastern part of Northern Rhodesia and northern Nyasaland.

22. Centuries of intermarriage and conquest have prevented the isolation of racial types and have resulted in the great diversity of the present African population of East Africa. It is true that the main groups of Bantu, half-Hamites, Nilotics and pure Hamites display general distinguishable characteristics, customs and organization; but just as there are to be found tribes comprised of mixtures of these groups in varying degree so variations in their ways of living are apparent.

23. The Africans of Tanganyika are for the most part Bantu with the exception of an hamitic people in Mbulu District, the tribes influenced by the Hamites found in the districts west of Lake Victoria and to a lesser extent in Sukumaland, the half-Hamitic Masai, a small number of Nilotic Luo in the extreme north and a few aboriginal groups in the centre of the Territory.

Generally speaking, in Uganda the Bantu inhabit that part of the country which lies south of a line drawn from Mount Elgon through Lake Kyoga to Lake Albert; Nilotics inhabit the north and north-western part of the Protectorate; and a Nilotic-Hamite mixture is to be found in the east and north-east.

In Kenya the groups do not fall very conveniently, for descriptive purposes, into general geographical regions. Half-Hamites are represented in the north-western part of the territory by such people as the Suk and the Turkana, while they appear again in the Masai of the south and the Nandi and Kipsigis of the centre of the country. The main Bantu group is to be found in the Kikuyu districts and the districts of Machakos and Kitui, but they also occur in proximity to the Nilotic Luo of the Nyanza Province. Pure Hamites are represented by the Somali, the Galla, and other tribes of the Northern Province.

24. Three important facts emerge from an examination of the origins of the Africans of present day East Africa. First, the invasions by the various groups took the form of a succession of waves over a great period of time and the peoples composing the groups had themselves been subject to racial admixture and changes in the land of their origin. Secondly, the degree of intermixture of these groups, within the areas of their new domicile, varies considerably, as does the extent to which they have absorbed each others' characteristics. For example, within Buganda a fusion of the agricultural Bantu with the pastoral Hamites has taken place, while in other areas the Hamitic overlords, as represented by the Hima, have retained their separate identity, as in Ankole, where they have intermingled little with the Iru peasant cultivators. Thirdly, these major migrations were still proceeding in the East African region at the time of the advent of the European on the scene and the introduction of British administration had the effect of stabilizing at a fixed point in history a situation which, until then, had been fluid. The

people within established territorial, district and, in some cases, tribal boundaries, had to assume a static existence adjusted to the particular environment found in the area allocated to them when boundaries became fixed. The opening up of new horizons by conquest and mass migration ceased and henceforth a new life in a changed environment could only be found by the individual leaving his traditional community.

25. The majority of the Bantu tribes combined agriculture with the keeping of livestock, and it was only where the presence of tsetse fly excluded domestic animals or where Bantu people were circumscribed by tribes of half-Hamitic origin, who deprived them of their natural grazing ground and their stock, that they turned solely to a shifting arable agriculture which involved the periodic movement of homesteads or villages.

The half-Hamites are predominantly pastoralists and such people as the Masai and the Turkana are still nomadic herdsmen. Within the tribal group, the livestock is owned by individuals but rights in grazing land are regarded as common to the whole community, as are rights in water supplies and salt licks. In the harsh environment of East Africa it was inevitable that conflict should arise between neighbouring pastoral tribes competing for the natural resources necessary for the existence of their herds. It is not therefore surprising that the basis of their social organization was of a military nature in which an age group of young men provided the standing army of the tribe. Where these half-Hamitic people were occupying relatively fertile areas at the time of the introduction of British administration and where they found that the movement of their flocks and herds into areas occupied by other tribes became restricted, they began to turn to the cultivation of the land. Such a transition has taken place to a marked degree in the case of the Kipsigis, and is progressing today among the Nandi. The Nilotics were originally herdsmen, but with their migration from the Sudan into more favoured environs they took to arable agriculture in addition to the keeping of cattle. Although originally cattlemen, they have not preserved the social distinction attaching to cattle-keeping which is an important characteristic of the half-Hamitic tribes.

Finally, the Hamites of the Northern Province of Kenya are a people of Caucasian type. Their social organization is complex and they are usually Mohammedans. They lead an abstemious and difficult life which is dictated by the harsh conditions under which they carry on their nomadic existence.

26. While we received some evidence that members of a particular ethnic group were more easily assimilable into tribes within that group than was the case with outsiders, no distinct form of nationalism has developed along the lines of the ethnological divisions which we have described. For the most part, allegiances are to the family, the clan and the local tribe. Any wider allegiances have developed under the stimuli of economic forces and political leadership rather than as a result of any correspondence of blood or cultural affinity. This fact was demonstrated to us in much of the African evidence which we received by a parochial attitude, particularly in matters concerning the land. It was constantly brought to our notice how the vested interest of village clans or tribal authorities vitiated attempted improvement in land usage, how local sub-tribal or tribal boundaries have become crystallized in such a manner as to exclude the landless of neighbouring communities, and how the tribal authorities have resisted innovations through a real fear of the breakdown of those community interests in the land which had, in the past, been essential for the survival of the group.

27. In general, at the advent of the European, the African was using the land either as a cultivator practising shifting cultivation with individual rights extending only to the usufruct, or as a pastoralist sharing grazing and water

supplies on a community basis and practising in a very general way an extensive system of pasture management alternating between dry season and wet season grazing. For both the pastoralist and the cultivator life was precarious. The aim was subsistence from year to year and survival depended on a community approach to the physical and human hazards encountered. This community system, evolved to give security, deliberately stifled individual initiative, and even today examples are found where attempts on the part of the individual to lift himself above his neighbours and to make himself more economically secure are resisted by the community as a whole.

A balance between man and his physical environment, enabling the bare survival of the former and preventing serious deterioration of the latter, was maintained by a series of epidemics affecting both men and animals, by periodic famine and by inter-tribal raids and wars.

28. The various forms of African society evolved to meet human needs within the environment which we have described. Membership of the integrated groups which have emerged confers upon the individual certain privileges and at the same time subjects him to a corresponding series of obligations. The mere existence of the individual hinges upon his relationship to the whole community and in every activity the importance of the community tie is manifest; for example, one finds not only the more obvious social relationships such as the age group, the totemistic family tie and the religio-magical secret society, but also cultivation groups, eating groups and many others. So long as the individual remains within such a society and fulfils his obligations to it he is assured of its protection and its assistance in time of need. Furthermore, in this closely integrated relationship between members of a traditional group the customary systems of land tenure and land use play a major part. Today the picture presented is one of a dis-integrating African society and of land tenure and land use customs changing in varying degree; and since the problems arising out of changing conditions on the land and the necessity for further change form the subject matter of Part V of our Report, we leave the description of the land tenures and agriculture of the people to that part.

D. Historical Summary of the Impact of other Races and of British and German Rule on the African

EARLY IMPACTS

29. External contacts with East Africa were made along the coast over a long period. The Greeks visited the coasts and there exist several descriptions in Greek of the geography of East Africa. It is also known that traders from Arabia, Persia and India had visited the East African coast in pre-Christian times. Later, the Arabs established settlements which survived over some hundreds of years, and an Indian trading community became entrenched on the coast well before the advent of the British and the Germans.

A slender Portuguese connection with the East African coast, which had begun when Vasco da Gama landed at Malindi in 1498 in the course of his voyage to India, was severed when they were expelled in 1729 by the Arabs of Oman, who had been appealed to by their kinsmen in East Africa. The expulsion of the Portuguese was followed by a period of strife between the overlordship of the Imam of Oman and the independent and mutually hostile rulers of the coastal settlements. This struggle was only resolved in the 1830's

when Sayyed Said, determined to enforce his rights over his African possessions, subdued the ruling Mazrui family of Mombasa and transferred his own residence from Muscat to Zanzibar. Active domination by the Arabs was confined to the coastal belt of what is now Tanganyika and Kenya, and their activities inland consisted of the establishment of caravan routes to secure trade in ivory and slaves. The Omani Sultans of Zanzibar claimed, however, a vague suzerainty over the whole of what is now Tanganyika as far as the great lakes of central Africa.

THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPEAN

30. British interests find their origins in the enterprise of the great explorers, traders and industrialists, missionaries and philanthropists in the second half of the nineteenth century. The early objectives in extending British interests in the region were in line with those generally applicable to Africa at the time, namely the suppression of the slave trade, the conversion of the heathen to Christianity and the development of trade and commerce.

It was inevitable that the activities of the missionaries and early traders should lead to the assumption by them of obligations to the indigenous people, obligations which it became increasingly difficult for philanthropic and commercial organizations to sustain and which the British Governments of the day were reluctant to accept. Eventually, however, when Great Britain assumed the administration of the territories which are now Kenya and Uganda, and later and in different circumstances Tanganyika, there was brought to bear on the people of the region the greatest single outside influence for good in the form of a rule of law based on principles of British justice.

UGANDA

31. The Arabs from the coast, carrying on their business of the slave trade, had established contact with the native kingdoms in the region north of Lake Victoria some time before Speke, the first European to enter this region, visited the Kabaka of Buganda in 1862. At the time of Speke's visit the former African empire known as Kitara, which had extended from Busoga in the east to Bunyoro in the north and Ankole in the south, had become divided into the two mutually antagonistic kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda. Speke described what he found as a highly organized African state with an advanced culture and the observance of an almost Byzantine formality in court procedures. He clearly had no illusions, however, about its basis, which was a cruel and arbitrary despotism.

After Speke's visit European contact was next established by Samuel Baker in 1869, who, in his post as Governor General of the Egyptian province of Equatoria, attempted to destroy the slave trade and to administer northern Uganda from the north. Baker's efforts, which were directed mainly against Bunyoro and the activities of the Egyptian and Turkish slave traders who were based on Khartoum, resulted in the long continuing hostility of Bunyoro to any form of European penetration, and for years to come that kingdom provided a refuge for dissident factions from Buganda and for the slave traders, including the Arabs. This opposition only ended with the capture of the Mukama Kabarega in 1899, after which Bunyoro was treated as conquered territory.

32. Much of the early history of Uganda is bound up with missionary activity, which started shortly after Stanley visited the Kabaka of Buganda in 1875 and wrote the famous letter which appeared in the 'Daily Telegraph' describing the excellence of conditions in Buganda and calling on

missionaries to teach in the country where, he assured them, they would be given a warm welcome. The Church Missionary Society sent an expedition which reached Entebbe in 1877 and which was followed by a White Fathers' mission in the following year.

33. Owing to the political situation in Europe and in East Africa at the time and to the fact that the Protestant missionaries were mainly British, while the Catholic were mainly French, religious differences developed into a fierce political rivalry. The success of their work depended largely on maintaining successful relations with those in power, with the result that the rival missions became potent factors in the local struggle for power and in the internal upheavals which were only suppressed by the efforts of British administration, notably by Captain Lugard, who arrived in Buganda in 1890 as a representative of the British East Africa Company, and later by Sir Gerald Portal who, in 1894, proclaimed a British Protectorate over Uganda. A stable administration was not established, however, until Sir Harry Johnston, as Commissioner of the new Protectorate, made agreements with the leading rulers in 1900. Both before and after the 1900 agreements the missionaries acted as intermediaries and interpreters between the British and the people. This missionary influence has lasted until the present day and religious divisions are still an important consideration in the social and political life of the country.

34. When Sir Harry Johnston arrived in Uganda he was faced with a country divided by religious factions and weakened by years of warfare. Bunyoro had recently been conquered and much of that kingdom had been added to the kingdom of Buganda. It was in the light of this situation that he made his agreements with the local rulers. The Uganda Agreement* of 1900 established the basis of relations between the Kabaka and Her Majesty's Government for carrying on the government of that Province. It also provided for the holding in freehold of estates claimed at the time as being in the possession of various 'chiefs and private landowners'. These freehold estates, which came to be known locally as the 'mailo' lands, covered about half of the total area of Buganda. The remaining half was vested in the Crown. Similar agreements were made with the rulers of Ankole and Toro although in these land settlement was of less importance and only 6 per cent of the land area in each case was eventually granted as private estates. Bunyoro was treated as conquered territory and it was not until many years later, in 1933, that relations were established on the changed basis of an agreement.

As the new British administrators brought additional areas under their control they followed the Buganda model of county and sub-county chieftainships, and in many cases they installed Ganda agents to govern the area. The form of administration, customs and system of land tenure existing in Buganda have thus become a most powerful influence in determining both the forms and ideals of government over the whole of Uganda.

35. In the preamble to Article I of the General Act of Brussels of 1890 an enumeration of the effective means of putting down the slave trade and bringing 'the benefits of peace and civilisation' included 'the construction of roads and in particular of railways connecting the advanced stations with the coast'. It had indeed become apparent that the newly proclaimed Protectorate of Uganda could not be held unless communications with the coast were improved. The decision to proceed with the Uganda Railway was taken in

* The Agreement was in respect of what is now the Province of Buganda.

1896 and in 1902 the line from Mombasa to Kisumu was opened to public traffic. It did not reach Kampala, however, until 1931.

36. During the parliamentary debates of 1892 to 1894 on the Uganda Railway project pledges were made by its supporters that the railway would be justified on economic as well as philanthropic and strategic grounds. At that time great emphasis was being placed on the development of plantation production in tropical colonies, and Uganda appeared to enjoy conditions of soil, climate and labour supplies necessary for this kind of development. Plantation agriculture demanded skilled management and capital investment which could only be provided by the non-African. It also demanded a land settlement under which land could be made available on acceptable terms for this form of development, and the Uganda and other agreements of 1900 and 1901 had the effect both of securing certain African interests in land and of making possible the granting of interests to non-Africans. Although, at the outset, the emphasis was on plantation agriculture, the possibilities of Indian peasant agriculture, as providing a useful example to the African of the application of a higher standard of husbandry were recognized. But plans for Indian peasant agriculture did not proceed far because the class of Indian immigrant to East Africa did not take readily to agriculture, and the better class Indian cultivator would not come without financial aid which was not forthcoming.

By 1920 the holding of land by non-Africans, most of whom were Europeans, had reached its maximum of 225 estates, comprising about 126,000 acres. But parallel to this non-African development considerable strides had been made in African cash crop production, particularly of cotton and coffee.

37. The policy of encouraging non-African settlement had vacillated in Uganda over the years, and from the outset a considerable body of opinion, expressed on behalf of the African by the missionaries and sometimes by the administration, opposed European settlement; and not even when plantation development in Uganda was at its height, was the alienation of Crown land or of 'mailo' land unrestricted.

The real turning point in non-African settlement was, however, reached with the collapse of the world commodity markets in the early 1920's. Unlike Kenya, where a salubrious climate in the Highlands and a consistent policy of encouraging European settlement from the earliest years had resulted in the establishment of permanent European 'homes', no roots of this nature existed in Uganda to withstand the economic blizzard. On the other hand the resilience of African peasant cash crop production was demonstrated, and after 1924 non-African agricultural production settled down to a minor role as an adjunct to peasant production. From the early 1920's the policy of maintaining a paramountcy of African rights in land was consistently pursued, and was last reiterated in the statement made by the Governor of Uganda in July, 1950, which declared:

'His Excellency the Governor wishes all the people of Uganda to understand the policy of His Majesty's Government and the Protectorate Government which has been followed in the past and will be followed in the future, in respect of Crown land outside townships and trading centres in the provinces other than Buganda.

Firstly, these rural lands are being held in trust for the use and benefit of the African population.

Secondly, although the right under the Laws of the Protectorate is reserved to the Governor as representing the King to appropriate areas which he considers are required for forests, roads, townships or for other public purposes, yet it has been agreed with the Secretary of State that the Governor shall in

every case consult the African Local Government concerned and give full consideration to its wishes. Moreover the Governor will not alienate land to non-Africans except:

(a) for agricultural or industrial or other undertakings which will in the judgment of the Governor-in-Council promote the economic and social welfare of the inhabitants of the territory: and

(b) for residential purposes when only a small area is involved.

Thirdly, it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government and the Protectorate Government that the Protectorate of Uganda shall be developed as a country of non-African farming and settlement.'

38. The main factors which have affected the evolution of the modern Protectorate of Uganda appear to us to have been the highly organized state of the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro; the great influence of the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions; the utilization of Ganda agents to administer other areas, and the imprinting of the Buganda pattern of administration on those areas; the agreements which were entered into with the rulers of Buganda, Ankole and Toro; the establishment of communications with the outside world by the building of the railway line; and the absence of the European farmer settler, and the development of African grown cash crops.

KENYA

39. A British footing on the coast of what is now Kenya was secured in the 1870's and 1880's by concessions granted by the Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar, who claimed sovereignty over the area, to the trading interests which in 1888, by the grant of a Royal Charter became the Imperial British East Africa Company. As the development of Uganda proceeded, the early history of British interests in Kenya was in fact that of the caravan route which maintained a precarious lifeline with Uganda. From the outset the Company encountered great difficulties and the volume of early trade was insufficient to sustain a commercial enterprise. In 1895 it surrendered its Charter and a British Protectorate was declared over an area, designated the East African Protectorate, whose boundaries extended from the coast to a few miles west of the present city of Nairobi. These boundaries were altered in 1902 to include what had previously been the eastern province of Uganda. The turning point in the history of Kenya came with the decision of the British Government in 1896 to proceed with the construction of a railway from Mombasa to Uganda, and thereafter the shape of development is intimately bound up with this project.

40. In 1897 Lord Delamere, the pioneer of white settlement, made his way on a shooting expedition to the East African Protectorate from the north through Somaliland and Abyssinia. He became greatly impressed by the agricultural possibilities of the land which, due to the effects of altitude, appeared to have reproduced a European farming environment. Lord Delamere's confidence in the potential of the country for farming by Europeans, together with the fact that the British Government soon became concerned with how the new railway was to be made to pay for itself, led in 1902 to the adoption in embryo of a deliberate policy of European settlement.

While white settlers were being encouraged to come to the East African Protectorate, the immigration of Indians into the area was also proceeding. There had, from earliest times, been Indian traders settled at the coast and, as the development of the hinterland went ahead, many of these moved inland. The lack of skilled African labour for the railway construction had

necessitated the introduction from India of large numbers of labourers and artisans, and many of these remained in East Africa after the railway had been completed. The encouragement of Indian peasants as settlers on the land also proceeded as an official policy, and deliberate attempts were made to induce such settlement in 1906 in the Kibos and Makindu areas which were thought to be suitable and which were outside the European areas. The results were meagre, however, and no further attempt was made on these lines.

41. The emergence of a 'White Highlands' policy was at the outset due rather to a fear of Indian settlement than to considerations of being swamped by the African. Evidence of an early official blessing of this policy is to be found in a statement of Lord Elgin who, in 1906, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, informed the then Commissioner of the East African Protectorate that it was not in accordance with the policy of His Majesty's Government to restrict any section of His Majesty's subjects from holding land in British Protectorates, but that in view of the comparatively limited area of the East African Protectorate climatically suitable for European cultivation, a reasonable discretion should be exercised in dealing with applications for land from natives of India, or other non-Europeans, and that the principle which had been acted upon by the previous Commissioner, namely that agricultural land in the Highlands should be granted only to Europeans, was approved. Successive Secretaries of State reaffirmed this policy on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom.

42. The first conditions for the granting of land to Europeans had been laid down in 1902 and there can be little doubt that alienations of land to European settlers in the years before the First World War were undertaken by the Administration of the day in the belief that encroachment was not being made on African rights, and that there was land and to spare for all. It has been argued in the light of later knowledge that in some instances the traditional customary land rights of the Africans were not respected or fully understood, but little is to be gained from such an *ex post facto* approach, and there can be no doubt that most of the land alienated appeared at that time to be empty, and the African was then thought to have sufficient for his requirements. The fact is that little or nothing was then known of the rapid impoverishment of tropical soils, and of the necessity for a long period of fallow which was part of the African system of shifting cultivation; and it is also a fact that at the time of the early alienations of land much of the country had been denuded of human and animal populations by successive years of famine and by extensive epidemics of smallpox and rinderpest.

It is to be noted that during this early period of European settlement, the interests of Europeans and Africans were not regarded as in any way conflicting, and that government from the beginning recognized it as a primary duty to secure adequate land for African use. A committee appointed in 1904 had in its terms of reference 'the desirability of preserving land for natives' and recommended that the establishment of reserves for Africans should precede the opening up of the country for European settlement, and that there should be 'reserves' both for Europeans and Africans. The Masai agreements of 1904 and 1911 provided for the preservation of specific areas of land for this tribe, and in 1915 statutory recognition was given to a system of native reserves in the Crown Lands Ordinance of that year. A start was made in proclaiming various tribal reserves, the boundaries of which were gazetted in 1926. It was not, however, until the enactment of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1930, following recommendations made by the Hilton Young Commission on the closer union of the dependencies

in eastern and central Africa, that the final seal was placed, in the words of the ordinances, on 'the setting aside of reserves for native occupation forever'.

43. In the political field, though intimately bound up with land policy, the period directly preceding and following the 1914-18 war was one of vacillation between the recognition of the paramountcy of African interests and the safeguarding of the rights of the new European settlers. A major constitutional change took place in 1920 when the East African Protectorate, with the exception of that area which formed part of the dominion of the Sultan of Zanzibar, was annexed to His Majesty's Dominions and was styled the Colony of Kenya. Notwithstanding this change from Protectorate status, however, the principle of native paramountcy was reasserted in the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 in the following terms:

'Primarily, Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it is necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. Obviously the interests of the other communities, European, Indian and Arab, must severally be safeguarded. Whatever the circumstances in which members of these communities have entered Kenya, there will be no drastic action or reversal of measures already introduced, such as may have been contemplated in some quarters, the result of which might destroy or impair the existing interests of those who have already settled in Kenya.

But in the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and the advancement of the native races.'

44. The 1920's covered a period of constitutional struggle and a series of commissions and committees ended with the appointment of a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament to consider the various reports and White Papers of the preceding years. On this vexed question of African rights and the rights of the settlers the Select Committee which reported in 1931 concluded that the European community 'should have a right to effective representation and to protection against legislative and administrative policy which would fundamentally change the conditions on the basis of which they settled in the country'. Pointing out that the principle of 'native paramountcy' had previously been enunciated in relation to particular cases which might arise, especially in connexion with land and labour questions, in which a direct conflict of native and non-native interests occur, the Select Committee added, 'The doctrine of paramountcy means no more than that the interest of the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population should not be subordinated to those of a minority belonging to another race, however important in itself'.

45. Although the establishment of native reserves had protected the exclusive land rights of Africans within their boundaries, much land lay outside their limits, and as more and more of this land became alienated to European settlers, anxiety was felt by the Government over the safeguarding of the future as well as the present requirements of African tribes. Furthermore, the Joint Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament in paragraph 105 (ii) of their report recommended that 'in view of the nervousness among the native population as regards the land question, a full and authoritative enquiry should be undertaken immediately into the needs of the native population, present and prospective, with respect to land within or without the reserves, held either on tribal or on individual tenure'.

46. The Kenya Land Commission was appointed in 1932 to give effect to this recommendation and at the same time the opportunity was taken of defining the area which throughout various past pronouncements of policy had been referred to as the 'Highlands'.

The recommendations of the Commission*, which set the seal on Kenya's land policies, were accepted by His Majesty's Government and by the Colony's legislature and were subsequently given legal effect. The extent of their implementation and their consequences are examined in chapter 6.

47. We believe that those circumstances which have had the greatest influence in determining the Kenya of today—its economy, its politics and its policies—are the building of the strategic railway through the heart of the country; the adoption of a deliberate policy to encourage European settlement and the consequent establishment of European and African land reservations; the extent of Indian immigration; and finally, the influence of the European settler community.

TANGANYIKA

48. Largely as the result of the energy of the early German explorers in the area, particularly Dr. Karl Peters who concluded treaties with several of the local chiefs, German interests had become predominant in the region which is now Tanganyika towards the end of the nineteenth century, and this area was assigned to the German sphere of influence under the Anglo-German agreements of 1886 and 1890. The Germans enforced their sovereignty and established their administration by a series of wars, punitive expeditions and suppressive campaigns, which lasted from 1889 to 1906 and which culminated in the decimation of populations over wide regions, especially in the south, following the collapse of the Maji-Maji rebellion of 1905.

49. The encouragement of European settlement was from the outset an integral part of the *kolonial politik* of Imperial Germany, and before the territory passed into other hands in 1917 the German administration had transferred to immigrant ownership about 1,300,000 acres of land, mainly on the coast and in the northern highlands.

50. As part of the major struggle with Germany from 1914 to 1918, the conquest of German East Africa was undertaken by the Allies, and by the end of 1916 the German forces had retreated across the Ruvuma River and a provisional British civil administration was established in the territory. Under the Versailles Peace Treaty Germany renounced all rights over her colonial possessions in favour of the Allies, who then agreed that Great Britain should exercise a Mandate to administer the former German colony with the exception of the Ruanda-Urundi areas, which came under Belgian control. A variety of circumstances such as the difficulties encountered and the length of time taken in the liquidation of German properties, the slump years of the early 1930's and some uncertainty regarding the future of a mandated territory all contributed to a slowing down of the process of European settlement between the wars. An unsuccessful attempt was made by Lord Delamere to establish in Tanganyika a strong link of European settlement between Kenya and the Rhodesias; but throughout this period the officially accepted policy remained that of the paramountcy of African interests, and European settlement was only encouraged when it was judged to be for the benefit of the African.

* *Report of the Kenya Land Commission.* Cmd. 4556, 1934.

It is perhaps significant of this standstill period in non-African development in Tanganyika between the wars that, notwithstanding the return of considerable numbers of Germans after 1925, the total area of land recorded as in non-African hands by 1939 was very little greater than it had been in 1919.

With the end of the Second World War, however, the Territory embarked upon a policy of development and reconstruction and the amount of land in non-African hands rose from about 2 million acres in 1939 to about 3 million acres, or 1.4 per cent of the total land area of the Territory, by 1953.

51. In international law, the Mandate continued to be the basis of the administration of the country until 1946 when, at the conclusion of the Second World War, Great Britain voluntarily placed the Territory under the authority of the United Nations Organization, which designated His Britannic Majesty as the Administering Authority. The country is now governed in accordance with the text of the Trusteeship Agreement, which was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1946, and in accordance with the trusteeship principle enunciated in Article 75 of the United Nations Charter of 1945.

52. Briefly, the more important historical facts which appear to us to have shaped the Tanganyika of today are the reduction of the African population, its redistribution and the encroachment of the tsetse fly resulting from the decimation of population and the consequent regeneration of bush due to the early German campaigns and the suppression of the Maji-Maji rebellion; the slow tempo of outside investment of capital and non-African settlement caused largely by political uncertainty as to the future of the country between the two wars; the fact that neither a 'White Highlands' policy nor a 'tribal reserves' policy has emerged; and that, subject to varying degrees of interpretation, a consistent policy of considering African interests to come first has been pursued since the beginning of the British Mandate.

E. The Changing African

53. Sir Philip Mitchell, in his note on 'The Agrarian Problem in Kenya' described the extraordinary backwardness and ignorance of the African people of east and central Africa at the time when the European entered these regions towards the end of the nineteenth century. He said:

'Inland of the narrow coastal strip they had no units of government of any size or stability; indeed, with a few exceptions such as Buganda, nothing beyond local chiefs or patriarchs. They had no wheeled transport and, apart from the camels and donkeys of the pastoral nomads, no animal transport either; they had no roads nor towns; no tools except small hand hoes, axes, wooden digging sticks and the like; no manufactures and no industrial products except the simplest domestic handiwork; no commerce as we understand it and no currency, although in some places barter of produce was facilitated by the use of small shells; they had never heard of working for wages. They went stark naked or clad in the bark of trees or the skins of animals, and they had no means of writing, even by hieroglyphics, nor of numbering except by their fingers or making notches on a stick or knots in a piece of grass or fibre; they had no weights and measures of general use. . . . There was a great variety of language or dialect, largely within the great linguistic

group now called "Bantu" by European scholars, and it was common, as it is today, for an area the size of an English county to contain several groups speaking different languages. They were pagan spirit or ancestor propitiators, in the grip of magic and witchcraft, their minds cribbed and confined by superstition.'

54. Early descriptions by explorers and missionaries leave us in no doubt that the African was frequently at the point of starvation, he was from time to time in danger of being killed or abducted by his enemies, he was almost always in a state of bodily discomfort owing to one kind or another of parasitical infection, he lived in constant fear of supernatural forces and of those he believed could influence them, and he probably had little chance of surviving beyond what is now regarded as middle-age.

His environment was harsh, the tools which he possessed to tame it were primitive in the extreme, and it demanded an integrated effort of a whole community to survive.

55. An examination of almost any anthropological work on the social institutions of African tribes immediately reveals the complex relationships which enabled the people to live. These relationships were established by institutions such as the so-called bride price which, in the particular form which it took, safeguarded and ensured the continuance of the marital relationship; the system of age grades which provided for the systematic protection and administration of the tribe; a communal allocation of duties which ensured that a sufficient labour force was available for the task in hand, such as the building of a house; the system of education which instilled the principles of courtesy and hospitality which are essential if any community is to live peaceably together; and the pagan forms of religion which were an important part of his pattern of behaviour. The primitive African was part of a closely knit community, and almost his every action was determined by a customary obligation dictated largely by the requirements of that community. To change from the primitive requirements of a subsistence society, organized with the primary object of survival to the requirements of the modern world with its dependence on individual judgments and decisions taken within the framework of a cash economy, is indeed a formidable undertaking; and there can be little wonder that the indigenous peoples of East Africa have experienced difficulty in spanning, in a matter of a few decades, the gap which it has taken the inhabitants of European countries centuries to bridge. In this connexion it is important to draw attention to the fact that the impact of western ideas and a western society on the African of East Africa has been far more sudden and more intensified than was the case in the West Coast of Africa.

56. It is our purpose to indicate some of the more important factors which have changed and are changing African society and which have largely determined the way in which the African lives today, and we would first direct attention to the great differences in the degree of change which is to be found. In much of the vast areas of central Tanganyika, northern Uganda and northern Kenya, changes in the old customary ways of life are almost imperceptible, whereas the Makerere or London University trained African professional man has become a person of western culture. Every gradation of change between these limits is discernible, and this is one of the facts which makes the problems of East Africa so complex.

57. An important factor affecting change has been the introduction of a cash economy. The bringing of trade goods to the African awakened new wants which could only be satisfied by obtaining this new thing, money. He came to learn the means by which he could acquire money and through

its use a new conception of the exchange value of property was born. The effect on traditional African society was profound. Money was acquired by the African's individual effort, often at a place far removed from his family and clan, and a desire not to allow this wealth to become communal property naturally began to appear. This in itself cut across the old idea of dependence for survival upon others in the community, and it was a short step from this to the challenging of traditional authority and to breaking away from the customs which were the links in the whole system of community discipline and social and moral behaviour.

The acquisition of money often meant a departure from home. It meant a journey to the Lupa gold mines, to the Tanga sisal estates or to a European farm in the Kenya Highlands. This again caused a disruption of tribal society. Some of the men were no longer at home to perform specific tasks which were their traditional function. Wives were left without husbands for long periods, and the men, when they returned home, had acquired a new independence and a disregard for the old traditional ways. Much has been written on this subject and of the unfortunate social effects of the disruption of the family, clan, and tribal units, a process of disintegration which leads to a conflict between those who cling to traditional institutions and those who find them outmoded for their modern requirements.

58. The African was of necessity a cultivator or a pastoralist or both. His agriculture implied the temporary use of land, and proprietary rights in land as saleable assets were unknown to him. Working as a labourer on the European farm the African came in contact with a static system of farming as opposed to shifting cultivation; furthermore he saw that land itself was bought and sold. At the same time, agricultural instructors were teaching a system of land use which enabled a man to stay in one place instead of moving his dwelling house as the soil became exhausted. All this had an effect, particularly where contact with European farms was close or where agricultural staff in the field was concentrated. Traditional systems of farming were gradually being materially changed in many areas such as the Kipsigis country and parts of Kikuyuland. More permanent houses were built, farm buildings began to appear and, in some cases, land was enclosed by hedges and fences. This enclosure itself affected many communal aspects of rural society such as the communal grazing of cattle on uncultivated land. A change was also brought about in certain areas, by the introduction of cash crops commanding high prices in the world's markets, thus raising the standard of living of such people as the Ganda, the Gishu and the Chagga above the subsistence level and accelerating the process of giving land itself a value.

59. Among the pastoralists change is not so apparent. The application of veterinary science and the control of the important epidemic diseases, such as rinderpest, have resulted in an increase in the numbers of cattle in many areas. In recent years, however, by the development of livestock markets, and the holding out of inducements and intensive propaganda, some of the pastoral tribes have been brought to sell substantial numbers of their cattle. We received, however, no evidence which convinced us that any pastoral people have as yet come to appreciate the necessity for relating numbers of livestock to the carrying capacity of the land. This is less true of cattle people who are becoming cultivators, and where this process of turning from pastoralist to cultivator has reached an advanced stage, as in the case of the Kipsigis, there is some evidence of an appreciation of the importance of integrating cultivation and animal husbandry to the benefit of both.

In general, however, the pastoralist in East Africa continues to live as a nomadic herdsman much as he did in the past; but the boundaries of his

preserves are no longer flexible, and the balance between his herds and the environment in which they live is preserved more by death from starvation than by death from disease. This factor in itself means that in periods of drought, numbers of livestock are such that they are on the verge of starvation, and all vegetation, even the bark of trees, is consumed with the result that the land is despoiled and the general quality of the livestock further deteriorates.

60. With the planter, farmer and trader came the production of agricultural surpluses, the emergence of industries and the establishment of commerce and communications. The services connected with administration, transport and banking appeared, and the towns of East Africa were built. The African was offered an increasing chance of earning money in towns, and the young men began to regard migration to them as an exciting experience which filled part of the vacuum created by the cessation of tribal raids and other excitements which, with British rule, had ceased to exist. This development brought great problems. The output of unskilled African labour—the labour of men who had in the past been required to make no sustained effort—was naturally small and wages were low. Wages would not support entire families and incomes were supplemented by the families continuing to work land in the reserves. The population of the towns became largely male, and the long absences of the men from home led to a general slackening of customary morality. It is the familiar story of urban development throughout Africa from Capetown to Cairo; wages too low to feed and clothe a family, or to provide for the payment of economic house rents or for sickness and old age, and public revenues insufficient for those public services which would give the African the basic necessities for a reasonable standard of living.

61. What of the African who turned for employment to the farms and plantations rather than to the towns? In the early days the European settler had much land but little labour with which to work it, and an obvious way of attracting the latter was to allow whole families to settle down on part of the farm and to carry on their customary mode of life there. This also provided a convenient means of getting bush cleared and land stumped for subsequent use by the farmer. Later, as farming methods became more intensive and as it became easier to obtain labour which would work for pay without the added incentive of land to cultivate, limitations were enforced on the area which 'squatter' families could cultivate and on the stock which they could graze, and so the African's sense of insecurity was undoubtedly increased. In these circumstances of insecurity both in the towns and on alienated land outside the towns, almost every African who possesses land rights has clung to them, and this in itself has prevented economic land use in the reserves, owing to absenteeism or the fact that the part of the family left on the land-holding could not use it efficiently.

62. Turning to the effects of land policy on the African, we can in this outline touch only briefly on the subject which forms a major part of our Report.

The land policies of the East African Governments have differed and they have affected the African in varying ways. The 'Highlands' policy and the general tribal approach to land questions adopted in Kenya have introduced a rigidity which has affected the distribution of population, and has resulted in some people having less land than they could productively use, and some having more. Perhaps more important, however, has been its encouragement of a widespread belief that security in the land can only be ensured on a racial or tribal basis. The circumstances of the early alienations of land to Europeans caused African grievances which, despite the subsequent attempts

which have been made to put matters right, have coloured the whole outlook of a large section of the African population towards land matters. This sense of grievance still persists and has engendered suspicion regarding all acts of the European and the Government affecting the African's land. This in turn has caused resistance to projects for better land use even when these are patently for the benefit of the people concerned.

In Uganda the greater extent of highly productive land has meant that there have been comparatively few serious land problems. The tribal boundary aspect of land policy has, for example, assumed little importance. Here, the African has been affected most by the existence of a freehold system in Buganda and the desire of influential Africans in other areas for a similar system. Since the end of the Second World War, however, there has been a growing agitation against the conception of 'Crown land,' intensified by the acquisition of land for public purposes.

In Tanganyika the areas in non-African ownership are relatively small and scattered. But Tanganyika has its own 'Highlands' problem in the Arusha-Moshi area round Mounts Kilimanjaro and Meru, where both European and African sentiment is much influenced by events in Kenya.

63. The influence and activities of the missions have extended over a wide area and have been sustained over a long period. They introduced the Christian concepts in which western culture is rooted, and they have played a most important part in the westernization of the African and in assisting him to adjust himself to his changing world. They have provided the principal vehicle for education and they have brought to many Africans a personal religion and morality which has helped to fill the gap caused by the disintegration of much of his customary society. The resources of the missions have, however, been limited and their task has been difficult. In many ways the missions have hastened the dissolution of the old ties of African communities, for there were many acts in customary ceremonies and practices which were barbarous and contrary to Christian doctrines and principles. These the missions attacked vigorously and with some success, thereby incurring the opposition and enmity of many of the people and their traditional tribal authorities. The missions also brought to the African conflicting allegiances and a sectarianism which was new to him.

The educational work of the missions is being increasingly supplemented by direct government aid and is dealt with in a later chapter. Here it is sufficient to make two comments. The first is that at present only small numbers of Africans have acquired more than an elementary education to equip them for the new social and political conditions into which they are being projected. The second is that even smaller numbers have acquired the technical skills which raise their earning capacity above that of unskilled labourers.

64. The influence on the African of two world wars has been considerable. He participated as a fighting man in both and also as a 'carrier' in the first and a 'pioneer' in the second. In the Second World War, in particular, he was brought into contact with the outside world, and he established a new relationship with men of other races. He returned to civilian life with changed tastes and standards, but soon found that the opportunities for earning a level of income which he had lived up to in the army did not exist. The war gratuities which were paid to him enabled his emergence as a new class of African small capitalist. He invested in transport businesses conducted often with old second-hand buses and lorries, and he put his money into small shops throughout the country. Lack of business knowledge, insufficient capital and the competition of the Indian trader, however, caused

large numbers of failures with the result that these men, who owing to the wider knowledge of the modern world which they had acquired were potential leaders, emerged frustrated and dissatisfied. It has been a western world which has impinged on the African and there is much evidence to suggest that it is towards a western culture that the progressive and educated African aspires. Comparatively few Africans have, as yet, been enabled to turn completely to a full western way of life and this has meant that these few have, of necessity, been dependent to a large extent upon being accepted into the community of other races practising this way of living. That they have not been so accepted is, we believe, profoundly influencing the East African scene. These are the new leaders of the African, and they are in many cases embittered men.

65. The effect of modern technical inventions on the lives of Africans must be mentioned. Most important have been modern means of communication. The train, the bus, the bicycle and telecommunications have broken down the isolation and parochialism of communities and have speeded up the operation of so many of the factors effecting change. The wireless and the press are also powerful influences both for good and ill.

66. Finally, the course of political evolution and constitutional development in other British territories in Africa have influenced the aspirations of African political leaders in East Africa who have turned readily to ideas of local independence.

67. To summarize we find, taking a quick look at the African of the three territories today, that he is for the most part an agriculturalist or a pastoralist or both. A large section of this rural community is carrying on a traditional shifting cultivation and an extensive pasturing of livestock on a subsistence level which has been but little affected by alien influences. These people, however, who live in the favoured agricultural areas—in areas where the fixing of boundaries and the alienation of land has stabilized their agriculture—have found that their traditional farming practices have caused soil erosion and loss of soil fertility. The progressive worsening of conditions in such areas and the awakening of new wants have induced the African to seek new sources of income on the farms, the plantations and in towns, and in these new fields of employment he has found no permanent security for himself and his family. He has lived with one foot in his place of employment and one in his reserve, and the retention of his land, which provides the only security to which he can turn, has become a ruling passion. This attitude of mind has bred suspicion against those attempting to change land use or land tenure for his benefit, and has thus exacerbated a deteriorating situation.

The African peasant farmers and labourers have found that the foundations of life in their community are disintegrating, and the moral fibre and independence of thought and action required by the changing conditions has only been supplied in part by Christian teaching; while the better educated men, to whom the people naturally turn for leadership, have found their personal position in relation to the other races to be one of great difficulty, which has often resulted in bitterness and sometimes hatred.

On the other side of the picture the people have by modern medical science been protected to a great extent from the major epidemic diseases; the risk of death by famine has been removed by organized administration, modern communications and storage; cash crops in some places have brought relative wealth and an improved material standard of living; the battle against soil erosion has almost been won in many areas and here and there the seeds of new farming techniques have taken root. Growing numbers of

Africans in agriculture, business, industry and government service are acquiring experience and technical skill commanding remuneration which promises the possibility of achieving security for themselves and their families, and, finally, education and Christianity have helped the African to meet, at least in part, his changing circumstances.

F. *The Economies of the East African Territories*

68. In East Africa the development of a modern commercial economy is of very recent origin. Prior to the outbreak of the First World War exports, imports and government revenues were of very small dimensions not only absolutely but also in comparison with other African territories. Crops such as sisal, cotton and coffee which today form the basis of the modern economic activities of the region were, half a century ago, either non-existent or in a very early stage of development. Economic activities were, at that time, devoted mainly to production for the immediate consumption of isolated small local communities, and specialized production for a wider market in a money economy was carried on only by a few immigrants.

69. Today valuable commodities worth millions of pounds reach the markets of the world and the geographical net money product* of the three territories combined is about £225,000,000. The value of domestic exports in 1952 reached £120,000,000 although at the end of the Second World War they amounted to £25,000,000 only. At the outbreak of the war they were but half that amount and in the period between the two wars exports suffered severely from the effects of the world depressions.

70. It is, in fact, only during the past five or six years that the basic agricultural export industries have yielded a high overall net income. The early trials and frustrations of experiment and adaptation were hardly overcome before the depression years of the thirties curtailed drastically the advances that had been made, and not until the end of the Second World War, when prices and the terms of trade turned in their favour, have the East African territories produced a comparatively high net product, and experienced buoyant revenues.

Some indication of the extent of the development that has taken place can be ascertained by examining the content of imports and sales of certain imported commodities. Since 1938 sales of motor spirit in East Africa have risen from just under 1,000,000 gallons a month to over 4,000,000 gallons; estimated consumption of cement, based on figures of retained imports, have risen in Kenya from a monthly average of 1,400 tons in 1938 to 8,900 tons in 1953; in Tanganyika retained imports of blankets have increased from 19,000 score in 1938 to 54,000 score in 1951; public sales of electricity have risen in East Africa from just under 2 million kilowatt hours in 1938 to 20 million in 1953.

71. Developments of this sort are impressive but nevertheless poverty still characterizes the condition of nearly all the inhabitants of the three territories. Even when the contributions of non-Africans are included, the *per capita* net product is among the lowest of all the territories in Africa south of the Sahara for which there is adequate data. This poverty is largely the consequence of the fact that so small a proportion of the resources of East Africa is devoted to the production of goods and services for the modern money economy. Broadly speaking, East Africa exemplifies what is normally

* A definition of the concept of geographical net money product is given in the general statistical note to Appendix IX.

spoken of as a dual economy: the subsistence sector on the one hand and the money sector on the other. The latter owes its development almost entirely to the import of enterprise, skill and capital from abroad. Where the two sectors interact there is a twilight world of flux which involves much social and economic strain.

72. This is not the place to describe the history of European and other immigrant enterprise in East Africa, but it is necessary to record that without the persistent and undaunted endeavours of this at all times relatively very small section of East Africa's inhabitants, the modern economy which is the pre-requisite for the progress of its indigenous peoples, would not have been established. This small group of immigrant pioneers, administrators, scientists, missionaries, teachers, farmers and traders constructed the institutional framework which now makes possible the evolution of prosperous modern states in East Africa. The task was, and continues to be, an extremely arduous one. It is often forgotten that not a single important agricultural product on which East Africa's exports, and much of its food supplies, now depend, was indigenous to it. Vast sums of capital were lost, and the lifetime of many a man was spent, in prolonged and costly experiments and research by private individuals, companies and government agencies to discover the most suitable economic crops, to gather knowledge of soil deficiencies, to overcome the difficulties of drought, pests and disease, to train labour, to foster industry, to combat famine, to find water, to further education, and to establish law, order and good government. Nearly all cash crops now cultivated by the indigenous peoples as, for example, cotton and coffee in Tanganyika and Uganda, were introduced from abroad and sometimes the government had even to use compulsion. These modern exchange activities would not have developed but for the continuous trading activities of Arabs, Goans, Indians and Europeans who stimulated not only the production and consumption of new products, but taught the indigenous peoples the arts of modern commerce. Perhaps nothing is more symptomatic of the economic awakening which these pioneering efforts brought about than that when the Mombasa—Kisumu line was opened for traffic in 1902, the tonnage of goods carried on the Kenya and Uganda section was only 13,000 tons: but that in the last year (1947) before the system was amalgamated with the Tanganyika railways the tonnage reached 1,818,000 tons. Over the same period the number of passengers increased from 73,000 to nearly 3,000,000.

73. Although both the First and the Second World War stimulated new forms of development in East Africa it must not be overlooked that they, on both occasions, interrupted much development owing to the absence of a large proportion of the Europeans on active service, and owing to the political uncertainty and economic depression which followed the First World War. On the whole, political and economic uncertainties also adversely affected capital investment and immigration from abroad so that the actual achievements of the small non-African community appear all the more remarkable.

74. In each of the three East African territories the money economy is geared to the world markets for primary agricultural products. In 1953 over 90 per cent of the value of the domestic exports was made up of non-mineral commodities and consisted for the most part of a small number of specific pastoral or agricultural products.

75. Within the agricultural industry of Kenya plantation crops such as coffee, tea, sugar, sisal and pyrethrum are the most important. In 1951 these accounted for 66 per cent of the total gross returns to agricultural producers, and in 1952 coffee and sisal alone accounted for 45 per cent of the value of the Colony's exports. In Uganda cotton and coffee accounted for nearly 90 per

cent of total exports in that year, and cotton, the main source of money income, is the product of peasant producers. In Tanganyika in 1952 sisal accounted for 46 per cent of total exports; the industry is organized on a plantation system of European estates. This heavy dependence on one or two export crops has been a characteristic of the East African economies from the beginning of their modern development and it renders the whole economy particularly susceptible to changes in world conditions.

76. A very high proportion of the total money income of the territories is in some way associated with agricultural production for export. In Kenya in 1951 approximately one quarter of the geographical net money product came from non-African agriculture, and in 1953 just under one half of all African employees were engaged in agriculture and forestry. A similarly high proportion existed in Tanganyika. In Uganda the contribution of agriculture to the net money product is rather more difficult to sift than in Kenya but it is probably about 60 per cent.

This marked dependence on agricultural export production and its direct and indirect effects, particularly on government revenues, was strikingly shown during the depression in the inter-war period, in the reduced value of domestic exports, balance of payments deficits, and the decline in government revenue. This vulnerability of the East African economies has again become apparent with the fall in prices since 1952.

77. We have emphasized strongly the importance of agriculture, but the contribution of other sectors of the economy, although small in comparison is none the less significant. Manufacturing industries and building in Kenya together in 1951 provided a little under 20 per cent of the net money product. Commerce, finance and insurance contributed a little over 20 per cent. The net product of mining, however, was under 1 per cent.

In Appendix VI is produced a table designed to give a general idea of the size, nature and trends of the commercialized economies of the three territories as measured by their exports and imports and their public revenues and expenditures.

CHAPTER 3

Population

A. African Population

EXISTING FEARS

1. Our terms of reference direct us to have regard to the rapid increase of the African population in East Africa and to the congestion of population on land in certain localities. In his despatch, which accompanied our terms of reference, Sir Philip Mitchell stated that although adequate statistics were not available it was 'clear that most East African tribes are increasing rapidly in numbers' and that the 'best available evidence seems to point to an annual increase which may amount to 2 per cent in the most favourable areas.' On this basis, he added, the African population would double itself in 35 years.

2. Throughout our enquiry we found that there was considerable apprehension about the effects on the wellbeing of the people of what was generally believed to be an unduly rapid rate of population growth. There was a tendency to assume that the relatively large population densities which were to be found in some areas, as well as the apparent overcrowding which existed in others, were the simple and inevitable results of a too rapid growth of numbers. It was also thought that 'shortages' of land, lack of employment opportunities at higher wages and the migration to the towns could be similarly ascribed to an excessive expansion of the population as a whole. A number of memoranda submitted to us advanced the view that a solution to the population problem in relation to the standard of living of the people lay in discovering ways of stabilizing numerically the African population.

These various views rest upon an over-simplified and, in some cases, fallacious assessment of the basic questions at issue and are not supported by the statistical material which is available. In particular there is no evidence that the African population as a whole is increasing at an annual rate of 2 per cent. Sir Philip Mitchell, in the passage quoted above, qualified the figure of 2 per cent by reference to 'the most favourable areas', but this caution was not always observed by those who cited the same figure.

3. For reasons which are set out later in this chapter we do not hold the view that it is possible to assess the optimum rate of population growth in East Africa. As, however, so much emphasis has been placed upon the allegedly insupportable overall rate of growth of the African population it may be useful first to draw the statistical picture as far as the available material permits and then to assess its significance in terms of the wider issues to which attention should be directed.

RATES OF INCREASE

4. Evidence which was submitted to the Kenya Land Commission in 1933 suggested that the annual rate of increase which then prevailed might be around 1.5 per cent. This evidence was strongly criticized by Kuczynski* who, writing in 1948, showed that in his opinion the rate was more likely to be something like 0.5 per cent per annum. The first full census of population ever to be conducted in East Africa was not taken, however, until 1948. Prior to that year there had been some less accurate counts of the population in Uganda and Tanganyika but these could not be used directly for an estimate of the growth of numbers over the whole period for which some figures were available. The results of the 1948 census, for example, indicated that the previous totals for East Africa, as calculated in 1947, had underestimated the African population by nearly 4,000,000 persons. We have had the benefit of a number of important papers dealing with the available statistical material, prepared by students of the subject who have been able to devote much more time than we could give to this important problem. Mr. C. J. Martin,† the Director of the East Africa Statistical Department, who superintended the 1948 census, after a careful examination of the material, calculated that the annual rate of natural increase over the 17 years from 1931 to 1948 was 1 per cent in Tanganyika, 1.4 per cent in Uganda and 1.9 per cent in Kenya. This last figure he thought

* R. R. Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 123-124. London, 1949.

† C. J. Martin, *Some Estimates of the General Age Distribution, Fertility and Rate of Natural Increase of the African Population of British East Africa*, Population Studies, Vol. VII, No. 2, November, 1953.

was too high and he preferred to consider the annual rate of natural increase for this period in East Africa as between 1 per cent and 1.75 per cent.

5. By another line of approach, the study of fertility rates in Tanganyika and Uganda, Mr. Martin reached the conclusion that the present rate of natural increase in these two territories was likely to be of the order of 1.5 per cent per annum, with higher rates in some areas and lower rates in others. But he does not suppose that the present rate of natural increase has been uniform over the period, say, of the last fifty years. There is a presumption that the overall rate of natural increase has risen and that it may rise further in the course of the next two decades if no special factors, such as serious epidemics, operate to cause a sudden increase in death rates. If this view is accepted, and it is a view which we feel obliged to accept, it becomes a matter of great importance to understand the probable reasons for the upward movement in the rate of natural increase.

FACTORS AFFECTING POPULATION GROWTH

6. There is some reason to suppose that in the matter of population, as in other economic and social conditions in East Africa during the last three or four decades, two distinct patterns of development may be observed. In some areas the African population has been affected by its contact with, and its inclusion in, the modern exchange economy. In other areas that contact has been slight and its effects barely noticeable.

7. In these latter areas, which are still very considerable in extent, the growth of population is still basically subject to the kind of conditions which are characteristic of pre-industrial societies or societies which are socially and economically isolated. In certain of the pre-industrial societies of Europe it was not unusual for the growth of population to display marked cyclical fluctuations which could be attributed in the main to fluctuations in the number of deaths due to wars, famines, disease and plagues. A sudden reduction or series of reductions in the numbers of a population consequent upon these catastrophes might be followed, in the subsequent period, by a fall in the death rate since the weaker elements in the populations would have been eliminated and the tougher elements would have survived. Similarly, in the period following the years of high mortality it would not be unusual to find a rise in the birth rate, either because it was possible to marry earlier, or because landless men could now obtain easier access to land, or because the new scarcity of labour led to a rise in wages. Thus in this subsequent period, the rate of natural increase might rise as a result of the combination of a lower death rate and a higher birth rate.

8. These results would not necessarily exhaust themselves in the short period following a period of high mortality. Over a rather longer period the higher birth rate, to which we have referred, frequently caused the population to contain a higher proportion of young adults among whom the death rate was likely to be relatively low. This in turn would help to maintain a lower general death rate over a longer period of time. Thus even if we suppose that the initial period of high mortality brought about by the kind of catastrophe to which we have referred should lead to a reduction in the total population, that smaller population would contain within itself conditions which would be favourable to a speedy recovery to the original number. Indeed, these forces of recovery, once they were stimulated, might prove to be vigorous enough to carry the total population beyond the level prevailing before the period of high mortality, and beyond the capacity of the economy in the long run to support it at the customary

standards. An acceleration of the rate of growth, once started, is not easy to reverse and may tend to persist long after the circumstances which originally favoured it have ceased to exist. It is precisely in this type of situation that a society becomes particularly vulnerable, because a harvest failure or an attack of disease may then cause a disproportionate rise in the death rate. It may even precipitate social disaster.

9. We set forth this analysis to indicate how it is possible to explain the occurrence of cyclical movements in the growth of population among primitive peoples living in a non-expanding economy. It also does much to explain the apparent conflict of evidence from observers of the contemporary scene. Reports that population is increasing or decreasing may well depend upon the point in the cycle from which the observer is making his report.

The parallel with the pre-industrial populations of Europe should not be pushed too far when we are dealing with the indigenous populations of Africa with their different social organization and customs. But one fact seems to be beyond doubt: in the conditions which prevailed in East Africa until recent times the natural increase of population in isolated and economically primitive communities would soon encounter natural obstacles. These obstacles would keep the rate of increase, or even the absolute number of the population within the limits which would be set by an intractable environment. It would therefore not be surprising if no conspicuous rise in the rate of increase of the African population should show itself until the second quarter of the present century, when new conditions favourable to an expanding economy began to emerge. In a vast inhospitable area such as East Africa used to be, with very widely spread populations consisting of many tribes cut off from economic intercourse with each other or with the outside world, it would not be unreasonable to expect that the birth rates, death rates and rates of natural increase would show a cyclical variation of the kind to which we have referred. These fluctuations would make it difficult to assess at any period of time whether particular rates of natural increase represented a long-term trend or merely a reaction to a previous situation. Moreover, owing to the tribal structure of the population and the geographical and social isolation of tribes, the rate of natural increase in one tribe might be quite different from those of other tribes in the same period of time. Thus it is not surprising that the early estimates of population in East Africa, made by observers generalizing their experience of the limited regions of which they had personal knowledge, differed so widely.

10. It may well be the case that the overall growth of population which appears to have become noticeable in the third decade of the present century was mainly the result of the previous period of high mortality due to famines, the disruptions of wars such as the Maji-Maji rebellion of 1905-1906 and the 1914-18 operations in Tanganyika, and the widespread epidemics and cattle disease which afflicted the whole of East Africa during the earlier years of the century. This would mean that in the third decade birth rates would be higher and death rates lower than they had been in the earlier period with a consequent rise in the rate of natural increase.

The situation in the third decade might therefore have been a relatively normal reaction to the period which preceded it. But at this point there is evidence of a new factor which would reinforce this normal cyclical reaction. This new factor, which showed itself in particular areas, was the growing demand for labour which resulted from the establishment in or near them of new forms of production, and the consequent increase of real income accruing to the indigenous population. Indeed, the modern development of East Africa can hardly be said to have become marked before 1920. The

numbers of Africans in paid employment, the value of exports and imports and the amounts spent on the public services, all bear witness to this fact.

11. It is difficult to forecast the rate at which those sectors of the African population which are still hardly affected by the impact of the modern exchange economy will be brought into the orbit of modern economic and social influence. Moreover, the precise effects on the future growth of the African population of modern social and economic ways of life are not at all clear. Thus our knowledge of the real effects of urbanization on the birth and death rates of Africans does not justify us in making confident generalizations. We have insufficient knowledge of the effect of the breakdown of traditional customs on birth and fertility rates. We know even less about the effects of modern ways of living on the age of marriage or on the strength of marriage ties and obligations, or of the effects of labour migration on fertility. There is very little information on the expectation of life. Moreover, as relatively isolated tribes are brought into active participation in the life and economy of the territories as a whole, considerable shifts in population and considerable changes in the habits of the people are likely to take place. The traditional checks which operate in isolated communities will then be further weakened. It is arguable that the more rapid the rate at which the traditional tribal social order and economy disintegrates in face of the spread of the modern way of life and economy, the greater will be the difficulties of social and psychological adjustment for the peoples affected. But it may also be argued that the more the process of transition is retarded the less speedily can a rise in the living standards of the indigenous populations be accomplished. And it can at least be maintained that even if, in the process of change from the one type of economy to the other, new and difficult social problems are created, one of the results of the change will be to increase the resources by means of which these new problems can be tackled.

12. We can speak with greater certainty of the broad age structure of the population as disclosed in the 1948 census. In the three East African territories there are relatively large numbers of children and relatively few elderly people. The proportion of the population in the productively effective adult age-groups, moreover, is relatively small in relation to the dependent population of both young and old persons. It is sometimes thought that in such a situation a particular danger arises for the future if birth rates remain high while death rates fall sharply as a result of the greater application of modern science. If the present age-distribution is favourable to high rates of population growth, a sharp fall in death rates might, it is sometimes thought, lead to an increase in population which was much greater than could be sustained by any process of industrialization or economic change which might reasonably be expected to occur.

13. Mr. Goldthorpe, in the memorandum reproduced in Appendix VII, refers to this fear in East Africa which he, in our opinion rightly, discounts. In our opinion there is no evidence to suggest that up to the present the general rate of growth of the African population has exceeded the overall ability of the economy of the three territories to support it. Indeed, we believe that the recently accelerated growth of population is in part both a cause and a consequence of the greater economic opportunities which are open to the indigenous population. Thus the growth of population should in itself present no serious overall problem of population pressure provided the many obstacles to the economic mobility of the factors of production necessary for the development of the modern exchange economy can be overcome. We refer elsewhere to these obstacles. It will suffice to mention here only the outstanding example that at present it is often difficult for appreciable numbers of persons to migrate from areas where land is relatively scarce to settle in areas where it is

relatively abundant owing to tribal jealousies and restrictions. On the other hand, we can conceive of a population problem of extreme intractability if the general economy is not allowed to expand while the application of modern science succeeds in bringing about a drastic reduction in death rates.

CONCEPT OF OPTIMUM POPULATION

14. In our opinion much of the discussion of the problem of population in East Africa has been unduly influenced by the belief that there is some one optimum or proper rate of population growth, that it is possible to forecast this growth, and that in East Africa this hypothetical rate is already being exceeded. This mechanical approach to the problem is fallacious. It treats population growth as an independent variable whereas in fact it is conditioned by changes in social and economic organization and by the aptitudes of the people.

Indeed, the very concept of an optimum population or of an optimum rate of population growth in regard to human societies implies the possibility of some conscious effort to vary either the rate of population growth or the means by which the society utilizes or increases the natural resources at its disposal. When there is neither control of population growth nor the possibility of improving the environment one has to postulate a situation in which individuals and communities are at the mercy of natural forces. One can, for example, imagine an extremely primitive community so dependent upon the natural environment and so little instructed in the arts of influencing the number of births or in measures which would prolong the lives of those already born, that the population would expand and contract until it was in exact balance with the minimum means of subsistence necessary to maintain it. But such a situation would be more closely akin to the non-human than to the human species.

In such a community even if by some accident, such as a famine, the population were to be reduced it would, within a comparatively short period of time, again descend to the unenviable nadir of subsistence. If, therefore, a permanent improvement in living standards is postulated it is necessary to assume also that population growth will no longer be automatically dependent on the natural environment. Moreover, if it is admitted that there can be alterations in social customs and institutions and in the economic and social heritage, then it is equally clear that we cannot seek for an automatic or causal association between living standards and the numbers or rate of growth of the population. What may appear to be too large a population or too rapid a rate of growth of population at one stage of development may be found later to have provided the impetus for new techniques, altering the environment or changing established practices, so that there emerges a new stage of development, not merely able to support a larger population but finding a larger population necessary for the achievement of higher living standards.

15. A human population in exact balance with its environment, whether this balance is effected at a low or at a high standard of life, may be a population which is stagnating. Thus in the transition from a given standard of life to a higher standard, what may be required may be the impact of, and the opportunities resulting from, a larger population. The higher standards of living of the western world, which resulted from the industrial revolution, could not have been achieved without the increase in population which accompanied it, and which in fact began before it. Small and isolated tribal communities could not be expected to achieve the division of labour and the diversification of production which provide the basis of the kind of economic advance which the richer countries of the world have accomplished.

16. Broadly speaking, East Africa is sparsely populated and the full economic exploitation of its resources demands not a stationary or a reduced population but an expanding population. It has been the very sparsity of the population in the past which has been one of the contributory causes of its arrested economic development and, in consequence, of standards of life so closely dependent on the restricted productive opportunities of the local environment. The development of specialized production and of wider markets postulates a sufficient growth in numbers to enable these changes to take place. Paradoxical though it may appear, taking East Africa as a whole, a growth of population accompanied by appropriate social and economic institutional changes is necessary to bring about an appreciable increase in the general standard of life. For the present, therefore, there should in East Africa be no conflict between the forces making for increased population and those making for economic advance. But in saying this we should be failing in our duty if we did not add the warning that, in the absence of those institutional changes which are necessary for modern economic progress, and in the absence of the stimuli which have so far brought it about, we can see little that would prevent the African population in East Africa from falling again under the sway of the conditions which were characteristic of the recent past, when population growth was periodically checked by sudden increases in mortality and ultimately checked by the inabilities of the inhabitants to cope adequately with the exigencies of their environment.

AGE STRUCTURE

17. We have already referred in general terms in paragraph 12 of this chapter to the age structure of the population and to the high proportion of children among the indigenous population. The evidence suggests that the overall proportion exceeds 40 per cent. This means that the adult population has to support a heavy burden of child dependency. Moreover, the effective working life of African adults appears to be shorter than that of adults in other countries. In so far as an improvement in standards of living causes women to cease work, or causes children to start working at a later age, the supply of labour will be reduced. Similarly, when there is a shift from customary methods of subsistence production to other methods which require the labour of male adults, a shortage of adult male labourers could easily develop in the absence of immigration from other territories.

We think it important to point to the effects of the age-distribution of the African population upon its capacity to work and to save. The higher the standards of education, or of living, which it is necessary, or thought desirable, to give to the proportionately large number of child dependants, the greater the burden on the effective income-producing adults and, therefore, the less the amount of saving in directions other than education which they will be able to accomplish.

OVERCROWDED AREAS

18. The need for greater economic mobility and the change to a modern economy is an overall need in East Africa but it has a particular urgency in what are called the overcrowded areas. In Appendix VIII we give a series of statistics of the density of population per square mile by districts. Statistics of this kind are usually cited as an index of overcrowding and sometimes of over-population. We would stress, however, that high population densities are not in themselves an indication either of an undue rate of population growth or of an excessive absolute number of the population in the areas concerned.

In many regions throughout the world high population densities have not prevented a high productivity per head in agriculture. For the growth of manufacturing industry concentration of population is not only generally advantageous but frequently essential and yields higher incomes per head than can be obtained where population density is low and industry is thinly spread. In East Africa it is broadly true to say that the areas of highest population density are those which are most fertile. The very fertility of these lands has been one of the causes of their high population densities. It is not improbable that a higher and less interrupted rate of natural increase of population has occurred in these areas than in other areas of East Africa, owing to their more favourable ecological and climatic conditions. Unfortunately reliable data do not yet exist which would enable us to determine with suitable statistical accuracy the actual increases in population which have occurred in individual districts or provinces.

19. It is probable that the more densely populated areas have been affected by migration into them from districts which were less favoured by nature or, conversely, that population has been slow to move from them to the less healthy or less fertile, but also less congested parts of the country. There is certainly a good deal of evidence which suggests that even today the densely populated areas yield to their inhabitants a relatively higher standard of life than can be obtained from the same amount of effort in the less favoured areas. But it must also be observed that many of the densely populated areas contain considerable numbers of people who obtain their livelihood, or a large part of it, from economic activities elsewhere, in wage earning or from non-agricultural pursuits. This is another reason why statistics of density are not a reliable index of overcrowding. Where non-agricultural activities are pursued to a considerable extent, the remaining producers on the land are able to find a ready market for their products and to engage in production which would otherwise be uneconomic. In what sense, then, can we properly regard a district as 'overcrowded' if the ordinary figures of population density are inadequate for this purpose?

20. Throughout our enquiry we were impressed by the recurring evidence that particular areas were now carrying so large a population that agricultural production in them was being retarded, that the natural resources themselves were being destroyed, that families were unable to find access to new land, and that land which should have been lying fallow was being encroached upon. Such a situation clearly implies that with the existing state of agricultural technique and economic organization, and in the absence of other types of economic activity, the population is unable to support a growth in its numbers without a deterioration of its average standard of life. It implies that there must either be a change in the use of the land or a reduction in the number of people whom the land has to sustain. And it provides an example of the optimum population having been exceeded under conditions in which it is assumed that the amount of land, the amount of capital, the state of knowledge and technique, the social organization and other economic activities are all constant and population alone is allowed to grow.

21. Areas of the type which we have described illustrate in an acute form one of the main causes of poverty in East Africa, namely, that too large a proportion of the population is still engaged in subsistence food production because agricultural methods are employed which yield too small a return on the time and effort expended. Whereas in economically advanced countries only some 12 to 15 per cent of the population is engaged in

producing the food required to feed the population, in most under-developed countries the proportion may be as much as 60 per cent, and in some of the indigenous areas of East Africa it is even higher. As we endeavour to show later, little economic progress can be expected in the face of the existing natural resources of East Africa until the productivity of the indigenous population engaged in agriculture is greatly increased. It is this situation which is characteristic of East Africa as a whole but which has reached a critical stage in the overcrowded areas. In these areas the excessive number of persons engaged in agricultural production on the basis of outworn systems of land use must be reduced, not only to save the land from serious deterioration but to make possible the introduction of new techniques to raise agricultural productivity and to enable a smaller proportion of the population to be required for food production.

22. A memorandum submitted to us by the African Land Utilisation and Settlement Board of Kenya on areas suitable for settlement rightly draws a distinction between overpopulation and overcrowding from the point of view of agricultural technique and productivity. The memorandum points out that the figures which refer to the need for resettlement relate to overcrowding in agricultural occupations rather than to the overpopulation of the particular district as a whole, since a vast range of non-agricultural employment is created by good land use.

It may well be the case that in many instances the problem of the overcrowded areas cannot be dealt with except by special measures which involve both the resettlement of the population and the introduction of new methods of farming. We refer to these elsewhere in our Report. But it is also true that the problem is an integral part of the more general problem in East Africa of raising the incomes obtained from land and other natural resources. As these incomes increase the local market for manufactured goods and services grows automatically. By contrast, without increased productivity on the land or in mining, the opportunities for raising the standard of life of the mass of the population will remain restricted.

B. Indian and European Populations

23. Our discussion up to this point has been limited to the consideration of the African population but we think it right that we should make some mention of the Indian and European populations, and in this connection we have made considerable use of a paper by Mr. C. J. Martin.* What is significant is the very rapid growth of the Indian population. Prior to 1900 it would appear that the Indian population in East Africa numbered no more than 5,000. By 1913 the number had increased to 25,000, a fivefold increase in little more than a decade. By 1948 the number had increased to 168,000, six and a half times the number 35 years earlier. These high rates of increase are almost entirely due to immigration. The available evidence suggests that the natural rate of increase of the Indian population may be between 2.5 and 3.5 per cent per annum. On the basis of the lower figure the Indian population, apart from immigration, would double itself in 28 years; on the basis of the higher figure, in 20 years. But in either case, the rate of natural increase is greater than the corresponding rate for the indigenous African population.

* C. J. Martin, *A Demographic Study of an Immigrant Community: The Indian Population of British East Africa*, Population Studies, March, 1953.

Immigration still has a considerable effect on the total numbers of the Indian population but the influence exercised by this factor appears to be a declining one. At the time of the 1948 census some 50 per cent of the Indian population were recorded as born locally. The Kenya figures illustrate the manner in which this proportion has been rising—from 24·7 per cent in 1921, to 33·0 per cent in 1931, and 49·5 per cent in 1948.

24. The average annual intake of Indians into East Africa in recent years has been estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 7,000. It might be supposed, therefore, that in the ten years following the 1948 census some 70,000 Indians would enter East Africa. Mr. Martin has calculated that the effect of this immigration over the period, and with the same age-grouping as was recorded from 1949 to 1951, would result in a total increase of 87,000 by the end of the period. He concludes that, assuming an immigration of this magnitude, the Indian population of East Africa would reach a figure of 313,000 by 1958. If, beyond that year, the Indian population should show a natural rate of increase of 2·5 per cent per annum—the lower of the two figures mentioned in paragraph 23—the Indian population, apart from any further immigration, would be nearly 425,000 by 1970.

25. We cite these estimates relating to the possible future position with the caution that they are based upon certain assumptions which in due course might require to be modified. But they may be useful as a means of indicating the magnitudes involved in the future growth of the East African population. We discuss the problem of immigration elsewhere in our Report. Here it may suffice to mention that even if the recent rate of increase of the Indian population should be maintained during the next 15 years the size of that population would still be a small proportion of the total population of East Africa—perhaps less than half-a-million out of a total African population of, say, twenty-five million.

26. By way of contrast, the European population has increased at a much slower rate. In 1913 their numbers were probably about 9,000. By 1948 they had increased to just over 43,000. In the same period the Indian population had increased from 25,000 to 168,000 and the demographic prospects are that, in the absence of some new factor, the disparity in the numbers of Europeans and Indians will continue to widen. It may, however, be added that whereas in 1948 more than 40 per cent of the Indian population consisted of children up to the age of 14, the corresponding proportion for the European population was only 25 per cent.* This means that the burden of dependency on the adults of working age is greater in the Indian population than in the European. Although the proportion of children in the Indian population is about the same as it is in the African population, the burden of dependency on the Indian population is greater because women do not engage to the same extent in agricultural activities.

The Indians are to be found mainly in urban areas partly on account of the restrictions which limit their ability to own and occupy land and to engage in agricultural pursuits. As much as 70 per cent of the Indian population is to be found in the towns, as compared with 50 per cent of the European population, and approximately one-quarter of the total town population consists of Indians as against less than one-twentieth in the case of Europeans. The economic restrictions which impinge on the Indian population lower its productivity and undermine its capacity to

* This somewhat underestimates the proportion of children to the European population as it excludes those who were absent from East Africa at school at the time of the census.

work and to save. These restrictions also mean that with a rapidly growing Indian population largely confined to the urban areas, any marked degree of industrial development in East Africa will tend to provide greater opportunities for the Indian than for the African population which, as yet, is less well endowed with industrial skills and commercial aptitudes.

C. Birth Control

27. General fear that the population is growing too rapidly in numbers, particularly in the overcrowded areas, has caused many to seek a solution in the propagation of knowledge concerning modern artificial appliances for preventing conception. It has also been suggested that it would be desirable in view of the high cost, and also because of the difficulty of getting the indigenous people to use the appliances now available, if a simpler method could be found such as a pill to be taken orally.

In view of the analysis which we have presented, we are not of the opinion that the rate of natural increase is such in East Africa as to warrant any large-scale attempts to introduce these methods with the object of reducing the birth rate for general economic reasons. As we will show the real problem in East Africa is one of introducing new patterns of production and economic behaviour and there is no justification for more drastic public measures. East Africa is at present sparsely populated, and given the economic adjustments and changes required, a growing population will be an advantage, and may well be a prerequisite of the full use of its resources on modern lines.

There is some evidence that many indigenous tribes have used, and are using, methods which have the effect of spacing out the number of births, and of preventing unwanted births. We can see no reason why people requiring the help of modern science in this regard should not have access to it. In our view modern medical knowledge should not be withheld from the individual on all matters pertaining to the prevention of conception and he should be permitted to make use of such knowledge as his conscience and religious beliefs dictate. We therefore recommend that facilities for access to such knowledge should be made available wherever they are demanded.

CHAPTER 4

The Basic Poverty of East Africa

A. Comparative Analysis of Geographical Products

1. One of the most vivid impressions which we have formed as a result of our enquiry is the fundamental poverty which prevails in the East African territories. The output of their economies when related to the size of their population is low both in absolute terms and by comparison with the output of those other regions in Africa with which comparison may reasonably be made. We regard this fact as basic to any future agricultural and industrial

development which may be contemplated and we regard it as equally basic to any discussion of such allied matters as wages, immigration policy, capital creation and the expansion of the social services.

In emphasizing this point we are drawing attention to one of the main factors which have limited economic development in the past and which, though to a lesser degree, still limits development in the present. Poverty is a natural breeding ground for poverty. To some extent the same basic poverty sets a limit to the degree of economic development which, in the absence of spectacular mineral discoveries, may be envisaged in the foreseeable future. But we take the view that the effect of this basic poverty has been intensified by the elaborate system of restrictions and inhibitions which pervades the East African economy and which is in part a feature of the tribal order of society and in part a creation of public policy. If the restrictive effects of these arrangements can be removed, and if we can create conditions more favourable to the utilization of the resources which already exist, we are satisfied that an important measure of economic expansion in East Africa may be contemplated and that the fruits of that expansion are capable of being shared by all its inhabitants.

2. We have thought it desirable to examine the absolute and relative poverty of East Africa by analysing estimates of the geographical products of other African territories. These are presented in Appendix IX. We realize that the measurement of any country's net product is a complicated exercise and that in the case of under-developed and primitive communities the conceptual aspects of the exercise are still in an embryonic state. But numerous calculations have been made and we are satisfied that these calculations are sufficiently meaningful to provide us with a reasonable indication of the relative productiveness of the territories which are being compared.

3. The conclusion which emerges from an examination of these data is that the *per capita* net product in East Africa is among the lowest of all those African territories for which statistics are available. The three East African territories which together have a population of some 18,000,000 persons generate a smaller net product than the Belgian Congo with but two-thirds of that population. Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, each with populations less than half those of Kenya or Uganda, enjoy higher geographical net products. The Gold Coast with a population slightly smaller than Uganda's has a geographical product nearly twice as valuable. And if the Union of South Africa is included in the comparisons the enormous differences which exist between the productivities of these African economies become even more striking. Indeed, the geographical net product of the Union is approximately as large as the total for the British East, Central and West African territories taken together with the Belgian Congo, the total of whose populations is more than five times as large as the population of the Union.

4. It must not be supposed that, in making these comparisons, we are advocating that the particular social and economic policies which have been followed elsewhere should be emulated. But we are obliged to emphasize the stark fact that, even when account is taken of the contributions which both Europeans and Asians have made to the net product of the East African economy, the size of that net product is still so small that it must condition whatever plans are made for future development. As a corollary to this it becomes of particular importance that every effort should be made to use to the full the assets of land, labour, capital and enterprise which are available to the region. It must be recognized by all races in East Africa that they cannot afford the luxury of dissipating the resources of the region

through arrangements which canalize the energies of the community into wasteful forms of activity or which inhibit the full exercise of their productive powers.

5. In the same connexion it is important to observe how recent has been the process of economic development in East Africa. This, of course, is one of the main causes of the relatively backward state of their economies. To illustrate how recent has been the impact of the money economy in East Africa we would draw attention to the development of domestic exports. Indices of government revenue and expenditure and the production of specific crops and minerals tell the same story, but we take domestic exports as one of the most important yardsticks of economic development in a 'colonial' economy in its early stages.

DOMESTIC EXPORTS

6. In 1907 Kenya's domestic exports were valued at only £157,000. In the same year Uganda's exports amounted to £140,000 and those of Tanganyika to £625,000. By contrast the exports of Southern Rhodesia exceeded £2,000,000, as did also the exports of the Gold Coast, while those of Nigeria exceeded £3,000,000 and the exports of the Union of South Africa £45,000,000. By 1913 exports from the Gold Coast were still valued at ten times those of Uganda or Kenya and, despite notable advances in the inter-war period, by 1946 Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika were each exporting much less than Northern Rhodesia, or Southern Rhodesia, or the Gold Coast, or Nigeria, or the Union of South Africa. This relative position was unaltered in 1952 although in the recent post-war period there had been a rapid rise in the prices of East Africa's principal exports. Since 1946 the exports of the three East African territories have increased four or five times in value but the values of the exports of other African territories have risen no less rapidly.

7. One of the factors which has retarded the growth of the modern sector of the East African economy has been the inability to discover or exploit the mineral resources which contributed so greatly to the generation of incomes in the Union, the Belgian Congo, the Rhodesias and the Gold Coast. Prior to 1914, minerals did not enter sufficiently into the domestic exports of Kenya, Uganda or Tanganyika to be worthy of mention in the records. Even as late as 1929 Kenya and Uganda together exported minerals to the value of only £300,000 as compared with their total exports of over £6,900,000. Tanganyika had still not become an exporter of minerals. By 1935 Tanganyika's mineral exports amounted to £400,000. Those of Kenya and Uganda together reached an equivalent figure. Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, had been exporting minerals to the value of £2,200,000 as early as 1907, a figure which represented the major portion of its exports for that year. In the same year, nearly half (£1,200,000) of the exports of the Gold Coast consisted of minerals, while the mineral exports of the Union amounted to £39,000,000. By 1935, mineral exports from Northern Rhodesia reached a figure of £4,500,000 or more than the total exports, mineral and non-mineral, of any of the East African territories in the same year. In that year, too, 62 per cent (£5,600,000) of the total exports of the Belgian Congo consisted of minerals. By the end of the Second World War, Uganda's mineral exports were negligible and those of Kenya only £700,000. Tanganyika's mineral exports had now reached £1,400,000, but the Gold Coast and Southern and Northern Rhodesia were each exporting between five and eight times as much. Tanganyika's mineral exports in 1953 reached £3,500,000 which was little better than the figure reached by Southern Rhodesia in 1913; and the mineral exports of Kenya (£900,000) in 1953 were less than those of the Gold Coast in 1907. Meanwhile in Northern

Rhodesia between 1946 and 1952 the value of mineral exports had increased sevenfold from £12,700,000 to £79,489,000, thus making them nearly as valuable as those of the Belgian Congo whose mineral exports (£85,700,000) were second only to those of the Union of South Africa.

THE RELATIVE ECONOMIC POSITION

8. The relative economic position of East Africa can be looked at from two angles. On the one hand, indices of the kind that we have quoted may be regarded as indicative of the backwardness of the East African economies. But they may also be regarded as a measure of the progress which has in fact been accomplished. When regard is had to the history of the region, it is no small achievement that today East Africa is economically in much the same position as the Union of South Africa forty years ago. Within the memory of many living people there existed throughout the whole of East Africa conditions of quite remarkable economic backwardness. The range of economic activities was narrow and restricted. In terms of modern society with its division of labour, its wide range of producer and consumer goods, its economic, financial, and political institutions, its world-wide market contacts and its dovetailing with the economies of other societies, all of which encouraged, and were encouraged by, the individualistic and functional basis of society, the East African tribal subsistence economies of even fifty years ago were extremely backward. These tribal economies are just as backward today. One of the main reasons for the poverty to which we have referred is precisely that in many areas so great a proportion of the resources of the territories is still channelled, not into relatively high income-producing activities for wide and specialized markets, but into the subsistence production of the local community which by its very nature cannot yield a surplus above what is required to meet, at the lowest level, the primitive necessities of life. But whereas at the beginning of the present century almost the whole of the economic activities of East Africa was conducted at this subsistence level, today products worth millions of pounds are being exported, government revenues and expenditures can be measured in millions of pounds, and the value of the net product of the three territories must be in the neighbourhood of £225,000,000. It is important to realize that all this wealth is produced by the money sector of the economy and not by the subsistence sector, and whether it is high or low in comparison with the production of other African territories it is a very substantial advance on the production of East Africa at the beginning of the century. This advance may be regarded as a measure of the encroachment on the primitive tribal societies which has taken place in our own time, in consequence of the impact of modern economic forces.

9. In Appendix IX we deal in some detail with the statistics of income of selected African territories. These show not merely how low a product is generated in East Africa as a result of activities which are orientated towards the market but also to what extent these activities have developed. Our main statistics exclude estimates of the value of subsistence production although they are added for purposes of information. They are not included in our main statistics because the subsistence estimates are based on information which has been collected or calculated for the different territories by different methods, so that comparisons between different territories are not satisfactory. In any case all such estimates rest upon calculations which impute money values to the food and other subsistence products which are produced within the subsistence framework, and the statistical procedure of imputing money values to the results of activities which are not based upon market-orientated production is of very doubtful validity when used

in comparison with estimates relating to the money sector of the economy. When we ignore subsistence activities and direct our attention exclusively to the actual money incomes produced, we are on much firmer ground, particularly if our object is to obtain a measure of the extent to which production has shifted from subsistence to commercialized and wage-earning activities.

NET CASH PRODUCT

10. We find, as might be expected, great differences in the results of the money-producing activities in the various territories. The net cash product per head ranges from about £100 in the Union of South Africa to about £47 in the Rhodesias, £34 in the Gold Coast and about £14 in Kenya. The poverty of the East African territories in terms of their ability to produce other than mere subsistence incomes is shown by the fact that they produce the lowest *per capita* net product of all the territories cited.

The *per capita* net product in Kenya is only about 14 per cent, and that of Uganda rather less than 16 per cent of the amounts produced per head in the Union of South Africa. Kenya and Uganda each have a money product per head which is less than one-half of that of the Gold Coast and little more than half that of the Belgian Congo. It should be noted that these calculations refer to the geographical net product and so do not show the income per head actually received by the inhabitants of the territories, since payments such as interest and profits going abroad and the earnings of migrant labourers remitted homewards have to be deducted before the retained income can be determined. Moreover, in some cases, income produced was in part withheld from individual producers under marketing arrangements whereby large sums were placed to reserve funds for a variety of purposes. Such sums are included in the estimates of the geographical net product although the amounts are not received by the growers.

These figures of national product per head do, however, indicate the extent to which the resources of the various territories have been utilized for the production of money income. They also show how far in this respect the three East African territories are behind the other territories in Africa. And they reflect the poverty of the East African territories in the only way in which the term 'poverty' can be meaningfully used, namely, to denote their relative inability to achieve modern economic standards. Moreover, the territories in which cash incomes produced per head were highest were also those in which the proportion of male adult Africans engaged in money-earning activities was highest.

11. We also estimate for the various territories the net money product from the commercialized activities of the indigenous populations together with the wages earned by native labour, both expressed in relation to the total African population of the territories. The resulting figures of net money product per head are not the average incomes actually received by Africans but show the total cash earned by Africans in relation to the total African population.

The estimates which we have used are not all made on exactly the same basis. Thus, in Kenya, the available figures relating to commercialized production are limited to the values of African marketed agricultural produce, whereas in Uganda the figures relate to the cash income of all African enterprises, including trade and transport as well as agriculture and fisheries. But from such checks as we have been able to make, there is no reason to suppose that a different picture would have emerged if the Kenya item had been as inclusive as the corresponding item for Uganda. It should also be observed that in some of the countries compared, the income from wages is

inflated by the wages paid to migrant labour from outside the territories. In Uganda about one-third of the total adult male employees consisted of extra-territorial labourers who came from Ruanda-Urundi and other territories. In Southern Rhodesia about one-half of the total came from outside. This means that the figures for wage-income over-estimate the extent to which the indigenous African populations of these two territories have been responsible for this income-earning activity.

12. The figures given in line 8 of the table in Appendix IX express per head of the total African population the amount earned from employment outside indigenous economies. The figures are not the average wages actually received per head but express the importance of wages in relation to the total *de facto* population. Here again the relative backwardness of the East African territories is readily apparent as far as Kenya and Tanganyika are concerned, for in Uganda wage-earning has not been necessary to the same extent because of the successful development of commercialized indigenous production. In Kenya the lower commercialized production in the indigenous areas has had to be made good by wage-earning outside them; nevertheless, the amount so produced from wage labour is less than in Northern or Southern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo and, of course, the Union of South Africa where money income-earning opportunities have developed to a greater extent.

Once again, therefore, we are made aware of the fundamental causes of the relative poverty of the indigenous population of Kenya and Tanganyika and can see that it rests upon the absence of sufficient commercialized and wage-earning activities for the indigenous population. The relatively high level of commercialized indigenous production in Uganda as compared with Kenya and Tanganyika is noteworthy, but it still does not provide an overall cash income anywhere near that available, for example, in the Gold Coast. Moreover, the present level of net national money income achieved in Uganda is of very recent origin.

13. Cash earnings per head of the African population amounted to only £3.3 in Kenya as compared with £8.8 in the Belgian Congo, £11.6 in Uganda (£11.1 excluding immigrant labour), £12.0 in Southern Rhodesia (£6.0 excluding immigrant labour) and £24.0 in the Union of South Africa. These figures do not take into account differences in the value of money in these countries. Nevertheless, even when account is taken of this factor, they do indicate that the African population of Kenya has not been drawn into the market economy of the modern world to the same extent that has occurred in the other territories.

14. The high cash income derived from Uganda's export crops, to which the overall increase in its geographical product and the cash earnings of its African population are both mainly due, has resulted from very favourable prices for cotton and coffee which have also occurred in other African territories. As shown in Appendix X the export total value index (1950=100) stood at 16 in 1938 and reached 165 in 1952. The *volume* of cotton exports on the other hand showed no apparent increase over the period. The import value of exports, calculated by dividing the export total value index by the import price index, rose from 0.61 in 1938 to 1.24 in 1952 (on a 1950 base of 100) indicating that a given quantity of Uganda's exports would purchase twice the former quantity of imports. For Kenya and Tanganyika there has been evidence of a similar trend which was particularly marked in the case of Tanganyika. Since 1952 there has been a fall in the value of exports and if this decline should continue the present national income levels of all three territories would be very seriously affected, unless compensating increases in productive activity in agriculture or in other industries could be attained.

15. The evidence which we have been able to collect sustains the conclusion that the territories of East Africa are both absolutely and relatively poor in terms of money income. This means that their productive capacities, their saving capacities and their taxable capacities are all low. We cannot lose sight of this consideration.

B. The Dual Economy and its Implications

16. The economic development which has been in evidence in East Africa since the end of the First World War has not differed in any important respect from what has happened in other parts of tropical Africa. There have been differences of degree but not of substance. The line of evolution has been from an almost complete dependence upon subsistence activities to activities which are concerned with the earning of money either by wage labour or by producing goods for sale in the market. This transition rests upon a fundamental change in the direction of economic activity.

17. Production for markets presupposes that the markets exist. By contrast, tribal subsistence economies are, by their very nature, economies in which the development of modern commercial markets is necessarily inhibited. In these subsistence economies, not merely do the population live at a primitively low standard of life, but the nature of the economy makes it impossible for the population to discover a route of escape from its primitive poverty. Traditional methods of land usage and tribal restraints on any departure from established practice, coupled with ignorance and lack of resources, stand in the way of any escape routes which might otherwise have been open. But the major obstacle is the absence of any considerable markets which would make it worth while for cultivators to supply by specialized production on any appreciable scale. It is still a commonplace in reputable economic literature that 'division of labour is limited by the scope of the market', and that anything which enlarges the scope of the market also increases the opportunities for more specialized production.

18. The growth of income and the raising of living standards, which the division of labour through exchange has made possible in money economies, is a process of expansion and differentiation both in space and in time, brought about by the widening of markets and by the inauguration of activities which may span considerable periods of time. The raising of income and living standards is nothing but the expansion of the exchange economy, the division of labour as between persons and regions and the spacing of activity over time, from activity for the present to activity directed to the future.

19. We refer in chapter 6 to the report of the Kenya Land Commission. There we suggest that, up to the time of the Kenya Land Commission report, it was not clearly realized that there was a fundamental difference between policies which were designed to perpetuate the narrowly based tribal subsistence economies, and policies which were designed to raise the living standards of the indigenous peoples. This does not imply a criticism of the Commission which worked in a climate of opinion which was strongly biased in favour of allowing the African and the European to develop along their own lines in separate demarcated areas. At the time of its appointment the Kenya Land Commission was faced with the existence of tribal areas. But, although in its report it stressed the need to move away from

tribalism and its impedimenta of restrictions, it did not succeed by its recommendations in encouraging this movement. While it was led, largely on account of the manner in which its terms of reference were drawn up, to make recommendations which entrenched the tribal control of land tenure and ownership and prevented the emergence of a market for land and other natural resources, in other parts of its report it expressed the hope that an increase in agricultural efficiency would occur. It did not realize that the better technical use of natural resources could not emerge unless production was enabled to shift from a subsistence basis to an exchange basis. The problem posited to the Kenya Land Commission was in fact insoluble on the basis of the postulates which it assumed. In hoping for an increase in the productive efficiency of agriculture it implied the dissolution of these tribal economies which, however, the maintenance of land unit boundaries in fact perpetuated; and it did not suggest what legal and administrative reforms would be necessary to enable the subsistence economies to be transformed into exchange economies.

20. It is not possible to measure in precise terms the extent to which the transition to an exchange economy has occurred. In comparison with other African territories it may still be small and within East Africa itself it varies widely. In Buganda in Uganda, in Nyanza in Kenya, and in the Kilimanjaro area of Tanganyika the commercialization of economic activities is already considerably developed; in other areas it has hardly begun. But it is clear that the economic needs and aspirations of the indigenous peoples of East Africa can no longer be fulfilled on the basis of the tribal organization of production and consumption and subsistence agriculture. The fact that already about one-quarter of the total male African population of working age is engaged in wage-paid employment and that the wages earned by Africans, together with the net value of the crops marketed by Africans, probably exceeds £100,000,000 per annum—an amount which is equal to about one-third of the total net geographical income, including subsistence, of the three territories—is an indication of the extent to which the subsistence organization of production is no longer able in itself to assure to a considerable and increasing proportion of the African population either the income or the economic security which it seeks.

21. But this process of change involves other important consequences. The tribal order of society endeavoured to afford to the members of the tribe an acceptable form of security, appropriate to the primitive conditions under which the people lived. The change towards the commercialization of economic activities makes it possible for the indigenous population to aspire to, and to attain, higher standards of life than would otherwise have been possible. But at the same time it constitutes a threat to the traditional ideas and practices which formed a vital element in the tribal order. In particular it constitutes a threat to the tribal concept of economic and social security. It is important that public policy should recognize the nature and significance of this threat and the dilemma which emerges when, on the one hand, it is desired to enable the indigenous populations to raise their own standards of life and, on the other, to avoid the harmful effect of social disintegration which accompanies the break-up of the tribal order of security. It should not be overlooked, in this connexion, that if the process of change with which we are concerned creates new problems of adaptation for the peoples who are affected by the process, it also increases the resources with which to deal with these problems. The concept of economic security occupies so important a place in the minds of the indigenous inhabitants as well as the British administration that we think it appropriate to examine its implications in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER 5

The Dilemma of Security

1. The economic security which can be achieved by individuals engaged either as wage-earners or as producers for the market, however that production may be organized, differs fundamentally from the security which can be attained in a tribal subsistence economy. When suitable land is available, shifting cultivation or a pastoral life enables individuals or groups of individuals to maintain themselves by subsistence production in a precarious dependence upon the immediate environment. In general, purely subsistence economies can find no method of satisfying the wants of the people other than that of adjusting these wants to what the environment will permit and to what the land or stock will yield with the minimum of improvement for the future. There is, therefore, little margin in subsistence production for social and economic measures which will enable the community to escape from its complete dependence upon the particular area of land which it occupies. The poorness of communications, transport, and general economic mobility will in any case discourage the specialization in production and the division of labour on which a modern exchange economy rests, and through which surpluses are obtained with which to make provision for future expansion and progress. Thus, defence against unfavourable natural occurrences such as drought, and against the pressure of population growth cannot be provided by new methods of production or exchange, but only by obtaining access to new areas of land. On this, however, the communities concerned find themselves just as narrowly dependent as before, with the result that consumption remains rigidly circumscribed by communal controls based upon long experience of recurring scarcity.

2. In consequence of this situation, 'security' and occupation of, or access to, new land are in tribal society so interdependent that they may be regarded as synonymous. There can be little doubt that these long-ingrained habits of thought based upon historical circumstances are an important cause of the extreme suspicion with which attempts by East African governments to grapple with the problems of land tenure and ownership are likely to be received by tribal authorities and indigenous communities. They have also influenced the form of security which the territorial governments have endeavoured to provide for the indigenous population and the methods which the governments have employed for the purpose. The crystalization of tribal areas was intensified by the desire of governments to protect the indigenous population against the effects of immigration which might deprive that population of some of the land on which the security of subsistence producers depends. There was a strongly developed tendency to assume that a guarantee that the local population could not be disturbed in its traditional interests would meet the basic requirements of the situation.

3. It is true that several commissions and special enquiries have, from time to time, stressed the importance of increased production in the tribal areas. But they failed to realize the difficulty of reconciling the principle of non-disturbance of customary land tenure with the need to increase African production. They failed to realize that increased African production required a new conception of land rights and tenure. For, as land becomes one of the factors of production for the market with the consequent division of labour and specialization of production which its use as a factor of production in

the market economy entails, two fundamental changes occur: (a) the land becomes valuable as a specialized factor of production, and (b) an increasing proportion of the population becomes less directly dependent upon the land and is able to find new income-earning opportunities in other directions, opportunities greater than those which occupation of the land itself can offer them. Indeed, a rise in income per head in the community as a whole presupposes such a diversification of economic activities, either by increased diversifications of production on the land itself, or by increased specialization in occupations divorced from it. A tribal community which is economically isolated from the market cannot introduce these changes.

4. If the living standards of the people are to rise and the range of income-earning activities is to be extended in order to make this possible, access to new land merely for subsistence production can no longer form the basis of 'security' for all the indigenous population. The 'needs-test' for land which is a simple concept for an economically isolated tribal community and on which the claims to, and rights in, land were based in the past, is no longer adequate. The test of land *needs* must be replaced by a test of land *use*. The economic security of the society no longer depends on the subsistence which each individual attempts in isolation to wring from the environment with the unaided efforts of the family or kinship group, but on the combination of the highly specialized efforts of the community as a whole. The security of the inhabitants of East Africa already depends to a considerable extent, and in the future will depend to an increasing extent, upon the success with which the economic efforts of the whole community are pursued. Isolated subsistence organization cannot provide that security any more than it can yield the means to satisfy the desire for increased income, or to meet the unfolding needs of a growing population.

5. The extent to which land which is still used primarily for subsistence purposes will be accurately evaluated as a factor of production, will vary with the extent to which subsistence producers are drawn into the market economy. In certain parts of East Africa this pricing of land has already started, despite the fact that there is no general legal recognition of land sales and no legal means of registering freehold ownership or tenant rights. The fact that transactions in land are taking place in certain areas is in itself an indication of the pressure to move from subsistence concepts of production in the direction of more modern ideas. And where, as in Buganda, there exist freehold titles to land, the rise in land values is an unmistakable reflection of the growth of modern forms of production, although even in this area the movement is inhibited by the forces of tribal custom and authority. There can be little doubt that, notwithstanding the pressure which is building up among some of the people for release from outworn tribal laws and customs with regard to land, it will be some considerable time before many parts of East Africa will be in a position to change over to a modern system of land ownership and tenure. Measures will have to be applied to facilitate the movement, care being taken to ensure that a class with no alternative means of livelihood is not created. More important, however, than the mechanism by which the transition is effected is an understanding of the principles which are involved in the change.

6. In an exchange economy, the ability to buy and sell land freely rests on the assumption that the value of land reflects, in rough measure, the use to which the land can best be put in the interests of the community. A free market gives to the buyer access to land for those economic purposes which are consistent with the price which he has to pay for it and ensures to the seller the opportunity to dispose of land which he is unable to utilize adequately in relation to the price which it would fetch. Where the market

is not free, either because of tribal restrictions which prevent its purchase, sale or lease, or because it is encumbered with restrictions on transfer which have no relation to economic circumstances, access to land may be rendered impossible for those members of the community who are best able to use it in accordance with its market value. When, therefore, tribal authorities restrict the use of land, either by members of their own tribe or by outsiders, in accordance with criteria other than those of the highest productivity of the land, they are diminishing rather than increasing their real 'security'. For the security which rests on tribal exclusiveness, or on customs which prevent dealings with land as a negotiable asset, is the illusory security of the subsistence economy within which no economic advancement is possible.

7. In the past, the claim that one tribe could as of right exclude the members of other tribes from all land within its tribal sphere of influence was compatible with the self-sufficient character of tribal subsistence economies. Today it is no longer possible to defend the claim on the same ground. None of the tribal areas of East Africa can be regarded as viable economic, or even political, units in isolation from each other. The claim to exclusive tribal rights thus becomes a claim to rights without corresponding obligations and so runs counter to the principles on which the policy of any modern state must be based. To an increasing extent in the course of the present century each unit of administration has in every department of economic, social and political life, whether it be through the market economy, through transport services, medical services or education, come to depend upon the economic, fiscal and general resources of the territories as a whole. It is this territorial unity which, among other things, makes it possible for East Africa to obtain capital and other resources from the outside world. No single tribe can now afford to pursue that self-sufficient isolation which constituted its traditional heritage.

8. Thus, on the one hand, these tribal units cannot revert to a past which offered to their members no prospect of material advancement nor, on the other, can they go forward, or even stand still, under their present customary, legal and economic organization of land, labour and capital. To go back to the subsistence economy of the past, or even to stand still in the dawn between the old institutions which are dying and the new which are struggling to be born, would be to court economic disaster. To go forward without modifying drastically those features of the tribal system of land tenure which impede progress is impossible. This is the dilemma which confronts the African peoples in their own areas. Nor has it been grappled with by the governments of East Africa. These governments were anxious to preserve among Africans that form of security which prevailed where each individual had access to land in his own tribal area for subsistence purposes. They were also anxious to avoid the emergence of a landless class which had lost the traditional form of security in sickness and old age. There was also a marked tendency on the part of governments to assume that African tribal society would evolve under guidance to modern forms of economic organization and a higher standard of life. This assumption proved to be false, for apart from the fact that tribal restrictions on economic mobility are a serious impediment to economic advance, the growth of population has seriously undermined the static 'security' which the tribal subsistence economy provided. Already in certain areas, and these include some of the most productive, there is no longer sufficient land to provide security, even on a subsistence level, to all who would seek to possess it.

9. The problems which arise in consequence of the failure to deal with this situation are now intensified by the very presence in East Africa of the visibly higher standards of life in the modern sectors of the economy, and

particularly of the immigrant peoples therein. It is intensified further by the general contacts of the indigenous populations with the ideas and ways of life of the outside world. It is this visible opportunity for a new way of life which static tribalism frustrates. And this frustration lies at the root of African discontent. In whatever direction he turns, the African, whether he wishes to become a peasant farmer, a businessman, a permanent wage-earner in the towns or a modern tenant on the land, is hampered by the requirements of his tribal society with its obligations and restraints. As a farmer, in many areas, he cannot buy or lease land or obtain a fully defensible title thereto. In consequence he cannot easily specialize in particular forms of agricultural production for export or home markets. He cannot readily specialize, not only because commercial activity is difficult without possessing exclusive interests in the land, but also because to specialize on certain agricultural products as a seller requires the certainty of access to the products of others as a buyer. Those supplies which the specialized producer has to purchase are not available because others, in turn, and for the same reasons, cannot afford to specialize in producing them. Moreover, the fact that the African who has land cannot readily sell it deters him from improving it, as in any case he is not certain that the increased value which he has imparted to it by his efforts or by his abstinence will accrue to himself or to his heirs. As a member of a tribe he may not even be certain that his rights to his land may not be lost entirely should he leave it for a time to work and save elsewhere. Similarly, as a tenant, he is deprived of the security which would induce him to use and to improve his land to the best advantage. In tribal society, access to land depends in large measure upon non-economic considerations, and, as we show elsewhere, even the full development of commerce, industry and the professions is hampered because the availability of land is restricted by the need to obtain the consent of tribal authorities for its release. These authorities have generally been unwilling to release land for such purposes and to meet the need for the expansion of old, and the creation of new towns. Yet the economic development of any region on modern lines is impossible without appropriate urban growth. Basically, tribal rights are status rights, and the African who is dependent upon them is dependent on the goodwill of others to maintain them. If he is deprived of them he cannot be sure that he will obtain the objective value of his property. If he is landless, tribal society may attempt to provide him with land for subsistence purposes; but he cannot as an individual by his own efforts acquire the land he needs for modern economic purposes. No amount of personal saving out of income earned in other occupations can help him.

10. Tribal and, as we show elsewhere, racial rigidities affecting land have in many parts of East Africa brought about a situation of increasing tension, the basis of which is fear. Those who occupy land fear that they may lose it or be deprived of it without proper compensation and with no opportunity to purchase other land in its place. Those who have no land fear that they will never be able to acquire it. Thus those who occupy land cling to it irrespective of their ability to use it properly. Those who have too little land for proper economic production on modern methods cannot easily extend their holdings, while those who have too much are not permitted to dispose of it for economic purposes at its appropriate price without consulting authorities, whose decision will not be made on the basis of economic considerations but on the basis of the old conceptions of tribal, clan or family security.

11. This situation of tension and distrust, where property is often as difficult to come by as it is to dispose of, stands in contrast to the situation

in those areas where modern law safeguards the freedom of economic exchange and action. The progressive African sees the European secure in his land, able to put it to its best economic use, pledging it as security for credit and working capital and obtaining a monetary income from it. In the towns he sees the European attaining the benefits of security and income in the property which he owns. But in his own areas he is denied those opportunities for reasons which he cannot, in the last resort, reconcile with his conscious and unconscious aspirations.

12. The transition from tribally regulated systems of land tenure to the modern society, in which property is owned individually as well as by agencies for communal action such as co-operatives, is not likely to be easy. The machinery to facilitate the transition will have to vary with circumstances but, whatever the machinery, one principle is fundamental, viz. if modern economic institutions are to evolve they must be freed to the fullest possible extent from the political authority of the tribe where it is obstructive. The rigidities of African tribal society are, in the last resort, political rigidities. In particular, it is the status considerations of different sections of the tribe which cannot be reconciled with the requirements of modern economic mobility. The vested interests of particular groups relate to the historical circumstances and struggles for power of the past. It is necessary to foster those legal and economic changes without which African societies cannot hope to meet the problems which face them now and which will increasingly face them in the future. It will be necessary to enlist the support of those members of the tribes who command the confidence of the people, so that the essential transition from the old tribal system of tenure to one which meets the requirement of economic progress and modern aspirations can be accomplished with the least possible adverse social disturbance.

13. In this chapter we have endeavoured to bring into clear relief one of the fundamental dilemmas which confronts African society and the nature of the choice which must be made if a progressive rise in living standards is to become possible. We have drawn attention to one of the sources of tension between the indigenous peoples whose material advancement is impeded and the European elements whose material advancement is not held in check by the same impediments. In the circumstances of East Africa this tension tends to emerge as a racial tension and particular frustrations are liable to be attributed to the wrong causes. For this reason, it may be well to make clear that the situation of tension to which we have referred is one which, in its essence, cuts across all racial divisions. It is one which would emerge even if all the inhabitants belonged to the same race, so long as those who sought to raise their living standards, by having resort to the modern economy of specialized production and exchange, found themselves obstructed in this endeavour by the operation of a tribal system which perpetuated ideas and practices incompatible with the desire for progress.

14. We have emphasized the importance of enlarging the scope of the exchange economy. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that the transition from the tribal subsistence economy to the modern exchange economy would provide a complete answer to the problems which arise within the African society, and we do not do so. The immediate creation of a free market for land, for example, might in the circumstances of a primitive people emerging from their backward conditions fail to evoke a proper response from its more enterprising members who, because of the social and economic inhibitions under which they had hitherto lived, would lack the means to purchase either the land which they cultivated or the land which they would wish to acquire in order to improve their holdings. In

these circumstances there is some danger that large areas of land would pass into the hands of a few people who happened to possess the means of purchase, and who hoped to benefit either from the prestige of large land-ownership or from the more material advantages which would be forthcoming from a future rise in land values. Where there are to be found individuals of substance this danger is not negligible. It is a danger, moreover, which is realized by many Africans who are otherwise alive to the importance of enlarging the scope of the exchange economy. And it is a danger which is liable to appear to the African in a racial guise. We deal with this danger in chapter 23 of our report and we endeavour to give it full weight in our proposals. Here it may suffice to submit that particular dangers, where they are real, should be dealt with on their own merits without sacrificing the principles which must be followed if the progressive rise in the living standards of the African population is to be made possible.

CHAPTER 6

The Kenya Land Commission

1. Twenty years have passed since the Kenya Land Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Morris Carter, produced its report,* and it is now possible to assess the extent to which it succeeded in solving the problems with which it was faced. Its terms of reference are given in a note at the end of this chapter. They may be briefly summarized as the giving of a sense of security to the African population by the settlement of their claims to land and by the assurance of sufficient land for their future needs, and to the European by defining the area in which he was to enjoy a privileged position. We have abundant evidence that this feeling of security has not been attained, and we have therefore given our attention to the recommendations made by the Kenya Land Commission and the measures taken to implement them. We are impressed with the thoroughness with which the Commission carried out its task, and our criticisms must not be held to imply that within its terms of reference and against the background of that time it should have come to different conclusions. We are concerned with the Commission's recommendations in so far as they may assist us in making our own.

2. The Kenya Land Commission's main concern was with 'the needs of the African population present and prospective in respect of land'. Although, as we shall see later, the Commission devoted considerable attention to the investigation of individual claims to land which had been alienated, its general approach to the problem of land requirements was from a tribal standpoint. The problem was not considered from the point of view of the overall needs of the population but from the standpoint of the claims and

* *Report of the Kenya Land Commission.* Cmd. 4556. 1934.

needs of the separate tribes. Not only did its terms of reference indicate such an approach, but the circumstances of the time, the previous history of land policy, the prevailing theory of indirect rule which seemed to embrace the maintenance and development of the tribal basis on which Africans held and administered their lands, and the comparatively recent creation of native reserves, had undoubtedly canalized thought in this direction. The policy of reservation of areas for particular tribes had been established with a view to protecting their lands, held on various forms of customary tenure, from alienation, and it was inevitable that the Commission should consider the question of needs on a tribal basis.

3. This approach on a tribal basis severely conditioned the Commission's consideration of the question of future economic needs. The existing tribal reserves were for the most part co-terminous, and could therefore only be increased by further additions from the areas not already reserved for particular tribes: these areas included the 'area generally known as the Highlands', the precise limits of which were as yet undefined, and which it was part of the Commission's duty to fix. Although the density of population in the various reserves differed considerably, any major readjustment of boundaries between tribes was not possible, nor was it practicable to remove whole sections of a tribe which might already be in danger of overcrowding to an entirely separate or remote area. The contiguous areas as yet unallotted were extremely limited, and when the Commission had decided on the additions which were to be made as a result of their examination of individual or clan claims as of right, the possible additions to provide for future needs were still further reduced. This fact prevented the estimation of future need being made on any uniform or even rational basis, and the consequent rough and ready assessment of this is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the report. Moreover, the Kenya Land Commission, although expecting that there would be some increase in yields through the progressive adoption of simple improvements in agricultural practice, assumed that the African would continue to follow, and would be content to follow, his contemporary way of living, combining subsistence agriculture with the possession of a few animals.

4. After this preamble, it is necessary to make some reference to the Kenya Land Commission's investigation of private rights and claims. It had to consider a large number of individual claims put forward, particularly by Kikuyu, in respect of land which had been alienated to Europeans. The historical basis of these Kikuyu claims was generally an alleged purchase from the Dorobo, a tribe in previous and fairly recent occupation, and from a welter of conflicting evidence, in which much vague hearsay, surmise, exaggeration, and *ex post facto* reasoning were almost inextricably blended, the Commission reached two conclusions. It found that generally the Kikuyu had replaced the Dorobo 'by a process which consisted . . . partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery',* and that the rights which individual Kikuyu still exercised on lands included in the area allotted to European settlers did not amount to full ownership but were the ordinary usufructory rights enjoyed under Kikuyu tribal tenures. Having reached this conclusion, and having found the evaluation of individual claims an impossible task, the Commission recommended settlement of these claims by general compensation to the tribe by additions to tribal territory. The recommendation included both land in satisfaction of tribal claims and needs, and compensation for the extinction of the rights still exercised by individual Kikuyu within the alienated area. We shall deal more fully with

* Report of the Kenya Land Commission, paragraph 285.

the circumstances in which these latter rights were extinguished and their holders removed in a later section of this chapter. Here we quote the Commission's recommendation, so far as it relates to the Kikuyu* :

'that in consideration of a sum of £2,000 to be paid to the Local Native Councils for distribution to the persons affected, and in consideration of the block addition of two thousand acres which we had recommended to be added to the tribal territory in general compensation for disturbance and in consideration of the general settlement with the tribe, both in respect of its rights and its economic needs, all private rights of Kikuyu to land outside the Kikuyu Native Reserve should be extinguished, except (a) such rights, if any, as may be held upon title, and (b) such rights as may have been acquired in another native reserve, e.g. as a *muhoi* or tenant under the system of land tenure obtaining.'

5. To give effect to these recommendations the Government started in 1938 a detailed enquiry into the individual claims of native right holders which were to be extinguished in the Highlands, and in 1939 Mr. Wyn Harris (now Sir Percy Wyn Harris) was given the task of removing and resettling the former right holders resident on alienated farms. We have studied the report of this officer, and are left in no doubt that this difficult work was done with great care and conspicuous fairness in the face of many obstacles, among which was the fact that much of the land that had been thought to be available for resettlement of the persons displaced had already been occupied by other members of the Kikuyu tribe. Eventually the Government made available a further 4,000 acres of fertile land in the Kikuyu Escarpment Forest Reserve at Lari and Kerita, and in all, about 4,000 Kikuyu were moved under the resettlement scheme and about £6,000 was paid to them as compensation for disturbance.

6. Nevertheless, there were cases in which the additional land made available did not benefit the individual claimant who had been expropriated, and the fact of expulsion from land in which occupants had felt the same sense of security as in the reserved tribal areas was in itself a grievance. The White Paper of 1923 had, in fact, referred to these areas as 'reserved for Africans'. The number of submissions which we received regarding individual claims of right, and the terms in which they were expressed, make it clear that a sense of injustice remains. The proposals which we have made elsewhere will make it possible for Africans to acquire leases of land in the Highlands, and where the sense of attachment to particular land is strong, should do something to allay this feeling of irrevocable loss. But we must make it clear that anything like a reopening and readjudication of individual claims, or the restoration as a matter of legal right of lands which have been alienated, is quite out of the question. A more thorough investigation of claims and counter-claims than that made at the time by the Kenya Land Commission was hardly possible, and the report makes clear the unreliability of much of the evidence that was then produced. Since then twenty years have passed and the difficulty of assessing the evidence would be much increased, and it is certain that any suggestion of reopening the question would resurrect more problems than a further enquiry would be able to solve. We have no hesitation in saying that so far as tribal and individual claims are concerned the decisions taken on the Kenya Land Commission's recommendations must be regarded finally as *chose jugée*.

7. There can indeed be no remedy for the present discontents as long as the problem is viewed from the tribal angle. It will be gathered from the general tenor of our Report that our own approach is quite different.

* Report of the Kenya Land Commission, paragraph 2099.

We think that there is no hope of progress for Kenya except by its development as an integrated economic unit. By the present policy of exclusive tribal reservations, and under the various obligations by treaty, agreement and formal declaration of which we were instructed to take account in our deliberations, Kenya in particular has been divided up into a number of watertight compartments, none of which is or can be made economically self-sufficient, and the frustrations of the last twenty years have been largely due to the failure to recognize that fact. It is therefore that we think it necessary to encourage the breaking down of tribal and racial boundaries, and to replace them by confirming individual titles to land where they exist, and to encourage their acquisition where they do not.

8. There is abundant evidence in the Kenya Land Commission's own report that it did recognize the grave disadvantages from the standpoint of the community as a whole of the tribal approach by which its main conclusions were conditioned, and it made certain recommendations, such as the establishment of land units which embraced in some cases areas larger than those occupied by single tribes, and the provision of machinery to facilitate some measure of inter-tribal penetration. But these recommendations were made within the general concept that tribes should continue as exclusive entities in relation to specific areas of land, and they were not followed up with the vigour which their importance deserved. Since the tribal boundaries often corresponded with those of administrative units, in the absence of any firm direction from the centre it was largely in the hands of local officers to neglect or actively to discourage inter-tribal penetration, and instances were brought to our notice where, through fear of possible future trouble, Africans who had settled within the confines of another tribe had been compelled by the district administration to return to their former locations.

9. On the subject of customary land tenure, too, the Kenya Land Commission recognised that 'the institution of settled Government, the fixation of boundaries, the introduction of money, the increase of population, and the general industrialization'* were causing the disintegration of native law and custom, and they stressed the necessity of conscious direction by government and the certain misery that would result if a policy of drift were pursued. But this warning also has been disregarded. In general it may be said that with the exception of one or two boundary adjustments which depended on the mutual agreement of tribes which was subsequently not achieved, the recommendations of the Kenya Land Commission regarding the establishment of boundaries and legal categories of land and their administration, have been implemented, but those which could not be carried out by the preparation of legal instruments, but required the adoption and consistent pursuance of government policy, have in the main been neglected.

10. We must now illustrate in a little more detail how the tribal approach to its problem set strict limits on the recommendations which the Kenya Land Commission could make. Its search for land to satisfy the economic requirements of any particular tribe, or group of tribes constituting a native land unit, was confined to land within the vicinity of those lands already occupied by the group. Furthermore, this approach to a large extent excluded the possibility of using lands which were of right claimed by one tribe in order to satisfy the economic requirements of another. As a result the additions to tribal areas, either on a permanent or temporary basis, were confined to such areas as the Yatta consisting of marginal land with uncertain rainfall. Such land, though of some use to pastoralist tribes, is of little use to

* *Report of the Kenya Land Commission*, paragraph 1652.

cultivators or mixed farmers such as the Kikuyu. Recommendations for meeting the requirements of the enterprising African seeking some private form of tenure outside the reserves were confined to such areas as the Isiolo Leasehold Area where the inadequacy of the solution provided is demonstrated by the fact that to this day not a single lease has been taken up.

In addition to the areas specifically provided to satisfy the economic needs of particular tribes and the leasehold area to which we have referred, the Kenya Land Commission looked to the areas specified as 'D' areas, in which persons of any race or tribe could take up land, to assist in meeting economic needs. Here again the reservation of areas for the exclusive use of tribes and races left very little potentially productive land for this purpose. The 'D' areas on the map are extensive, but apart from a certain amount of unalienated land in the coastal strip they comprise territory of generally poor quality, ranging from semi-desert to scrub bush with patches of land which might be used for extensive ranching purposes after expenditure of considerable sums on developing water supplies and clearing tsetse fly bush.

11. The tribal reservation policy, which was not altered in any fundamental respect by the Kenya Land Commission, set the limits within which during the succeeding years the African Land Utilisation and Settlement Board, established in Kenya to grapple with this problem of resettling the population, could operate. The not inconsiderable subsequent efforts of this Board show that their energies have had to be directed towards marginal areas such as Makueni, the Athi-Tiwa area, the coast hinterland, the Lumbwa valley and the Kerio valley, where as a result of considerable capital outlay no very great improvement over a subsistence livelihood can be expected. This same limitation on the scope of the activities of the African Land Utilisation and Settlement Board has meant that the numbers of people resettled has made so small an actual contribution to the relief of distressed areas, although the moral effect of their endeavours has been considerable. In evidence before us, members of this Board made it clear that in fact they believed the areas within Kenya which provide room for resettlement schemes and which hold out real hopes of high productivity for the most part lie within tribal areas, for example in the Trans Mara and the Meru and Embu Districts and parts of Masailand adjoining the Mau. The exceptions were a few inextensive areas in the coastal belt and a few possible irrigation areas.

There is no doubt that resettlement schemes only have a chance of succeeding if they provide those who are to be resettled with more profitable opportunities than other alternatives open to them, which include parasitic living on relatives and friends, or living as lawless opportunists in the towns.

12. Our examination of the areas which hold out hopes of something more than bare subsistence agriculture directs our attention for the most part to those sections of the native land units and of the Highlands which are at present unused or are not fully used. We therefore believe that the problems of providing improved opportunities on the land can only be solved by the Government taking a country-wide view, and by adopting a policy based on land use and not on protecting the interests of particular communities. This leads us naturally to the consideration of the Kenya Land Commission's treatment of the Masai Reserve and of the Highlands.

THE MASAI

13. In considering the economic needs of various tribes the Kenya Land Commission suggested only in one case, namely that of the Masai, that a

particular tribe possessed land which it did not need for its present or future economic requirements. Of the Masai the Kenya Land Commission said in paragraph 663 of its report:

‘the whole matter is an excellent illustration of the harm which may be done by locking up the permanent entail of land and by too great a zeal for security at the expense of fluidity.’

With this statement we are in complete agreement.

As regards the economic needs of the Masai, the Kenya Land Commission pointed out that a rigid adherence to that clause of the Masai Treaty which requires that the land should be used ‘for the exclusive use and benefit of the Masai tribe’ would act to the economic disadvantage of the Masai themselves, for by it they would lose even the few agriculturists in the area, together with the force of their example; they would also lose the opportunity of deriving financial benefit from leasing valuable agricultural land which they do not require themselves; and they would also lose the help of cultivating tribes in dealing with the problem of tsetse fly eradication which they themselves show little sign of being able to tackle. With this criticism we agree. The complete exclusion of outside interests from a tribal area can, in the modern world, only operate to the disadvantage and not to the benefit of the tribe it is designed to protect.

In paragraph 670 of its report the Kenya Land Commission stated:

‘It may perhaps be arguable that the Kenya Annexation Order-in-Council dated 11th June, 1920, had the effect of rendering the Masai Agreement null and void. But we are not so much concerned with the position in law as with the position in equity, and we are fully persuaded that the Masai are in equity entitled to all the benefits of the Agreement just as if it were still in force. But that does not mean that the Agreement cannot be amended by the elimination or modification of clauses which are not in reality beneficial to the Masai.’

14. We are not aware of any direct approach having been made by the Kenya Government to the Masai with a view to modification of the Treaty in the interests of the Masai themselves, and we can well understand, judging from the trend of the evidence given to us by the Masai and the feeling underlying that evidence, that the circumstances of the Masai resettlement and of the 1911 Treaty have left the Masai in no frame of mind to negotiate. Nevertheless, we believe that if the Masai land and the tribe itself is to form an integral part of Kenya under a central government the land assets lying within its boundaries cannot be entirely excluded from consideration in the application of the land use criteria which we have recommended should be applied in other areas.

In chapter 23, dealing with land tenure, we recommend that the Government should in each case seek powers which will enable it, after private negotiation has failed, to bring land into productive use under ordered settlement, having carried out a process of adjudication of private rights. We do not visualize that these powers would be used in an extensive or general manner but in order to deal with certain problem areas. We have suggested further in that chapter that, in so far as the taking of such powers and the exercising of them by the Central Government may cut across existing laws, treaties or agreements, these latter instruments may require modification. Clearly the time or circumstances in which such drastic action should be taken will be a matter for determination by the Government, and the Government would obviously wish to explore every possible way of achieving its objective without taking such a course. In the case of the Masai, for example, the Government should clearly make every endeavour to secure by agreement

with the tribe, leases of suitable cultivable areas which it requires for resettlement purposes, and such agreement might, we suggest, be achieved on a basis of providing additional water supplies and tsetse bush clearance to bring more land within the reserve into use by the pastoral Masai tribe.

THE HIGHLANDS

15. As regards the Highlands, the Kenya Land Commission was given the following task:

'To define the area, generally known as the Highlands, within which persons of European descent are to have a privileged position in accordance with the White Paper of 1923.'

What exactly was to be understood by these words 'privileged position'? They are not to be found in the White Paper itself, which was concerned with the rights of Indians in Kenya and which while reaffirming Lord Elgin's declaration that there should be no legal restriction on any section of the community in respect of the holding of land, also confirmed the administrative orders under which land in the Highlands should not be granted or transferred to Asiatics. Up to this date, grant of land in the Highlands to Africans had hardly been contemplated, and the fears of the settlers were wholly directed against Indian penetration. It is therefore of importance to note the precise instructions which were given by the Secretary of State to the Kenya Land Commission as to the meaning of the words 'privileged position'. In the course of an oral answer to a question in the House of Commons in February, 1935, the Secretary of State stated that in 1932 he had authorized the Governor of Kenya to instruct the Chairman of the Commission that the words 'privileged position in the terms of reference involved

"(i) the right of Europeans to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in an area now to be defined and to occupy land therein, and

"(ii) that no person other than a European shall be entitled to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in such areas or to occupy land therein".

16. These instructions are important because they for the first time postulated the exclusion of Africans as such from the area to be demarcated as the Highlands. Hitherto the reservation of the Highlands for Europeans had not required the removal of Africans from the Highlands, and indeed the land actually occupied by them was specifically safeguarded by section 86 of the Crown Lands Ordinance. It is to be noted that these instructions, which do not appear to have been made public till after the Commission had produced its report, are nowhere referred to in the report itself. They resulted in the extinguishment of native rights in the Highlands and the removal of the right holders to which we have referred in paragraph 4 of this chapter. The Commission itself found that section 86 of the Crown Lands Ordinance which secured the rights of African occupants within alienated areas, was a potential fruitful source of trouble between settlers and Africans, and they based their recommendation on the fact that 'relations between the races were becoming embittered because of the extravagant pretensions of this [Kikuyu] tribe.*' If on this ground Africans were to be turned out of the Highlands, it was clearly necessary to ensure that other Africans did not come in. Together these two decisions marked an important step in the consolidation of an exclusive European policy for the Highlands, which the Commission justified by the fact that, in satisfying the needs of the various African tribes, it considered that some encroachment had been

* Report of the Kenya Land Commission, paragraph 1857.

made on areas suitable for European settlement and claimed by that community. In paragraph 1979 of its report the Kenya Land Commission referred to this sacrifice of the European community and said 'one of the main objects of our Report has been to frame recommendations which would instil a feeling of security in the minds of the natives with regard to their land. If, in doing so, we had only transferred the feeling of insecurity from the natives to the Europeans, we could not feel that we had succeeded in our task. We therefore recommend that the boundaries of the European Highlands should be safeguarded by Order-in-Council, so that the European community may have the same measure of security in regard to land as we have recommended for the natives.'

17. The approach from a tribal point of view to the question of security which permeated the thought of the day was thus definitely projected into the racial sphere. The Order-in-Council was on similar lines to that for the native reservations, and set up a Highlands Board, one of whose functions was to 'protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands in the land situate in the Highlands'. The boundaries had hitherto remained indefinite, the only fixed points being Kiu and Fort Ternan on the railway, which had been fixed since 1902 as an area from which Asians should be excluded. How various were the prevailing ideas of the 'area suitable for European settlement' may be inferred from the fact that as late as 1929 a sub-committee of the Executive Council had proposed to limit the area to 16,000 square miles, while the Governor proposed three times that area. The Kenya Land Commission's recommendations embraced 16,696 square miles and included 3,950 square miles of forest reserve, and these recommendations were carried out by amendments to the Crown Lands Ordinance and by the promulgation of the Highlands Order-in-Council, 1939.

18. Although there are still many Europeans who regard the Highlands Order-in-Council as their sheet-anchor, nothing is more clear in Kenya today than the failure of the measures instituted by the Kenya Land Commission to give the European community that sense of security which was their expressed object. Individual legal security in respect of their individual holdings was already a fact, and it is essential that it should be maintained. But two facts stand out as resulting from the policy of the exclusive tenure of land in the Highlands by Europeans. Firstly, the bitterness which has persisted over the extinguishing of African rights in the area, and secondly, the sense of injustice caused in African eyes by broad acres reserved for a few individuals alongside an African reserve in which land hunger exists. Even those loyal Kikuyu who have been risking their all in the fight against Mau Mau have, in giving evidence before us, questioned the grounds for maintaining unused land for the exclusive use of Europeans when their needs and those of their people are so great. It was seldom that any African suggested to us that any European who was using his land fully should be deprived of that land, but our attention was constantly being directed to the fact of unused or partially used land in the Highlands.

19. Throughout our Report we insist that the approach on a tribal basis to questions of land tenure and land use is incompatible with the development of a modern economy, and this applies equally to a purely racial approach to the Highlands question. In the chapter dealing with land tenure we recommend that though there should be no disturbance of existing titles to land except in circumstances, clearly defined in the law, which are designed to meet the national interest, there should be machinery established which will permit the leasing of land free from restrictions imposed by tribal or racial reservations. We do not believe that any advantage is to be gained

by splitting up units of land which are being well managed and productively farmed in the Highlands, and by no means all the areas of undeveloped land in the Highlands could be used for that intensive form of peasant farming which would be necessary to make any significant contribution towards relieving the problem areas of the native land units.

We are well aware of the fears which have been expressed that the African would ruin the land of the Highlands just as he has ruined the land of the reserves. We have received enough evidence, however, to show that there are good African farmers and that, given the opportunities, there could be more. It is of the greatest importance that new land anywhere should be taken up on a form of tenure which does not preclude or restrict sound use and that the occupiers of land should be subject to well devised land use rules and proper supervision. We do not advocate the holding of agricultural land in the Highlands or in the native land units or anywhere else on any other basis.

AFRICAN SQUATTERS WITHIN THE HIGHLANDS

20. The Kenya Land Commission in paragraph 1976 of its report expressed views concerning the position of African tenants or squatters on farms and estates in the Highlands. In accordance with the policy of reserving land interests in the Highlands for Europeans the Kenya Land Commission was anxious to ensure that the essence of the contracts with resident labourers was a labour contract and not a tenancy contract. We express a contrary opinion on this matter and the question is discussed fully in chapter 15, paragraphs 45 to 73.

THE FORESTS

21. In paragraph 1977 of its report, the Kenya Land Commission states :

'We regard all forest reserves which are completely surrounded by European Highlands as being included in the Highlands, and potentially subject to European privilege, if ever a change of user takes place and the land becomes available for agricultural use. But in respect of forest reserves, such as the Aberdares, which are bounded partly by European Highlands and partly by native reserves, we consider that any question created by change of user in respect of any part of the forest contiguous or near to the reserve should be a special case to be decided on its merits.'

In fact forest reserves which are bounded partly by European farms and partly by native land units have been included within the boundary of the Highlands. When excisions have been made from such forests, therefore, the lands excised have been in their disposition subject to the advice of the Highlands Board and have fallen within the general policy relating to land in the Highlands. It has therefore been impossible for the recommendation of the Kenya Land Commission in respect of this category of forests to be carried out in the objective manner clearly intended.

The result is that any areas which are for any reason excised from these forests come automatically under the control of the Highlands Board, and are made available only for European settlement. We can see no justification for this, and when any areas are excised from the forests, their disposal should be a matter for government decision on the merits of each case.

NOTE

Terms of Reference of the Kenya Land Commission of 1933

(1) To consider the needs of the native population, present and prospective, with respect to land, whether to be held on tribal or on individual tenure.

(2) To consider the desirability and practicability of setting aside further areas of land for the present or future occupancy of—

(a) communities, bodies or individual natives of recognized tribes ; and

(b) detribalized natives, that is, natives who belong to no tribe or who have severed connexion with the tribe to which they once belonged.

(3) To determine the nature and extent of claims asserted by natives over land alienated to non-natives and to make recommendations for the adequate settlement of such claims whether by legislation or otherwise.

(4) To examine claims asserted by natives over land not yet alienated and to make recommendations for the adequate settlement of such claims.

(5) To consider the nature and extent of the rights held by natives under section 86 of the Crown Lands Ordinance (Chapter 140 of the Revised Edition), and whether better means could be adopted for dealing with such rights in respect of—

(a) land already alienated ; and

(b) land alienated in the future.

(6) To define the area, generally known as the Highlands, within which persons of European descent are to have a privileged position in accordance with the White Paper of 1923.

(7) To review the working of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, 1930, and to consider how any administrative difficulties that may already have arisen can best be met whether by supplemental legislation or otherwise without involving any departure from the principles of the said Ordinance.

PART III

*Conditions for Economic and Social
Development*

CHAPTER 7

*The Marketing and Distributive System**A. Progress and Security in the Distributive System*

1. The arrangement by which goods and services are exchanged is the means whereby the economic activities of people are linked together and adjusted. Whatever conditions favour or hinder the extension of the market are therefore of great importance and this is particularly true of communities which are in process of changing from primitive to modern conditions of economic life.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

2. Division of labour, in Adam Smith's phrase, 'is the necessary, though very slow and gradual, consequence of a certain propensity in human nature . . . to truck, barter and exchange one thing for another'. This propensity has long been in evidence among East African tribes. More than half a century ago Sir Harry Johnston wrote, 'All Africans are fond of trade . . . Commerce has a great attraction for them. The men and women both make long journeys to sell their goods.' It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the importance of commerce among the indigenous populations even today. Dr. Chalmers Wright in a valuable report* says that the traditional system of commerce which prevails among the indigenous peoples involves every man and woman, and that 'in countless daily transactions, commodities produced by Africans are exchanged, whether simultaneously or in separate operations, whether with or without the use of money, for other commodities produced by Africans.' . . . 'This indigenous commerce,' he adds, 'must not be confused with the distributive system in occidental and oriental peasant societies. The rural shopkeeper who devotes himself more or less exclusively to trade appears to be generally unknown to African societies'. This does not mean that African shops do not exist. There are, indeed, thousands of African shops in East Africa. But these shops have been set up for the purpose of dealing mostly in commodities of non-African manufacture and 'do not appear to have modified the indigenous system of commerce in these locally produced commodities which all but exhaust the full range of commodities comprising the habitual consumption patterns of the rural households generally.' This supports our view that the distributive system in East Africa reflects that dual pattern of economic organization to which we have already referred—the traditional and the modern—and which underlies all the major problems with which these territories are confronted. The modern system of distribution which depends upon the enterprise and efficiency of the specialist trader stands out in striking contrast to the traditional system of restricted trade, and one of the means of advance lies in the expansion of the one and the contraction of the other.

3. In varying degrees in East Africa the indigenous system of commerce is being modified by the shift to the trading activities which are appropriate to the modern type of economy and by the corresponding shift in the buying habits of the community whereby manufactured goods such as textiles, soap, paraffin, tools, bicycles and simple durable consumer goods are purchased

* F. Chalmers Wright, *Distribution and Consumption of Commodities among Africans in Nyasaland and Tanganyika*, Colonial Research Studies, H.M.S.O., 1955 (forthcoming).

in shops. There is also evidence of the emergence of the modern producer and the professional man. Farming is beginning to be recognized as a genuine business career. All this is reflected in the growing relative importance of the modern system of distribution. But everywhere the two systems of trade, the modern and the traditional, are to be found.

4. The growth of modern commerce in East Africa has been almost entirely due to the activities of non-African members of the population and in particular to the Indian, Arab and Goan traders and to the large European firms with their trading connexions in the western world. Indeed, the remarkable tenacity and courage of the Indian trader has been mainly responsible for stimulating the wants of the indigenous peoples, even in the remotest areas, by opening to them a shop-window on the modern world and for collecting for sale elsewhere whatever small surpluses are available for disposal. The non-African trading system as it exists in East Africa is one of the most important assets which the economy possesses and it is capable of great expansion if permitted a natural growth. It is efficient and attuned to changes in world demand and supply and to the prices which are registered in the world markets. It is generally competitive and enterprising and would be much more so if it could be released from many of the restrictions to which it has been subjected.

5. We deal later in some detail with the reasons for the growth of these restrictions. To some extent they were based upon the desire to protect the African from the bargaining disadvantage under which he lay when confronted with a more sophisticated trader from another race, to some extent upon a belief in the greater efficiency of central control of marketing operations, to some extent upon the alleged benefits to be derived from a system of guaranteed prices to African producers, and to some extent to protect the African population against the recurrence of acute local shortages under conditions in which the geographical movement of supplies was made difficult by reason of the poor state of communications.

6. In addition to the traditional and modern commercial systems of distribution, all three East African territories have evolved a third system of distribution, that of state trading by government-fostered and partly government-operated institutions. We have come to the conclusion that a continuance of this state-marketing system is having a deleterious effect on the proper exercise of the commercial system of distribution and that it is now a retarding factor in the economic development of East Africa. We also consider that it is a hindrance to efficient African participation in the commerce and economy of the territories as a whole.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY

7. One of the most untoward consequences of a subsistence economy is the recurring danger of a failure of the basic food supply due to droughts, pests, diseases and other natural causes. The absence of a modern system of distribution, the long distances separating populated or cultivable areas, and the inability of the subsistence economy to produce regular marketable surpluses by specialized production without risking a food shortage at critical periods of the year, have led the indigenous populations to seek security by clinging to their customary methods of production. These customary methods of production are based essentially upon the notion of self-sufficiency in food supplies. One result has been that the governments of East Africa have frequently had to institute famine relief measures in particular areas. It is not surprising, therefore, that these governments should endeavour to prevent the occurrence of food shortages. But in the policies which they have adopted

they have been unduly influenced by the fears and practices of the indigenous populations, and by encouraging district, regional and even territorial self-sufficiency they have perpetuated the cause of the evil which their measures were intended to combat, namely the system of self-sufficiency itself. In their anxiety to achieve security in the matter of food supplies they have tended to regard the ordinary mechanism of the market as an obstacle to the solution of their difficulties rather than as a solvent of the problem. Instead of encouraging specialization and the free sale of surplus production of food and other agricultural products in suitable areas in order to even out shortages in other areas by the use of the normal machinery of the market, government policy has frequently looked upon the normal functioning of the market with suspicion. At various times and in various districts it has discouraged African producers from specializing in their production or has discouraged the marketing of food surpluses beyond the limits of particular regions, or even of particular districts, lest a shortage should occur at some later date. In some cases no marketing of foodstuffs out of a district is permitted unless the consent of the district commissioner has first been obtained for the movement of the designated crops. But the effects of the system of district self-sufficiency are not in doubt. It perpetuates the vicious circle in which all subsistence economy moves, owing to the absence of those wider markets which alone can ensure that a crop failure in one area can be overcome by attracting supplies from further afield.

8. To seek the security of food supplies by perpetuating a system of self-sufficiency is to fall victim to the same fallacy which underlies the tribal restrictions on the use of land. Restrictions on the movement of crops fasten upon the producer the strait-jacket of subsistence production. From this situation he cannot escape because he can neither rely upon the market as a means of obtaining supplies when it is economic for him to buy, nor as an outlet for what it is economic for him to sell. He is thus denied that basic element of freedom of choice as a producer and as a consumer on which both individual and corporate enterprise and experimentation are based in the modern economy. We conclude, therefore, that the overall objective of government policy should be to bring about a situation in which reliance on a system of local self-sufficiency in food production will no longer be necessary. This will require improvement in communications and the removal of all unnecessary obstacles to trade.

PRICE GUARANTEES AND STATUTORY MARKETING

9. The official distrust of the commercial system of distribution was in evidence before the outbreak of the Second World War but it was greatly reinforced by the overall problem of security which a war economy entails. The scarcities of war, due to the increased demands upon the productive powers of the economy and the shortages of civilian and imported supplies always necessitate difficult *ad hoc* measures to ensure the equitable distribution of the limited supplies which are available. These measures involve the rationing of the scarce supplies by means of physical controls since the price mechanism is unable to function freely in conditions which involve the closing of world markets and the need to meet military exigencies as a first priority. The success of these physical controls in the time of war is not, however, a measure of economic efficiency but of the ability to allocate on a necessarily arbitrary basis the limited available output of the economy.

10. Ten years have elapsed since the end of the war and a number of war-time controls in East Africa have been lifted ; but official policy unfortunately still seems to cherish the belief that the physical control of supplies together with their organized distribution through government or government-sponsored

agencies are necessary under the quite different circumstances which now prevail. Indeed the view is widely held that these government measures represent an improvement on the normal functioning of the commercial marketing system.

11. In 1946 a report issued by the Development Committee recognized the importance of exports to the economy of Kenya, but three years later the Committee on the Development of Agricultural Marketing was so imbued with the need to provide the agricultural producer with guaranteed prices that it was prepared to jettison exports in order to obtain security for the producer. In paragraph 52 of its report it stated:

'We would re-iterate that the basic reason why, from the standpoint of finance and economics, the price guarantees which we suggest are, in our view, practicable and justifiable is because with minor exceptions 100% of the crops concerned are consumed in East Africa. This is a complete reversal of the pre-war position as far as the most important crop, maize, is concerned.'

This Committee went on to state that this was in line with the conclusions stated in paragraph 117 of the report of the Food Shortage Commission of Enquiry, 1943, which were as follows:

'We agree that the production of maize should be limited to producing the amount necessary for the internal needs of East Africa and for storing sufficient as a famine reserve. In doing so we realise it is impossible to produce the exact amount for those purposes, which means, for safety, planning for a small exportable surplus. *But we recommend that such exportable surplus should be kept as small as possible and that the future policy of the Colony should be not to encourage the production of maize for export.**

12. The Committee recognized that once the policy of guaranteed prices is accepted any sections of the agricultural industry which experienced economic difficulties might be expected to demand, as a matter of right, state aid in support of the guaranteed price. And it recommended that, with the exceptions of wheat, sugar and linseed, the Government should normally give these guarantees on condition that the producers formed a marketing board and accepted a guaranteed price payable to the board. This arrangement was supported on the grounds (a) that it would enable the Government to deal with a single organization instead of with a large number of separate producers, and (b) that it would promote close liaison between producers and the Government in the collection and disposal of the crop.

13. We do not propose to consider the detailed proposals of the Committee on the organization of this form of government trading such, for example, as its insistence on the provision of storage facilities by government, the bulk collection of crops and the handling of crops by government or its agents. But we would emphasize that this philosophy of restriction of production in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food supplies underlies the whole of the state-controlled marketing system which has been introduced in the three territories. In Uganda, towards the end of our second tour we encountered considerable concern in official quarters over the discovery that the maize crop had yielded a very large surplus in excess of what it had been hoped to achieve in order to meet the narrowly conceived balance between consumption and production in Uganda itself. The invariable reply to our queries concerning the policy which should be adopted, in view of the existence of this surplus and the obvious desire of African producers to take advantage of any change in market prices which might be favourable to them, was that maize production would have to be curtailed!

* Italics in original.

14. Another misconception could be detected in the belief that there existed some fundamental conflict between the producers and the traders who operated the commercial marketing system and that it was the task of government to obviate this conflict. The Committee on the Development of Agricultural Marketing, from whose report we have already quoted, remarks in paragraph 10

'We should also perhaps make it plain at the outset that . . . we regard the interests of the agricultural producer as our primary concern, and where there is conflict with other interests our preference tends to remain with the producer. At the same time we believe that in the long run the general interests of the commercial community will be benefited by a policy based on this preference, for the prosperity of commercial concerns in Kenya depends very largely on the prosperity and security enjoyed by the primary producer.'

And in paragraph 8 the Committee stressed the recommendation of the Development Committee that in the case of native produce

'*even although the producers themselves as a whole are not sufficiently advanced to understand and express the wish for collective marketing, the Government should be prepared to set up a Produce Marketing Board by legislation with a monopoly to handle the crop concerned if the Government is satisfied that collective marketing would be in the best interest of the producers of that crop.*'

15. We have been impressed by the fact that over a period of years government policy has appeared to accept the view that this alleged conflict does in fact exist, and that it must be dealt with by the creation of state-regulated producer monopolies, and by state regulation of whatever trading functions it is thought convenient to leave to the ordinary marketing system. In our opinion, this view is founded on a misapprehension of the functions of the ordinary marketing system. In particular it fails to recognize the mutual dependence of producers and consumers which is effected through the price mechanism of the market and by the activities of specialized traders in developing new consumer wants and new markets for producers. It is fallacious to assume that the commercial system of distribution is merely an appendage to the process of production. It is part of the productive process itself. The market is not a static but a dynamic part of the economy and its growth is as vital to the producers of primary commodities as it is to all other producers and to consumers. We have already made clear that it was the opening-up of new markets which alone made possible an escape from tribal subsistence economy in the past. Similarly the widening of markets can alone bring about an expansion of the economy in the future. To frustrate the extension of markets is to restrict the expansion of the economy.

16. It is important, moreover, to stress the point that the basic function of the commercial marketing system is not merely to promote the physical movement of goods from the places where they are produced to the places where they are to be consumed; it is also to provide a flexible mechanism for the registration of prices whereby production and consumption are equated, and whereby the factors of production are allocated to the most economical purposes. This mechanism as a whole tends to be impaired by devices which attempt to enable groups of producers to escape the need to adjust production to the exigencies of the market. The range of such devices is very wide. It includes attempts to smooth out seasonal price fluctuations, stabilize prices over long periods, and sometimes even it purports to stabilize both the real incomes and the prices received by particular producers without any appreciation of the contradictions, apart from the practical difficulties, which such a policy involves. We refer in chapter 8 to some of the disadvantages of building up large stabilization funds. Here

we wish to emphasize the danger that the very existence of such funds may lull some producers into a false sense of security and so prevent necessary adjustments and improvements in production.

17. If, in fact, the greater part of the productive and distributive activities of the community is regulated by the state for the purpose of avoiding the adjustments which the market economy would otherwise have effected, the pricing functions of the ordinary marketing system will in large measure be destroyed. The allocation of resources will then become a matter for arbitrary determination. It will then be necessary for the state, by means of price regulation and physical controls, to ensure supplies, the production and movement of which have not been possible owing to the shackling of the forces of the market itself. In a society which is prepared to sacrifice economic efficiency, and which is both able and willing to accept the economic costs which are involved in this sacrifice, such a system of allocating resources may be pursued with equanimity. We take the view, however, that the economic situation of East Africa is not one which warrants or which can afford such costly and dangerous expedients. The basic problem of East Africa is not the achievement of security at the expense of economic efficiency and mobility. The problem is how to achieve that security by means of economic efficiency and flexibility. The economic efficiency of East Africa is low precisely because so large a part of its economic activities remains isolated from both modern, local and world markets. Attempts to cushion off producers from world markets, however attractive these attempts may appear to be for a time, weaken the general economy. And they have this result not merely because they mis-apply existing and potential resources but also because they inhibit the economic expansion which might otherwise have occurred.

18. We have been impressed by the aptitude of the commercial marketing system to buy for sale in world markets at very short notice any new products offered to it. We have also been impressed by the evidence which shows how such organic growth has frequently been checked by official price-fixing arrangements, or even by direct prohibitions, which have deprived the producers of market outlets which would have otherwise been open to them.

19. In this connexion we would draw attention to the fact that the ordinary commercial system of distribution evolved in the main out of the freedom which Asian and other traders enjoyed to buy the indigenous products of the territories. It was the ability of the trader to venture his capital in this way which enabled him to become a supplier of imported goods. Moreover, this two-way activity reduced his overhead costs. In recent years, as Dr. Chalmers Wright has pointed out, opportunities to purchase African produce have been severely curtailed by the development of various forms of government or government-controlled buying of agricultural and other products. This in itself has undermined the ability of traders to utilize their stores and working capital fully throughout the year, and has reduced their opportunities and inducements to venture their capital in new enterprises. It has, in some cases, duplicated the effort and the resources devoted to marketing and thus increased the cost of distributing both imported supplies and locally manufactured goods. This duplication of effort and investment and the consequent increase in distribution costs cannot, in our judgement, be afforded by the East African economy.

20. The issues which are raised by this official policy cut deep into the texture of the economy, for the state agencies and the controls are super-imposed both on the indigenous and on the modern trading systems. Moreover, some of the measures which were devised by official policy to

promote the interests of the native populations by increasing their sense of security and equality sometimes tended to freeze the situation and create less rather than more security. The indigenous populations were not helped to escape from their traditional trading systems and thus fulfil their commercial aspirations. They could not participate in the new trading systems which were introduced under the authority of government and the gap which separated their own outworn system from the new was widened. And for that reason, too, their own economic development was obstructed, for participation in trade affords one of the most readily available opportunities for enterprise to escape from its traditional and restrictive environment, and that escape route was blocked.

21. Governmental action to stimulate agricultural producers is often rendered difficult by the occurrence of great fluctuations in crop prices. It was represented to us that an unexpected fall in price frequently caused indigenous producers to stop producing the crop for the market, even when it was still profitable to do so. We recommend that in cases of this kind the government should enter the market as a competitive buyer and that it should operate through agents specially appointed for the purpose. We recommend also that government should continue to assist producers and co-operative associations to process, bulk, grade and collect African produce. But associations which are assisted in this way should be made to realize that they form part of the marketing system as a whole and that they are not entitled, by means of arrangements which discriminate against other groups of traders, to a position of privilege in the disposal of their produce. We think that there should be no overall attempt to direct the market mechanism. It should be the policy of government rather to encourage producers' organizations to undertake only those stages in the marketing process which they are able to perform economically. It would not be inconsistent with this policy, however, that producers' associations and co-operative societies should be allowed, on their own responsibility and with the knowledge and approval of their members, to make arrangements in regard to reserves or stabilization funds, provided these arrangements are in accordance with the objects for which they are registered, or that they should be allowed to make such arrangements to dispose of the crops which they handle as may be found advantageous either in local or overseas markets.

B. Regulation and Restriction

LICENSING AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROLS

22. The system of state-directed trade, to which we have referred in paragraphs 17 to 21 has also been accompanied by a network of trade regulations and restrictions designed to protect those Africans who were anxious to enter the field of distribution against certain risks to which they were said to be exposed. It may be recognized that the native trader and producer are generally at a disadvantage with the traders and producers of other races, a disadvantage based partly upon ignorance and partly upon lack of resources. We are told that this means, among other things, that they can be more easily defrauded, and that they are more disposed to take very short views of market situations. In so far as the development of the co-operative movement is an attempt to overcome exceptional bargaining disadvantages which may lie on

the side of the African it may, on occasion, be worthy of special support, though it should perhaps also be recognized that if equality of bargaining strength were always to be regarded as a prerequisite of trade, little commerce would ever be practised. But the protecting urge in East Africa goes further. The distributive trade is subjected to a system of licensing and administrative control. Licence fees are levied at rates which differ as between the African and the non-African and the grant of a licence is frequently at the discretion of administrative officers who may apply their own views about whether competition should or should not be encouraged. The imposition of a licence fee may be a legitimate and convenient mode of raising revenue, but the introduction of an arbitrary element into the issuing of licences has little to commend it. The system of differential licence fees, moreover, with higher fees for non-Africans than for Africans, does not have the effect of assisting the Africans as it is intended to do, since the higher fees paid by non-African enterprises generally apply to businesses of larger size on which the fees constitute no real burden, whereas in the case of a small African or Arab shop-keeper a fee of Shs. 20/-* per annum which is often charged may be a not inconsiderable burden. The discretion in the granting of trading licences may depend upon the administrative officer's estimate of the financial resources of the applicant, but there may also be a reluctance to issue a licence where the applicant proposes to establish himself in the vicinity of a trading centre on unalienated land where he would not be required to observe the regulations which apply to shop-keeping in these centres.

23. The desire to protect the African has also led to the system under which the non-African trader is generally allowed to establish himself only in an urban area or township or trading centre while the African trader can establish himself anywhere in the bush. It is doubtful whether the demarcation of areas of distribution on racial lines does in fact protect African interests. It curtails and retards the movement of imported and manufactured goods to outlying areas and thus prevents the African consumer in these areas from obtaining access to these goods in a manner which might stimulate him to new productive activity. When goods do reach these areas the effect is to restrict competition and thus raise profit margins. Dr. Chalmers Wright in his report to which we have already referred reaches the conclusion, as we think rightly, that :

'the system of discriminating regulation and control of trading . . . by favouring the preservation by Africans of an effective monopoly of shop-keeping on the smallest scale, also favours the retention by non-Africans of their present virtual monopoly of large scale shop-keeping. The maintenance of the present system of unequal opportunities to trade may smooth the way of the African in the short run ; but it does not appear to be conducive to the ultimate emergence . . . of a class of trader, produced by the forces of competition, who would be as capable as those whom Africans wish to emulate. The easy road to commercial success is not usually the shortest.'

RESTRICTION OF CREDIT

24. It has been part of public policy in East Africa to prevent the African from acquiring a burden of unproductive indebtedness. The problem of indebtedness which has been an outstanding feature of Indian economic life has no counterpart in the East African economy. This, no doubt, has certain social advantages but these advantages have been obtained by making

* East African currency is expressed in pounds, shillings and cents.

£1 = Shs. 20/-
Sh 1/- = 100 cts.

it difficult for the African to borrow even for productive purposes. In consequence of this situation it is usual for the African trader who has few capital resources of his own, and who finds it difficult or impossible to acquire stocks on the basis of ordinary commercial credit, to be obliged to buy retail in order to sell retail. Apart, therefore, from any difference in knowledge or skill in merchanting, the African trader is at a disadvantage in comparison with the Asian trader, who often charges a price with which the African trader cannot compete. The real difficulty is that the African trader starts from a position of disadvantage from which he cannot readily escape without becoming exposed to a danger from which he is not yet able to protect himself.

25. The attempt to protect the African against these dangers takes the form of discriminatory legislation which provides that no debt incurred by an African in excess of a specified amount shall be recoverable by a non-African unless special permission to incur the debt has been granted by a district or a provincial commissioner. This is not a helpful provision. It restricts the granting of credit by wholesalers, who are always non-Africans, to African retailers and so benefits the non-African retailer. In Tanganyika, the native holder of a trading licence has, since 1937, been exempt from this provision. It is, however, a reflection of the general atmosphere of regulation to which trade in East Africa is made subject that prominent merchants in Tanganyika were still under the impression that goods could not be supplied on credit to African traders in excess of £30 which was the limit prior to 1937.

QUALITY

26. Regulations which are intended to be protective also operate in regard to the minimum qualities of goods which may be marketed. These apply in particular to the marketing of livestock products. Where these regulations are adopted as a means of protecting the public against adulteration or against the consumption of foodstuffs which are dangerous to health they have a justification which is of general application, independently of any ordinary problem of marketing. But they are sometimes defended on the ground that the sale of inferior qualities will necessarily spoil the market for the superior qualities, either by giving a bad reputation to all the supplies which come from the colony or by diverting some of the demand from the superior to the inferior grades and thereby lowering the prices obtained for the former. This is a dangerous and frequently a short-sighted argument: dangerous because it may reduce aggregate supplies and sales below what they would otherwise have been; short-sighted because the total supply which comes from a given area or territory which adopts the practice is often likely to be so small a proportion of the total supply on the market that the effect on the prices of the superior grades will be negligible in comparison with the value of encouraging the production in the territory of new supplies of any marketable goods.

27. This is not to say that the proper grading and preparation of produce is not of great importance if producers are to be enabled to increase their sales of cash crops. However, it is frequently argued that the prohibition of sale of inferior grades will serve to bring pressure to bear upon producers to improve the quality of their output. But it may be impossible for some producers to do so and, even in cases where it is possible, the cost to the producer may exceed the extra recompense which he would obtain from the price of the better grade. In both cases the effect of the restriction will be to reduce the incomes of producers below what they would otherwise have

been or to prevent them from rising. The proper test is to enquire whether a market would exist for the lower grades of product. If no legitimate public interest is jeopardized by the sale of lower grades there would seem to be no good reason for impeding their sale. By insisting on too high a grade, production by poor Africans may be discouraged, whereas by allowing the sale of poorer grades Africans who could not otherwise have sold on the market may be enabled to do so, and later, when they have acquired more experience and have greater resources at their disposal, they may be in a better position to produce better grades which yield a higher price. As with individuals so with larger communities higher standards of production and marketing are possible when resources are relatively plentiful. To insist on the same high standards when resources are relatively scarce means a check on output.

28. In East Africa, the problem is complicated by the attitude of the Africans to their cattle. Except perhaps among a few tribes, African pastoralists do not recognize a difference between good and poor grade cattle and may therefore be reluctant to accept a price for low grade cattle which is less than the price which is obtainable for cattle of high grade. It often happens that the number of head of cattle which are owned assume greater importance than the quality of the stock. As a result many areas are overstocked, and since cattle sales where they occur are likely to remove the better qualities, the proportion of poor grade cattle which remain will increase. Resort to compulsory de-stocking may still be necessary as a protective measure. But it can never be a popular measure and the resentment which it is liable to provoke does not assist in creating an atmosphere in which other improvements will be acceptable. Something may be done, and indeed has been done, by means of education to convince the African pastoralists of the damage which overstocking does to the land and to their own economic development, but education at best is a slow-acting solvent and cannot be expected to give quick relief in a situation of increasing tension and difficulty. The restraints imposed by native custom and, in the widest sense, by the scale of relative values which many pastoral tribes accept, are stubborn obstacles to overcome. In some cases these obstacles may be even more intractable than the poverty of the people. When regard is had to the size of herds which are owned and to the level of stock market prices, many pastoralists will appear as men of considerable substance. In 1952, cattle prices in certain areas of Uganda had risen to as much as Shs. 260/- a head. Pastoralists with 100 head of cattle, and many had more, would therefore be 'worth' £1,300. But so long as 'the propensity to truck, barter and exchange' remains in a condition of primitive sluggishness this evidence of wealth will fail to promote a more general expansion through the cycle of exchange. Meanwhile, the social costs of maintaining this 'capital stock' will be reflected in the damage which persistent over-stocking imposes upon the land.

29. But while there is still some reluctance on the part of sections of the African populations to move towards a cash economy, there is also evidence that in several directions the reluctance is weakening and it is a question whether the existing market arrangements are likely to help the process of change or to stand in its way. In East Africa there is a tendency, which is perhaps natural among administrators, to suppose that the process of change can be stimulated only by the introduction of complex marketing machinery operated under controls and regulations to obviate abuse and fraud; and at the same time to suppose that the evolution of a freer and more flexible marketing system would either fail to produce the desired result or else achieve it in less certain or less tidy manner.

COMMUNICATIONS

30. In this connexion special importance must attach to the availability of suitable means of communication and, in the case of cattle, quarantine facilities as a safeguard against the spread of disease. These facilities can be provided only by the public authorities but they are pre-conditions of good marketing arrangements. Sometimes the problem of communications encounters special difficulties. In Kenya certain natural stock routes pass through areas of European settlement where the movement of native stock is forbidden because of the risk of disease, and alternative routes are circuitous and difficult. The danger that the movement of low grade cattle through areas which carry superior grades may spread disease is a real one. The answer would appear to lie either in providing adequate safeguards which would obviate this risk, or in providing alternative routes for native cattle which would be superior to those which already exist. No marketing arrangements, whether simple or elaborate, can provide a solution unless the appropriate pre-conditions exist and much effort in building marketing organizations can be wasted if the conditions necessary for the expansion of the market either do not exist or are not allowed to evolve.

DIFFERENTIAL PRICING

31. The regulative or restrictionist policy is not exhausted by the examples which we have given. There is the policy, for example, which requires export crops when supplied to the domestic market to be sold at prices which are below the prices which are realized when they are sold abroad. The object of this policy is to restrain the rise in the money cost of living but it does so at the expense of the main productive industry of the territories, and to that extent implies a subsidy from agriculture to the consumers in urban areas. It may be argued that to fix farm prices by reference to the wages paid to labour in the towns is wrong in principle, unless it can be shown that the new industrial income which is generated by reason of such subsidies is likely to exceed the loss of income which the policy inflicts upon agricultural producers; there is no evidence before us that this condition has been established.

RESTRICTIONS ON USE OF MARKETING FACILITIES

32. Again, there is the marketing policy which restricts producers to the use of specified marketing facilities. In Uganda cotton growers are obliged to make use of specified ginneries. In this case, the ginneries were compulsorily acquired from their former Indian owners with the object of ensuring to the cotton grower a more remunerative price for his cotton, and by reducing the number of ginneries, enabling those that remained to be operated more economically at their full productive capacity. We are not convinced that the policy has achieved the ends which it hoped to establish or that, on balance, it has yielded manifest advantages to the cotton producers. Restrictions of this kind limit the alternative channels through which the producer may dispose of his output and to that extent they weaken his bargaining position. Similarly, restrictions on entry into a trade strengthen the bargaining position of those who are already in the trade, or who are permitted by the controlling authority to enter the trade, but they do so at the expense of the other party whose bargaining position is correspondingly reduced. In this and in other ways, the ginnery policy which has been adopted in Uganda has generated substantial monopoly values for existing ginneries. Where monopoly situations are created as a result of public policy it is a usual practice, in an endeavour to limit the abuse of monopoly power, to introduce a series of controlled

margins to which traders must work. But controlled margins never err on the side of parsimony and are generally fixed so that the least efficient trader can conduct his business with a 'reasonable' margin of profit. With margins controlled in this liberal manner, and with a volume of business assured by regulations which restrict the element of choice permitted to the cotton grower in disposing of his crop, the incentive to the trader and to those who control the ginneries to improve the efficiency of their businesses is gravely weakened. All this builds up into a heavy burden upon the peasant cultivator whose output has to be sold through this elaborate and expensive marketing mechanism.

33. The policy which we have just described in connection with the cotton ginneries of Uganda was evolved on the assumption that there were too many intermediaries between the cotton grower and the ultimate export buyer of his crop, and that in consequence each intermediary was so under-employed that his costs per unit of trade were unnecessarily high. Fewer ginneries, it was supposed, would enable each ginnership to be operated at full capacity during the ginning season and therefore at lower unit costs. Hence the policy of buying up and closing ginneries which were regarded as redundant. If a smaller number of ginneries could have been operated on a basis of lower costs it is not clear why this result would not have been achieved, without compulsion, by the more successful ginneries offering more favourable terms against which the less successful could not compete. And even if it could be shown that the method of compulsion did achieve economies on the operating side, which would not otherwise have been obtained, these economies might be offset, in whole or in part, by the inconvenience to producers who had longer distances over which their outputs had to be conveyed.

C. Public Policy

34. In the aggregate the various forms of marketing restriction and control which exist in East Africa build up into a very complex structure, the full effects of which are not easily perceived. In many cases, just because they are not understood, they arouse suspicion which is not in itself justified. The elaborate network has been evolved principally with a view to ensuring a fair and reasonable return to the producer. It has endeavoured to do this partly by attempting to remove alleged existing malpractices and partly by attempting to guarantee to the producer a more stable price for his product than would otherwise have been obtained. To that extent the policy has been well-intentioned. But it has been more concerned with the distribution or disposal of the available income than with the task of increasing that income. Yet for a poor country in which it is desired to raise the standard of life of the indigenous population it is the latter which becomes the first condition of economic advancement. We are unable to resist the conclusion that the complex structure of marketing controls to which we have referred, conjoined to a policy of economic self-sufficiency, has imposed upon the East African territories a degree of inflexibility which inhibits the economic advancement which is desired.

35. In our opinion it is important that public policy should endeavour, by a change in its direction, to create conditions which would be more favourable

to the flexibility which the economy requires. The countries of East Africa are 'new' countries in the economic sense and there is nothing to ensure that the present pattern of their economies will persist without considerable change. The pattern which evolves in the future depends upon the experimentation which takes place in the present. When we have regard to the fact that the phases of greatest economic prosperity in East Africa have been associated in large measure with favourable circumstances of a special and, perhaps non-recurrent character, the importance of flexibility is enhanced. We do not propose the complete and sudden removal of all existing marketing controls but rather the adoption of a policy which will increase economic flexibility in order to yield the greatest increase in income. Flexibility is not just a matter of absence of control in marketing. We refer in chapter 12 to the importance of new and improved facilities for transport and we regard these as essential to the further economic development of the territories. The *minutiae* of public policy are not our concern, but we have no doubt about the broad character which public policy should assume.

36. We would supplement these policy considerations by a reference to an administrative point. It is commonly assumed in East Africa that, apart from matters of policy, the system of regulation and control is successful at least in the enforcement of its regulations. We are sceptical of the soundness of this assumption. Throughout the territories there is a persistent endeavour by Africans and others to escape from the system of control; to sell goods where demand is most insistent as indicated by the higher prices which are offered; to buy where supplies are plentiful and prices lower; and to move supplies from places where they are relatively abundant to other places where they are relatively scarce. The existence of these 'black' markets in time of peace is an indication that the smooth functioning of the distributive system is being impeded by extraneous factors which cannot be defended on the grounds of temporary emergency. That conditions should exist under which it is necessary to have road-blocks to prevent Africans from selling their produce in the best market, or regulations which endeavour to maintain high prices in one district, when supplies are available at lower prices in a neighbouring district, are extreme examples of the extent to which the regulative policy has been carried, but they cannot be regarded as symptoms of an efficient distributive system. The complex network of restrictions and controls is not only uneconomic and inequitable in its effects on existing and potential producers of all races; it is also felt to be so, and this has led to the development of an 'underground' system of distribution which functions in spite of, and dissociated from, the official marketing system which it has to circumvent. This situation involves much waste and duplication of effort both in the administration and in the distributive system. Administrative officers are frequently required to perform functions for which they possess no aptitude and are deflected from their main responsibilities in a manner which is not conducive to the efficient performance of their normal duties; and much commercial effort is deflected from its main concern with the expansion of trade in order to understand and circumvent controls which obstruct that expansion. Even if we could accept all the advantages which are claimed for the regulative system, this waste of effort in economies which are poor, and in which enterprise and administrative ability are already extremely scarce, would represent a heavy price to pay for these advantages. When many of the alleged advantages are either not secured, or are of doubtful merit, the price which has to be paid may well constitute an insupportable burden.

CHAPTER 8

*Capital, Investment and Financial Policy**A. Capital and Investment*

1. We now propose to consider some of the factors which either promote or retard the general economic development of the territories, limiting the discussion in this chapter to the factors of capital, investment and financial policy.

NEW CAPITAL

2. New capital for economic development must come either from savings accumulated within East Africa, whether voluntarily or in consequence of some form of compulsion, or from private and public lending from outside the territories. We are not in a position to estimate even roughly the amount of capital already invested in East Africa, nor are we able to estimate with any close degree of precision the current rate of new capital investment from all sources. Later in this chapter we give certain figures which may give a reasonable perspective to the discussion of capital for development purposes, but we think there would be an advantage if we first set out the problem, as we see it, in more general terms.

3. Our starting point for this purpose is again the basic poverty of the indigenous population with its extremely limited resources, the smallness of its markets, and its narrowly restricted opportunities for specialized production. Despite these handicaps it is possible that, with the passage of time, the gradual expansion of these restricted local markets will give rise to changes in African production and that new opportunities for the productive investment of capital will emerge, thereby providing an inducement to the progressive elements in the indigenous population to undertake the necessary saving. Nevertheless, it has to be recognized that there is no evidence of any spontaneous movement in this direction except under the impact of western influences. Even then the process would necessarily be slow and would not be noticeable in any short period of time. And yet there have occurred, in the course of the first half of the present century, not only in East Africa but throughout the whole of tropical Africa, numerous striking examples of economic development which have been of great benefit to large sections of the African populations.

4. These striking developments have been due primarily to the availability of markets much larger than any of the domestic markets which existed within the territories and also to the development of an export trade to those external markets. The same point is made in a recent United Nations Report:*

‘In every territory of tropical Africa the main impetus to the growth of an exchange economy has come from outside, through non-indigenous business enterprise and government administrations which have provided the means and the incentives to bring certain of the products of tropical Africa within reach of world markets.’

In East Africa, the outstanding examples are, of course, cotton, coffee, tea, sisal, pyrethrum and diamonds. The export of these commodities provided a new and substantial addition to the incomes of the populations of all races.

* U.N. Department of Economic Affairs, *Enlargement of the Exchange Economy in Tropical Africa*, New York, 1954.

African producers, like the producers of other races, have found that their incomes are larger as a result of this export trade, and that the effective demands both for the products of other African and non-African producers and for imported goods have increased. Access to these new, larger and wealthier markets provided the main cause of the economic development which East Africa has experienced. In recent years the advantages accruing to East Africa from this development have been re-inforced by the exceptionally high prices which have been obtained in the world markets for East African exports, so that the incomes derived from the sale of these exports rose more rapidly than the quantity of exports.

5. The access to these external markets was only possible because external capital and external enterprise were available to the producers of all races. In some cases that capital and enterprise were invested in farms operated under European management and control. In other cases they were invested in plantation industries which did not previously exist. In other cases, again, they were limited to the purchase of native produce for export. But in all cases the capital and enterprise were not forthcoming from the native populations because of their lack of resources and of knowledge. Even now the African populations possess neither the resources nor the knowledge which could replace the capital and the knowledge which have been responsible for the economic development of recent years, and it is still true that the maintenance of that development and indeed the promotion of new development will depend upon the continued availability of external capital and enterprise. But it is also important that the indigenous populations should participate as fully as circumstances permit in whatever future economic developments are accomplished and that they should participate both as beneficiaries and as contributors. To recognize this is to raise, by implication, a number of social and political issues not all of which arise within our terms of reference and on some of which we are not competent to make a pronouncement, but we cannot fail to be conscious of these wider issues which force us to recognize that the problem of future economic development cannot be resolved simply in terms of abstract economic analysis.

6. Capital for further economic development is required for agricultural improvement, for the expansion of export production, for industrial and commercial expansion and for railways, roads, water supplies and other public services without which the basic resources of East Africa cannot be fully utilized. Access to external capital is certain to be necessary for a long time if these varied forms of investment are to be pursued on any appreciable scale. The saving capacity of the local populations may, however, be expected to increase as incomes rise and, as it increases, it should make its own contribution to the secondary phase of expansion. It is not to be expected that this increased saving capacity inside the territories will be reflected to any appreciable extent in loans to governments or other public authorities. These borrowers, therefore, will still have to rely in the main upon external sources of finance. But the greater saving capacity should be reflected in greater investment in agriculture and local trade and industry, although even in this field the dependence on external capital and organizing ability will still be great. The question remains how far increased savings are likely to emerge out of the increased incomes which have been obtained, particularly in the case of the African populations.

7. The inducement may be great for the native populations to use their increased cash incomes to expand their consumption as much as possible, partly because their existing consumption standards are low, partly because the higher consumption standards of the other races appear to set up standards

for emulation, and partly because of tribal or customary hindrances to new native enterprise. If the inducement to use the increased incomes wholly for the purpose of increasing consumption is strong it is doubtful whether any institutional changes which are designed to encourage voluntary saving on the part of the African populations will be effective. The saving mechanisms which are familiar and acceptable to more sophisticated populations may not be readily comprehended by native populations of the kind with which we are now concerned. It is partly for this reason that it is frequently thought that a *prima facie* case can be established in favour of the employment of fiscal measures which would impose some compulsory saving upon the community. We are convinced, however, that there are dangers which lurk in an oversimplified statement of the case for compulsory saving. It may be convenient if, at this stage, we state the issues which are involved.

In some quarters the approach to the problem is complicated by the intrusion of political as distinct from economic considerations. Thus it is sometimes argued that, in order to remove or reduce the dependence on external capital for development purposes, it would be preferable to impose forced saving upon the population, including the indigenous population, and devote the funds so obtained to new capital investment. This is a doctrinaire view which, in the circumstances of East Africa, is unlikely to be understood by the overwhelming majority of the Africans upon whom the burden of providing the capital would fall, and we suspect that, if they understood its implications, they would not be attracted to it. But, in economic terms, the cost to the territories of raising capital in this manner would greatly exceed the cost of raising an equal amount by external borrowing and the additional cost would be a measure of the price which had to be paid for acceptance of the dogma. There is little doubt, moreover, that even if forced saving in East Africa were to be pushed to the limit which could be tolerated it could not raise as much new capital as is now forthcoming from all sources. Still less could it provide the new capital which would be required for all the projects of expansion and development, both public and private, which are commonly desired. This means that acceptance of the dogma would condemn the territories of East Africa to a much slower tempo of development than that which is now taking place and, in so far as the future living standards of the population are governed, among other things, by the rate of capital investment which is made now, acceptance of the view would condemn that population to lower living standards in the future than they might otherwise enjoy. Since, having regard to our terms of reference, our concern is with the possibility of raising these living standards we would be failing in our duty if we gave any support to the dogma to which we have referred, even if on other grounds it commended itself to us.

What inspires this dogma is the fear that dependence upon external capital will be accompanied by conditions which will impede the fulfilment of the political aspirations of the local inhabitants. If there should be substance in this fear there are other ways in which it may be obviated. Sometimes, however, it is associated with an economic view that the payment of interest on external loans involves the payment of a tribute to the lending country and that the amount of this tribute reduces the income which is retained within the country. There is an element of paradox in the fact that those who urge this point in its political setting often wish to prevent further permanent immigration, overlooking the obvious fact that permanent immigrants who bring new capital into the county are more likely to retain within the country of their adoption the income which their capital has earned. But when the remitting abroad of interest on external capital is spoken of as a 'tribute' it is often forgotten that the importation of the capital has helped to create

new income within the borrowing country and that the whole of the new income so created is not in fact remitted abroad. Consequently, unless the investment of this external capital proves to be unproductive, the income which remains within the country, even after the so-called 'tribute' has been paid, will be greater than it would have been if the capital had not been imported. We are unable to support the notion of autarchy, whether in its political or in its economic interpretation, and we are convinced that were the territorial governments of East Africa to give it countenance they would condemn the local populations to an even longer endurance of their primitive poverty. And they would themselves be open to the charge that they were neglectful of their responsibilities for the well-being of the people.

COMPULSORY SAVING

8. During and after the Second World War, forms of compulsory saving as anti-inflationary techniques were not uncommon in many countries. With these we are not concerned. In more recent years the price stabilization schemes which have been operated in Africa for cotton, coffee and other agricultural products have frequently been defended on the ground that they helped to provide capital resources for development which would not otherwise have been available. It has been argued, for example, that if the full realized price of cotton had been paid over by the marketing board to the cultivators and the larger cash incomes of these cultivators had been spent on increased consumption, there would have been no capital assets built up out of the proceeds of the favourable movement in the balance of trade and the strong export demand for cotton. On the other hand, the withholding of part of the sale proceeds would represent a form of forced saving out of which some new capital assets would be obtained. Indeed it is now frequently suggested that this constitutes the main justification for the accumulation of large reserves under these schemes.

9. The argument, as it is commonly developed, rests on the assumption that among the African populations the disposition to save is itself undeveloped. In many cases this may be true, particularly where the level of real income barely sustains physical subsistence, but in these cases resort to compulsory saving is impossible. Once the search for income has attained some measure of success, however, the assumption on which the argument is based becomes less valid. The fact that the African populations make little use of savings banks and know nothing of the facilities for subscribing to private or public loans should not be interpreted to mean that the willingness to save does not exist. They may be willing to save in order to acquire new, but simple, agricultural implements if they become aware of a suitable market for their increased output; they may be willing to contribute to the capital cost of new water installations; and we have been impressed by the fact that the African peoples are generally anxious to contribute substantially out of their small resources for medical and educational services. But the magnitude of this saving potential depends upon the size of the available income, irrespective of whether the saving is forced or voluntary, and it is for this, among other reasons, that we place so great an emphasis upon the importance of increasing the cash incomes which they now enjoy. Unless we suppose that the native populations will respond to new opportunities to acquire income we cannot predict for them any greatly improved economic future. Our whole approach to the question of the future economic development of East Africa is governed by the assumption that the African populations will so respond.

10. Consideration must also be given to the rate of compulsory saving which may be contemplated. Despite the increase in cash incomes which has occurred in recent years the cash income per cultivator is still low.

Even in Buganda, an area of high prosperity, the cash income from African agriculture in 1951 provided an average of only Shs. 408/- to 392,000 adult males. In these circumstances a low rate of compulsory saving would give a small yield, but a rate high enough to give a large yield would act as a serious deterrent to new effort. In some years the price stabilization policy, as applied to cotton in Uganda, imposed upon the growers the payment of a levy equal to some 40 to 50 per cent of the realized value of their product, ostensibly as a premium for insurance against price fluctuations. We refer later to the uses to which these funds were put, but we cannot but express the view that compulsory saving on people with small resources and at so large a rate is difficult to justify. It would be surprising if there was no deterrent effect on production and we observe, though there are other relevant considerations, that the cotton output of Uganda has not increased, despite the favourable prices which have been obtained in the export markets in which it is sold.

11. Moreover, we think it important to recognize that higher standards of consumption are a necessary inducement and a necessary means of promoting change from the restricted isolationist conceptions which so often dominate tribal security. In East Africa we are confronted with the dynamic problem of fostering the emergence of exchange economies to replace isolated tribal subsistence production. If the transition to money and market economies is to be possible money income must be available to the peoples concerned. It is logically erroneous to postulate, on the one hand, that consumption standards should remain those of the restricted subsistence economy and to postulate, on the other, that production should proceed on the basis of the specialization and efficiency of the market economy. Consumption and production are the obverse and the reverse of one process: the raising of income standards to higher and wider levels. Nor can the decision to consume or to save be regarded apart from this general process of change. Much of what is often called consumption in an advanced community is an important form of saving in a less advanced one. It is evident in East Africa how rising income standards are often associated with increased expenditure on durable consumer goods—furniture, cooking utensils, stoves, etc.—which not merely represent an important form of saving but also release the inhabitants from much wearisome toil.

12. In an exchange economy individuals have to make decisions from day to day concerning how resources are to be utilized. These decisions are decisions which involve the question of spending for the immediate present or for the future. These choices cannot be made successfully once and for all by public authorities; they are inherent in the functioning of an exchange economy itself. This may be illustrated: in the course of our travels we were constantly informed that there was a shortage of capital for small traders; yet if producers had been able to increase their incomes they would have been able to lend some of this additional income to others for productive use in trade and other enterprises. Those who argue that loans would not be made, or more generally that the African is incapable of utilizing resources productively, are in effect arguing that a transition from the restrictive subsistence economy to the modern exchange economy is not possible except under compulsion. But to argue in this way is to argue contrary to the observed facts that the indigenous peoples in many areas are making great efforts to acquire money income and that they show considerable aptitude in utilizing their money resources efficiently over a wide range of activities. Those who press the case for compulsory saving have perhaps not had sufficient regard to the time which must elapse in order to permit the customs, habits, desires and aptitudes of relatively undeveloped communities to change. It is well to

remember that even in Buganda, which is, in the economic sense, one of the most advanced areas in East Africa, agriculture as an occupation for males is not much more than thirty years old.

13. The forced saving technique was operated most conspicuously in Uganda. A brief account of the extent to which the process was applied may be given. By the beginning of 1948 profits from the controlled sale of cotton and coffee amounted to approximately £10,000,000. In June of that year it was decided to devote £4,000,000 of this sum to the setting up of two price assistance funds, one for cotton to which £3,425,000 was allocated, and one for coffee to which £500,000 was allocated. The remaining £6,000,000 was devoted to a variety of purposes—£1,250,000 to the Cotton and Hard Coffee Development and Welfare Fund ; £250,000 to grants to Native Administration ; £4,625,000 to grants to Reserve Funds for Post-War Development, and £500,000 to a Reserve for projects outside the Development Plan. Apart from the allocation of £4,625,000 to grants to Reserve Funds for Post-War Development, these allocations have now been exhausted. Any further profits from the sale of cotton and coffee were to be added to the amounts initially placed in the price assistance funds. The reserves of these two funds increased rapidly. In 1952 it was decided to limit the Cotton Fund to £20,000,000. Thereafter the Legislature could transfer any sum above this amount to a new African Development Fund and £5,000,000 was initially transferred. At the end of the 1952-53 season the Cotton Price Assistance Fund stood at £29,500,000 and a further £9,500,000 in addition to the £5,000,000 already transferred was therefore available for transfer to the African Development Fund. No similar limit has yet been placed on the Coffee Fund, which at the end of the 1952-53 season stood at £13,900,000, but it is expected that this Fund will be limited to £5,000,000 so that a further £8,900,000 will be available for transfer to the African Development Fund thus raising its total resources to £23,400,000. Of this sum rather more than £17,500,000 has been expended or approved for spending, not including £2,000,000 which it was proposed to invest in an iron and steel project which has since been abandoned.

14. We thus get a measure of the forced saving which has been imposed upon the native cotton and coffee growers of Uganda as a result of the two price assistance funds. From June, 1948, to the end of the 1952-53 season this has amounted to £44,475,000 or nearly £9,000,000 per annum, a sum nearly equal to the total African wage-bill in Uganda in 1952 or to 23 per cent of the total African cash income of that year. In relation to the cash incomes of the cotton and coffee growers of Uganda, of course, the incidence is even greater. When to this burden is added the amount of taxation paid by Africans in Uganda it is clear that the burden of taxation and forced saving upon the African population of Uganda has been extremely heavy.

15. This leads us to a consideration of some importance. Where an industry is made subject to a special levy or where it subjects itself to a special levy the proceeds of which are expended on some object or objects which are likely to be of direct benefit to those who are engaged in the industry, no great problem arises. It is not unusual for firms in an industry to promote a joint research organization and to finance that organization out of a levy of this description. Similarly, in the circumstances of the cotton and coffee industries of Uganda it is not difficult to conceive of schemes for the industrial betterment of these industries which might legitimately be financed in a similar manner. But where it is a question of employing this technique to finance projects which have little bearing upon the industries which provide the funds, the procedure is much more open to dispute, no

matter what advantages to the economy as a whole may be claimed from the schemes which are so financed. In Uganda, as in other parts of East Africa, there is a strong desire to push forward with projects for new industrialization for reasons which we discuss elsewhere. The abandoned iron and steel project was one of these. If successful this would have increased the territorial income of Uganda and provided new forms of employment for Africans. But to finance such a project, wholly or in part, out of the compulsory saving imposed upon a large number of cotton and coffee growers with small incomes represents a procedure which we find it impossible to endorse. A viable iron and steel project should be able to attract to itself the capital which it requires for its development and if, for some reason of high policy, the government deems it advisable to give to such a project some special assistance, whether by guarantee, rebate or remission of customs duty, or even by direct subvention, we think it important that the cost of that government assistance should be carried squarely on the tax revenues of the country and not drawn from the proceeds of compulsory saving levied on one or two industries on which it was imposed for quite other reasons.

16. The view which we have just expressed is not inconsistent with the possibility that, for administrative or other reasons, it is convenient to impose a special tax on a particular industry. The proceeds of such a tax will be merged in the general tax revenues of the country and be available to meet whatever public outlays are approved in accordance with public policy. Under such an arrangement the burden of the tax will be clear and easily ascertained. But where, under a technique of compulsory saving, a number of special funds are created with titles which give no precise indication of the purposes for which they exist and where it is possible to raid these funds for purposes which were not contemplated when the funds were instituted, an elusive and unpredictable element is introduced into the public finances which may well baffle all ordinary and reasonable attempts to comprehend what is being effected. If simplicity in the presentation of the public accounts is desirable in countries which have sophisticated populations it is much more important in so-called undeveloped countries whose native populations are being encouraged to fill a more informed role in the counsels of the state.

17. We take the view that there is a certain limited range of industrial betterment schemes which may be legitimately financed out of moderate levies on the industries whose members may be expected to participate directly in the benefits which are afforded. But having regard to the size of African cash incomes, both in the aggregate and in relation to the number of income receivers, we do not consider that any appreciable amount of capital for new industrial development can conveniently be raised from the African population by the method of compulsory saving without imposing unreasonable burdens upon those who are subject to it, and without doing damage to African enterprise and production.

NON-AFRICAN SOURCES OF NEW CAPITAL

18. We are now in a position to consider the non-African sources of new capital. These are the savings of the non-African populations of East Africa and external borrowing. The first of these may be expected to increase as total income increases. There is no information which would enable us to estimate closely the volume of savings made annually by the non-African population, but it may be worth while to endeavour to set the matter in some reasonable perspective. The geographical net product (including subsistence) of Kenya rose from £53,000,000 in 1947 to £103,000,000 in 1951. The total African income, included in these figures, amounted to £26,000,000 and £40,000,000 respectively, leaving in the two years approximately £27,000,000

and £63,000,000 of other income out of which voluntary savings on any scale might be expected to come. What proportion of this might be expected to be saved voluntarily may be a matter of conjecture but it is almost certainly less than 10 per cent. Thus Kenya's voluntary savings in 1951 were likely to be less than £6,000,000 and might be somewhere between £3,000,000 and £6,000,000. On the same basis, Uganda's voluntary savings might be between £1,750,000 and £3,500,000. These figures would include sums ploughed back into farming or other business enterprises situated in East Africa, local sums invested in new building construction, and East African funds invested in government stocks and in new commercial flotations. They would also include any voluntary savings made in East Africa but invested in the purchase of securities in other countries.

19. Mr. A. W. Kent, the City Treasurer of Nairobi, who prepared for us a careful examination of the local money raised in Kenya since the end of the war, reached a total of £14,396,215 for the years 1946 to 1952 inclusive. This would represent an average of approximately £2,000,000 per annum, but it would be somewhat lower in the earlier years and somewhat higher in the later years. The total figure for the period is made up as follows :

	£
Gilt-edged	8,776,215
Kenya Building Society ...	(say) 1,500,000
Commercial and Industrial ...	4,120,000
	14,396,215

If we allow for forms of saving not included in Mr. Kent's figures we might hazard a guess that the rate of domestic saving in Kenya for the non-African section of the population was probably nearer 5 than 10 per cent of the geographical income of that non-African section. Even that rate of voluntary saving would not be maintained if confidence in the future of the Colony should be seriously undermined.

20. We are not in a position to submit corresponding figures for Uganda and Tanganyika, but we have no reason to suppose that if we could do so the overall picture would be more favourable. Indeed it might well be less so. Sums saved in Uganda and Tanganyika may be included in the figures recorded for Kenya. We, therefore, take the view that, in so far as further economic development and expansion in East Africa depends upon the voluntary savings of the local populations, there can be little doubt that the development and expansion must be limited to modest advances. There is also the important corollary that any significant degree of new economic development must, for the foreseeable future, depend upon the availability of external supplies of capital.

21. We think it important to emphasize that there does not exist in East Africa any large reservoir of investable resources which could ensure a rapid process of industrialization or which could provide for the investment in new social capital on the scale which is commonly desired. One example may suffice to illustrate the point. The capital required by the East African Railways and Harbours Administration for the developments which it has planned would by itself almost certainly exhaust the entire voluntary savings of the non-African sections of the population.

EXTERNAL BORROWING

22. External borrowing in one form or another is certain to be required for any important economic development in East Africa. Since the end of the war the total of colonial loans raised in the London market has been rising but it is still far from large. For the three years from 1950 to 1952 it averaged £24,500,000, including an average of £17,000,000 of loans to the East African territories. These are loans raised by governments for 'public' purposes—railways, roads, housing, education and health services. They may be supplemented by loans obtained from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. These funds are not expendable on new industrial expansion but on developing certain of the conditions which may facilitate that expansion.

23. The other source of external borrowing consists of 'private' investment from overseas by business enterprises which are prepared to embark upon new ventures or expand existing ventures, and of individuals who are prepared, given the opportunity, to migrate to East Africa and take with them sufficient capital to enable them to start a business. This latter possibility depends upon the degree of confidence which potential immigrants have in the economic and political future of East Africa and on the official policies of the governments of the East African territories in encouraging or discouraging this type of immigration. We discuss certain aspects of this problem in chapters 10 and 14. Here we are concerned with public policy as it may affect the conditions of economic development. On the one hand, there can be no substantial degree of economic development without the aid of external capital for the 'private' as well as the 'public' sector of the economy. On the other hand, in some, but not all, sections of African opinion the prospect of further external capital and enterprise contributing to the economic development of East Africa is regarded with suspicion, fearful that it might impede the aspirations of the indigenous populations to participate more fully in shaping the political and economic future of the territories. We do not believe that these fears can be ignored, however much they may be exaggerated. Where they are ill-founded, efforts should be made to dispel them; where they contain substance, effort must be to ensure that the interests of the African populations are adequately safeguarded.

24. We are obliged to recognize a possible conflict between two objectives of policy, one of which is primarily economic and the other primarily political. The economic objective is to raise productivity and the standard of life of the African population and this can most readily be achieved by taking advantage of export markets and by utilizing external capital, skill and enterprise. The political objective is to promote greater African participation in the political and economic life of the area and this may mean the adoption of measures which are restrictive of the external co-operation which the achievement of the economic objective requires. It may happen that the political objective has to acquire a priority over the other but we are not justified in ignoring the cost, in terms of economic achievement, which this priority involves. The more this possible conflict becomes real the greater becomes the risk factor to which external capital and enterprise will be exposed and the greater will be the prospective return which will be necessary to attract that capital and enterprise to East Africa. But nothing is to be gained by prescribing conditions which would deflect potential external capital and enterprise into other fields of employment to which it has access.

25. The broad conclusion which forces itself upon us is that, having regard to all the known and relevant factors and on the assumption that no great

deposits of extractable minerals are discovered, the prospect for any substantial amount of new industrial development is going to be dependant on the production of increased income from the land. But even within the limits of that conclusion it is still open to governments, in the formulation of their policies, to make the most of the opportunities which exist. It may be worth while to consider some of the measures which governments may take to that end, not merely as regards manufacturing industry but as regards the whole field of economic activity. We have observed a tendency to a sectional approach to the possibilities of economic development. There is a search for new manufacturing industry, there is a concentration on agricultural improvement in the Highlands of Kenya, or there is an urge to effect changes in agricultural methods which will raise the productiveness of the African areas. Each sectional approach looks for measures which will promote its own particular end. What we have not observed with equal clarity is an approach which sees the economy in its entirety and the mutual dependence which exists between its parts. In this Report we have endeavoured to focus attention on this unified approach.

GOVERNMENT PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

26. The measures which governments may take to promote economic development resolve themselves into two groups—(a) those which endeavour to remove existing disadvantages, and (b) those which endeavour to offer special inducements. In the first group might be included improvements in transport facilities, the provision of more regular water supplies where these are so unreliable that agricultural improvement is impeded, and the removal of restrictive regulations, the deleterious influence of which is more pronounced than any advantage which may be claimed in some other direction. In the second might be included subsidies, tax concessions or monopolistic privileges which might be offered, particularly to overseas enterprises or immigrants, as an inducement to settle in East Africa rather than elsewhere. The magnitude of this inducement, if it is to be effective must be related to the weight of the discouragement which deters new undertakings or new immigrants from settling in East Africa of their own unaided volition. If the prospects for new industrial development are not in themselves clear and substantial and if, in addition, there should be a climate of opinion which is not obviously well-disposed to a continued inflow of external capital and enterprise, the amount of the inducement to be effective would have to be correspondingly increased. If, furthermore, it can only be given for a short period of time, the weight of the inducement which is offered for this period would have to be still larger.

27. Where it is a question of endeavouring to persuade an undertaking from abroad to initiate new industrial development the issue is further complicated by the strong bargaining position which the undertaking is likely to enjoy. Apart from the fact that East Africa does not, at present, have great 'natural' advantages to offer, there is the consideration that the economic importance of overseas capital and enterprise to East Africa is greater than the economic importance of East Africa to external capital and enterprise. For these reasons the special inducements which would be required to encourage any large scale promotion of new enterprise from abroad would have to be very great. When we have regard to the smallness of the East African economy and the meagreness of the resources at its disposal we do not believe that the economy can afford to provide large and effective inducements to that end.

28. The forms of inducement which might be offered can vary and we have now to consider whether it should be an object of government policy

to provide special assistance to new industries and, if so, what form that assistance should take. Rebates of customs duty do not involve a positive outlay to the exchequer and do not appear burdensome in the ordinary sense but they are hardly likely to be of much significance except to an undertaking which has to import some dutiable raw material on which a high rate of duty is normally levied and the cost of which forms a large proportion of the total cost of manufacture. An open subsidy represents a measurable outlay to the exchequer and is, on balance, to be preferred to a protective import duty whose effects are less subject to careful scrutiny. We show later in this chapter that the burden of existing taxation is already heavy and we do not think that this method, having regard to the burden which it would involve, can be used effectively on any large scale. The creation of monopolies or semi-monopolies, apart from any other drawbacks which may be associated with them, is likely to intensify rather than mollify any suspicions which may be generated by new external enterprise, and is particularly difficult to justify if it is done at a time when public policy is endeavouring to break down the restrictions which retard the development of the indigenous populations.

29. It is often argued that a form of special, but temporary, assistance may conveniently be given to a new industry during its initial stages of development when it may find it difficult to compete with other established businesses in other countries. This is the familiar infant-industry argument which assumes that, once the initial stage of development has been passed, the protected industry will be able to dispense with the protection which it has been afforded and to become viable by itself. The argument is formally valid but it is a well-recognized observation that industries which are protected in this manner seldom feel able to dispense with the protection. Temporary protection has a strong tendency to become permanent and for this reason it may be expedient to consider whether, in the circumstances of East Africa, it is desirable to encourage new industrial development by the grant of permanent protection.

30. Protection of this kind may take the form either of a protective import duty on competing supplies from overseas or of a direct subsidy to the enterprises which are to be assisted. In both cases the grant of special aid imposes a burden on the other sectors of the economy and that burden, in proportion to its severity, will check production in these other sectors. Special aid to new industries in the manner which we have discussed cannot be justified unless the advantages to be derived therefrom are so substantial that they more than offset the disadvantages which are created elsewhere. But in our view these forms of artificial assistance give a misdirected slant to public policy. The main limiting factor on industrial development in East Africa arises from the smallness of the internal market and it is on the enlargement of that market that policy should concentrate. In relation to that major objective the artificial aids which have been discussed are largely irrelevant.

31. Under the East Africa High Commission there is an East African Industrial Council, composed of one official and two non-official members from each of the three territories, and this Council has the task of authorizing the issue of licences for the manufacture of articles scheduled under the Industrial Licensing Ordinances which were enacted in each of the territories in identical terms. The object of this legislation was to encourage industrial development by avoiding what was called 'uneconomic' competition. So far the articles which have been scheduled are limited to cotton and wool goods and industrial pottery. The legislation provides that no person shall engage

in the scheduled industries without a licence granted by the Council. Licences may be refused if the capital, skill or raw materials available to the applicant are deemed to be inadequate ; if the factories which already exist within the territories have an actual or potential output which is deemed to be sufficient to meet the demands ; or if the proposed factory site is deemed to be unsuitable. Licences may be issued for periods of five years but may be renewed. The effect of this policy, which operates at present on a very restricted scale, is to confer a position of monopoly on the successful applicant. Any apparent gain which accrues to the territories in the form of new industry may be offset by the new monopolistic positions which are created. We do not think that the policy has been operated on a scale which can be regarded as significant but we think that if it were applied on a large scale it would be open to grave objection. Nor do we think that a body constituted in the manner of the Industrial Council can effectively apply the criteria by reference to which licences may be refused.

32. We would draw attention in particular to one argument which is advanced. If we postulate the existence of certain agricultural areas which are so overcrowded that production per head is diminished and agricultural improvement is impeded, it might be maintained that new industrial development which attracted to itself some of that excessive population would create conditions more favourable to agricultural improvement and thus help to raise agricultural output per head. Indeed, it is sometimes argued that in certain overcrowded areas no improvement is possible unless the pressure of population on the land is reduced. In terms of this argument it might be said that some artificial encouragement to new industry would more than justify the cost of the encouragement.

33. This argument is formally valid on the basis of its assumptions, one of which is that the labour which is absorbed by the artificially encouraged industry would be drawn from the areas in which the over-crowding existed. There is no certainty, of course, that this would be so. In an economy in which there was a high degree of mobility this lack of certainty would not matter because, even if labour from the most overcrowded areas was not directly absorbed by new industry, it could move to these other areas from which the new industry had drawn its labour force. But this inter-tribal movement is precisely what is most lacking in the East African economy.

34. The question is frequently raised whether public policy can, with advantage, influence or control the location of new economic development. This question is usually discussed in relation to new industrial development but in the circumstances of East Africa it also has a bearing upon agricultural policy. It is consistent with the general theme of our Report that with the limited resources of East Africa the policy of opening up new land should be concentrated on areas of greatest potential productivity and on methods which would make the greatest addition to the incomes of the population. To open up new land as a relief measure for alleged overcrowding elsewhere is not calculated to make a lasting contribution to the problem which has to be solved. On the other hand, it cannot be supposed that economic productivity can be raised quickly over the whole of East Africa, and where there are areas which are so overcrowded that the land is in process of deterioration some temporary relief measures may have to be taken to remove population in order to check that process of deterioration and to facilitate recovery. These temporary relief measures, which we discuss elsewhere in our Report, would involve access to new land but it is important that they should be integrated with the larger economic policy, the object of which is to promote greater

productivity. They are no substitute for that larger economic policy. Indeed if they are not so integrated they may serve merely to spread the damage done by shifting cultivation on a subsistence basis.

35. It is not necessary to reiterate the full debate on public policy in relation to the control of the location of new industrial development. Certain points, however, may be established as likely to command fairly general acceptance. The first is that it is seldom possible for a public authority to determine the site which will enable the most economical development of a new enterprise which it does not propose to conduct itself. The second is that the attempt to exercise official pressure in order to effect a greater dispersal of new industry is unlikely to be made without inflicting economic damage to the industries whose location has been artificially determined. Industries are never, even on the production side, self-contained entities. They develop a mutual dependence as, for example, when a number of service trades and industries grow up around some main industry or group of industries. Apart from special circumstances which may arise from the supply of raw materials or the pull of the market, it is broadly true that industries flourish most in the proximity of other industries, and that industrial concentration in the geographical sense has positive advantages up to the point at which concentration passes into congestion. The third is that some measure of assistance to new industrial development can be provided by the public authorities in the form of factory buildings which can be rented by their users. This is often a considerable advantage to the small undertaking whose capital requirements are thereby reduced while, in addition, it gives to the public authorities an opportunity to create a zoned industrial trading estate, or a series of such estates, which can be associated with public housing policy. We support the idea that the governments of East Africa should, wherever it is convenient to do so, provide these facilities. The proposal has further incidental advantages. Apart from the general advantage from the angle of town planning in relation to industrial, commercial and residential areas the cost of providing roads, drains and common services for a given number of industrial establishments will be less than it would be if each undertaking had to incur its own costs or if the public authority had to provide these services for industrial establishments which were scattered more indiscriminately over a larger area.

B. Financial Policy

36. We come now to the factor of taxation. It will be convenient at this stage to analyse the tax structures of the three territories and to consider the amount of taxation which each has to carry, keeping in mind that the severity of the tax burden depends upon the manner in which it is spread and upon the purposes for which it is collected.

37. The revenue derived from all sources of central government taxation in Kenya has increased from £9,528,000 in 1949 to £15,482,000 in 1952, falling in 1953 to an estimated total of £14,736,000*. Over the same period, local government taxation, excluding produce cesses, increased from £506,000 in 1949 to £715,000 in 1952 and to an estimated total of £815,000 in 1953. Thus the combined total rose from £10,034,000 in 1949 to £16,197,000 in 1952 and to an estimated total of £15,551,000 in 1953.

* Since this Report went to press the estimated total has been exceeded and the actual collection for 1953 was £16,256,000.

38. Of the total of central government revenue 86 per cent in 1951 now came from various forms of taxation, the most important of which was the yield from customs and excise. This source provided 45 per cent of all revenue and over 50 per cent of tax revenue. Income tax provided 25 per cent of all revenue and native hut and poll tax 5 per cent. It is, however, indicative of the changing pattern of public finance that in 1939, with only 50 per cent of total revenue coming from tax sources, customs and excise amounted to 24 per cent, native hut and poll tax to 14 per cent and income tax to only 4 per cent. Within the orbit of taxation itself, customs and excise was then, as it is now, of major importance, providing 47 per cent of total tax revenue, but income tax supplied only 7 per cent and African poll tax 27 per cent. These two latter sources of taxation have therefore reversed their degrees of importance since before the war.

39. The ratio of total tax collected to the total geographical income is some indication of the overall tax burden on the economy of the territory. Our calculations show that since 1949 there has been a very small increase from 18.7 per cent in that year to 19.6 per cent in 1952. These proportions have been taken net of the value of the output of subsistence farming, and take no account of the additional, and not inconsiderable, burden of produce cesses.

40. It is difficult to estimate the total taxation collected from Africans in Kenya. In 1951 the revenue from African poll tax and the rates collected by African district councils amounted to £1,101,000. In addition, part of the yield of customs and excise duties, entertainment tax and other miscellaneous taxes would be paid by Africans. What their share of these would be can only be conjectured, but an estimate of £1,700,000 might not be unreasonable. On that basis, total taxation collected from Africans in 1951, again excluding produce cesses, would be approximately £2,800,000, or about 16 per cent of African cash income in the form of African wages and the cash income of African enterprises—estimated at £17,900,000. Non-African income in 1951 was estimated at £62,900,000 and taxation paid out of that income may be estimated at £11,300,000, or about 18 per cent of the non-African income.

41. The proportion of African income channelled into taxation may, however, be less than the 16 per cent mentioned above, since total African cash incomes are almost certainly underestimated. The net value of the produce grown by Africans and sold for cash covers only those transactions of which there is some record and it is known that unrecorded sales are substantial. Wages, too, almost certainly underestimate total earnings as they exclude the wages of Africans employed by other Africans. It therefore seems certain that the proportion of African income which is devoted to taxation is less than 16 per cent. In this connexion it is of interest to bring into the calculations the value of African subsistence income. By definition this is the imputed value of activities which do not yield a marketable surplus so that there is no question of deriving any taxation from such a source. But it is significant that the £2,800,000 tax paid by Africans in 1951 must have come primarily from the wages earned by less than half a million employees who, of the £17,900,000 earned by Africans in that year, received £13,200,000 in contrast to the £4,700,000 produced by marketed crops. Thus the vast majority of Africans in Kenya are not contributing substantially to the tax revenue as they are primarily engaged in subsistence activities. What is significant here is not that the tax burden, in relation to the present structure of the economy, is light, but that there is a considerable amount of 'slack'. An increase in the commercialization of Kenya's economy—and there is much scope for such an increase—would make possible a considerable increase in

the revenue which might be derived from African enterprise. It is impossible to make a quantitative assessment but it is worth recording that in Uganda, with a population almost the same as that of Kenya, £8,000,000 of tax revenue comes from export taxes alone. This sum is principally the result of African enterprise and is nearly three times the estimate we have given of the tax contribution of Africans in Kenya. Moreover, as we show later, the £8,000,000 of revenue supplied by export taxes is not the total tax burden borne by the African community in Uganda.

42. In Kenya central government revenue has usually exceeded government expenditure. Over the seven years, from 1946 to 1952, surpluses averaged £1,300,000. These surpluses made some contribution to the funds required for development. But the emergency has, on the financial side, destroyed that position. Substantial excesses of expenditure over revenue have now emerged and the estimates for 1953 show revenue of £19,000,000 and expenditure of £23,000,000. To meet these deficits it will be necessary to raise new taxation or to reduce expenditure in other directions, or to seek further aid from Her Majesty's Government. In 1952 the public debt of the Colony stood at £15,699,000, involving charges of £791,000, in addition to which there was a capital debt of £6,696,000 in respect of East African Railways and Harbours with annual charges of £262,000. This is not in itself a large public indebtedness, having regard to the resources of the Colony, but the temptation to add substantially to the existing debt must be kept within bounds, having regard to the effect of trade depression on the ability to meet annual debt charges.

43. The main source of Tanganyika's revenue comes from direct and indirect taxation. Direct taxation includes income tax, estate duties, native house and poll tax, non-native poll tax, non-native education taxes and municipal taxes. Indirect taxation is derived from import and export duties, excise duties, stamp duties, vehicle licences and other indirect taxes such as cesses. Over one-third of all taxation comes from import duties. Native house and poll tax, which in 1951 yielded just over £1,000,000, represented just over 10 per cent of total tax receipts.

44. Total revenue for Tanganyika in 1951 amounted to £11,900,000 of which £9,700,000 was derived from taxation. Of the total revenue, 35 per cent came from customs and excise duties and a further 12 per cent from export taxes levied mainly on sisal. No firm estimates of the total geographical product of the territory are available but a rough estimate made for 1952 indicates that the money income generated was in the neighbourhood of £62,000,000 and that taxation was equivalent in amount to nearly 16 per cent of this total.

45. In Uganda, total revenue in 1951 amounted to £15,800,000. Customs and excise, income tax and native poll tax, which formed so high a proportion of total revenue in Kenya (75 per cent), provided only 31 per cent in Uganda and most of this was derived from customs and excise. In recent years there have been substantial surpluses of central government revenue mainly on account of the yield of the export taxes on cotton and coffee and the high prices prevailing for these products. In 1951 the cotton tax yielded £5,800,000 and the coffee tax £2,100,000 out of a total yield from export taxes of £8,100,000. This latter yield represented as much as 51 per cent of total central government revenue, in striking contrast to the position in 1937 when only 7 per cent came from this source. At that time the main source of revenue was customs and excise which yielded 34 per cent of the total. The next most important item was the native poll tax with 30 per cent. Income tax

yielded only 2 per cent. As with Kenya, native poll tax has lost much of its former significance, falling from 30 per cent to 3 per cent in 1951. Indeed, in absolute as well as in relative terms, poll tax was smaller in 1951 than it was in 1937. The yield of export taxes in 1937 in relation to total tax revenue was rather less than 10 per cent as compared with rather more than 60 per cent in 1951.

46. Africans in Uganda are not liable to income tax but pay a poll tax levied on every able-bodied adult male. Formerly the rate varied with the district but since 1949 the tax has been levied at a flat rate except in Buganda.

47. In 1951, the geographical income of Uganda, less African subsistence income but including export taxes, was estimated at £75,400,000 and the tax revenue of central government was equivalent to 18 per cent of this total. If local taxation is included the proportion would be slightly higher.

48. It is, however, misleading to look on this as measuring the total fiscal burden in the Uganda Protectorate. In addition to the conventional forms of taxation considerable sums were paid, prior to 1948, into the Cotton Profit Control Fund, and since that year, via price stabilization schemes, into the Uganda Lint Marketing Board. Profits made by the Board have been paid into the Cotton Price Assistance Fund and surplus balances of this Fund have been used for general development purposes. A similar arrangement prevailed in the case of coffee. These arrangements, which we have already discussed, are mentioned here because it is important to realize that the ratio between taxation and geographical income does not take account of the other money which was taken from the incomes of cotton and coffee growers via the price stabilization operations.

49. Differences in the manner in which the budgets of the three territories are prepared, together with differences in the economic structures of the territories, make it impossible to compare, in quantitative terms, the tax burdens which have to be carried. It is clear, however, that Uganda Africans contribute much more in absolute terms than the Africans of Kenya. But the Uganda Protectorate's revenues are very closely geared to the fortunes of the cotton and coffee crops. As with Tanganyika, an important proportion of government revenue is derived from export taxes. These taxes, based upon a sliding-scale related to export prices, may be a convenient method of raising revenue when the administration of other forms of taxation would be difficult and costly, but in so far as their yield depends upon the course of world prices for the particular exports on which they are levied, they introduce a particularly uncertain element into budget calculations. They fall with greatest severity upon the producer who is near to the margin of profit as well as on the marginal production of all producers.

50. Income tax and surtax rates which apply mainly to non-African incomes are high having regard to the need to stimulate enterprise in these undeveloped territories. They are higher than those in the Belgian Congo, Malaya, France, French West Africa, the Gold Coast, Canada, South Africa or the United States but they are below the rates in the United Kingdom or in India. Estate duties are lower than in the United Kingdom.

51. We have had regard to the public expenditures of the three territories, the sources of revenue at the disposal of their governments, the national incomes of the territories and the effect of the emergency upon the economy

of Kenya ; and we have reached the conclusions that the tax burdens which are carried both by non-Africans and by Africans are heavy, and that there is no scope for substantial extensions of public expenditure which would involve further increases in these tax burdens. This means that for increased public expenditures, other than those which may be financed by grant or loan from external sources, the governments of the territories must rely upon the increased revenue which may be associated with an increased geographical income. In general terms, on the basis of present rates of taxation and on the experience of recent years, an increase of £1,000,000 in the national income means an increase in government revenue of about £250,000. The relationship, of course, also holds in the opposite direction, but it indicates the importance of expanding the economy if the many social improvements which it is desired to effect are to be brought about.

52. The relationship between tax revenue and national income referred to above requires qualification. The change in tax receipts will depend upon the sector of the economy in which the change in the national income occurs. Thus if the rise or fall in the national income was mainly due to a rise or fall in the level of European incomes, the effect on the tax revenue would tend to be concentrated on the receipts from income tax. If the rise or fall in the national income was mainly due to a rise or fall in the total income of the African sector of the economy, the effect on the tax revenue would tend to be concentrated on the receipts from customs duties. But if we are justified in supposing that it will take time before the changes which we think are necessary in African agriculture will be effective in making a substantial addition to the total of African incomes, the resulting resilience of the revenue will be gradual.

53. It is an essential element in the theme of our Report that economic development in East Africa depends mainly on the enlargement of the market by the expansion of exports and local production and that public policy should be focussed on the fulfilment of that end. This carries with it certain implications. New taxation which is added to an already heavy burden in order to provide revenue for otherwise desirable objects of social policy will, if it has the effect of checking the expansion of the economy, nullify its own purpose. On the other hand, an enlargement of the market will of itself tend to yield new revenue which in turn will provide the resources which governments require in order to develop their social policy. The weight of the argument thus lies on the side of lower rather than higher taxation. Indeed, a general reduction in tax burdens, if that could be achieved, would contribute more to the economic development of the territories than any concessions which could be granted to privileged groups by means of tax rebates or subsidies.

54. The problem, however, is complicated in other directions. Further increases in taxation might be expected to have some influence in checking immigration particularly from the United Kingdom. Indeed, with full employment in the United Kingdom and a further narrowing of the gap between tax burdens there and in East Africa, it is not impossible that some emigration from East Africa might occur. The effect of such a movement on the revenues of the territories would be quickly perceived. Even at present rates of tax there is little net advantage to be derived by an immigrant from Britain from residence in East Africa. Moreover, there is reason to suppose that the emergency in Kenya has done damage to the national income of the Colony while at the same time increasing unavoidable public expenditure. Nor can we ignore the increase in expenditure on the rehabilitation of the economy when

the emergency is over. Similarly, the disintegration of the tribal system will make it important to ensure that the African is integrated with the modern way of life and new forms of public expenditure for this purpose may be necessary. Thus it may be found to be impossible in the near future to lighten the burden of taxation in a manner which would stimulate the process of economic development.

PUBLIC CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

55. There is thus a strong presumption that public expenditure on what are called development projects should, as far as possible, be concentrated on objects which are likely to yield immediate and reasonably certain results in the form of increased income, so that there will be a larger surplus to devote to improvements which take a longer time to mature. More ambitious experimentation in the form of projects whose results can only be felt in the remoter future cannot be justified on the basis of the resources which now exist in East Africa. If they are to be sanctioned, they should be sanctioned on the basis of external grants or loans specifically made for the purpose and in a manner which imposes no new and immediate burden on the public finances of the territories. This raises issues of financial policy for the United Kingdom which lie outside our terms of reference. But the close gearing of the public expenditures of the territories to their respective national incomes in the manner which we have suggested would be a valuable principle to adopt. We do not have in mind that this should be done by adopting a rigid formula which would deprive public financial policy of the flexibility which it requires. The recognition of the principle ought to be sufficient to give to the financial policies of the territories a direction which at present they do not obviously possess.

56. We come now to the post-war development plans which have been prepared for execution by each of the three territorial governments. Our concern is not with the individual projects included in these plans but with the policy which inspired them and the manner in which they are financed.

57. The procedures adopted in each of the territories may be described briefly. In Kenya the Development and Reconstruction Authority (D.A.R.A.) was set up in 1945 as the body responsible to the Governor for the co-ordinated execution of all development plans and for the expenditure of monies provided for the purpose. In Uganda there was at first no separate development budget. Normal and development income and expenditure were grouped together in the one budget statement. The peculiar circumstances which have prevailed in Uganda in recent years have made it increasingly imperative, however, to have two budgets—one covering recurrent expenditure and the other covering capital expenditure—not merely for informative purposes but as a basis of policy. Having regard to the large windfall elements in the Protectorate revenues in the post-war years, it was important to ascertain the amounts of revenue which it was reasonable to expect would be received free from windfall elements and to keep recurrent expenditure as far as possible within these limits. Capital expenditure could then be considered separately, taking account of such features as, on the one hand, unexpected surpluses, allocations from revenue, proceeds of loans, etc., and, on the other, the charges which would fall on the ordinary budget in later years. This type of procedure is now envisaged by the Protectorate Government. Tanganyika, unlike Uganda, has maintained a separate development budget from the start.

58. The main sources from which these development plans have been financed are (a) allocations from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds,

(b) loan funds and (c) local revenues. We quote the figures cited in *The Colonial Territories 1953-4* (Cmd. 9169, 1954) Appendix III:

SOURCES OF FINANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANS

	Total	(In £'000)		
		C.D. & W. Funds	Loan Funds	Local Resources
Kenya	42,450	3,500	23,450	15,500
Tanganyika	24,450	5,349	10,000	9,101
Uganda	28,500	2,500	2,000	24,000

Taking the three territories together, about one-half of the funds come from local resources and one-half, by loan or grant, from the United Kingdom. Uganda, however, relies in the main on local resources while Kenya depends upon outside funds to the extent of nearly two-thirds of its own total.

59. Expenditure under these plans is generally directed to objects which cannot be properly achieved unless the expenditure is made and directed by a public authority, but the boundary line is often blurred. Thus, housing and health services are frequently provided by employers. The underlying idea in each plan is that it 'should use the country's resources to increase the national income and raise living standards'—a somewhat inexact description having regard to the high proportion of the funds which come from outside the territories. But the use of the high sounding term 'development' is unnecessary and potentially misleading. The most important economic expansion of East Africa occurred independently of these plans and owes nothing to them. What is important is not that there should be development plans but that there should be capital resources available to promote expansion. Some of these resources may come through the ordinary channels of trade and industry; others may come through agencies to which only the governments of the territories have access. It may be that some integration of the two is desirable but nothing is to be gained by dignifying the second of these groups of capital resources by using the term 'development'. A budget of public capital receipts and outlays is a more appropriate description of what is, in fact, involved. Three points then arise (a) the annual capital budget should be presented in a manner which is not merely simple in form but which also sets out clearly the different funds which are available and the manner in which they are expended; (b) what is called 'development' policy should not be isolated from general economic policy, partly for reasons which have been indicated and partly because expansion can be promoted by methods which lie outside the scope of 'development' plans; and (c) 'development plan' finance should not be isolated from general financial policy. Public capital expenditure, however it may be recorded, has repercussions on the recurrent budgets of subsequent years and it is important that these effects should be made clear.

60. It is now a recognized part of public policy in East Africa to promote the development of African local government. These local governments, whose constitutions vary throughout the three territories, are responsible for certain forms of expenditure some of which is of a capital nature. Their receipts are derived in varying degrees from tax rebates or grants from the central government, from local fees, local cesses on marketed produce and from local rates. In some advanced and prosperous areas there are African local authorities with surplus funds which can be invested on their behalf but these instances would not be typical of the region as a whole. There are no facilities, however, whereby African local authorities can borrow the resources which they require for capital expenditure and accept responsibility for the interest and repayment on the loans so acquired. The absence of borrowing powers means that capital expenditure imposes a greater burden on the local

population and imposes a more severe limit on the capital expenditure which these authorities may incur. It also tends to introduce an element of irregularity into local authority capital expenditure which deprives the population of some of the benefits which would accrue from a more even outlay. It is desirable that steps should be taken, under the auspices of central government, to create a Public Works Loan Board, or by some other means to enable these local bodies to obtain borrowing powers.

61. The technique of borrowing and redemption of loans may, of course, be difficult for the members of some of these local authorities to comprehend, and it would, therefore, be necessary to grant borrowing facilities under the careful supervision of the central government. Perhaps, for some time, it might be possible to make them available only to the more advanced authorities but, subject to that qualification, the availability of borrowing facilities would make an important contribution to the development of local government responsibility in the areas of African administration.

CHAPTER 9

Credit for Africans

1. We think it desirable at the outset of this chapter to deal with the view which is held by a number of Africans that there exists, on the part of non-African controlled governments, business and industry, a deliberate discrimination against Africans in the granting of loans and credit facilities and that this alleged discrimination is one of the factors which impedes African economic development. We found, among many Africans, not merely a considerable degree of misunderstanding about the existing law but also a considerable misunderstanding about the conditions under which loans, to any class of borrower, are normally made. It may be useful if we attempt to examine these misunderstandings.

2. In Kenya all suits by non-Africans against Africans are barred where the African has received credit for more than £10 unless the credit has been granted under a written contract which has been approved by an attesting officer. Africans in business, registered under the Business Names Registration Ordinance, are exempt from this requirement and any African may apply through his district commissioner to the Registrar General for a certificate of exemption. Both the approval of the attesting officer and the certificate of exemption are granted only after care has been taken to ensure that the African concerned is fully aware of the magnitude of his liabilities and that he understands that he is forfeiting his right to protection under the Ordinance. In Tanganyika no debt for money loaned, goods supplied or services of a professional nature rendered by a non-African is recoverable from an African by a non-African unless the transaction creating the debt is in writing, and is approved in writing by an administrative officer, or unless the African holds a written permit from an administrative officer to contract such debts without specific approval in each case. These permits

may be issued subject to conditions which if not fulfilled, render the permits ineffective. There are, however, certain exceptions to this general position, namely :

(a) any contract entered into by an African holder of a licence issued under the Trades Licensing Ordinance, the Itinerant Traders Ordinance or the Coffee Industry (Registration and Improvement) Ordinance by way of trading operations undertaken by him and allowed by such licence ;

(b) any loan by an employer to an African servant by way of advance of wages not exceeding a sum equal to one month's wages payable to the servant under his contract of service and, in addition, the amount of tax payable by the servant under the Native Tax Ordinance ;

(c) any contract of pawn made in accordance with the provisions of any law for the time being in force relating to pawnbrokers ; and

(d) services rendered by a registered or licensed medical practitioner.

In Uganda there is a general requirement that transactions involving credit of more than £10 should be in writing, but the law affords no special protection to African borrowers.

3. We have given this brief résumé of the legal position for the sake of clarity although we did not get the impression that where the African imagined that there existed some discrimination against him he thought that the discrimination was primarily a legal one. The sense of discrimination appeared rather to be based upon a misunderstanding of the basic principles underlying the securing of loans, and on the fact that facilities for extending credit to small borrowers in outlying localities do not exist and cannot easily be established.

4. Borrowing depends upon the existence of a negotiable security and upon the availability of an income out of which the service of the loan can be met. In the traditional subsistence economies these conditions do not exist ; there is no negotiable security and, by its very nature, subsistence production precludes the possibility that any income above what is required for subsistence will be available for the service of the loan. Effective borrowing, therefore, presupposes that the borrower has moved, at least to some extent, out of the subsistence economy into the exchange economy. The material advantages which accrue to an African in his traditional society appear to him as the gifts of a bountiful providence, and it need occasion no great surprise if he frequently regards money loans in a similar light. It may be expected that with the passage of time and with greater experience of the conditions under which economic advancement may be secured this attitude of mind will change. Africans will then learn to appreciate the nature of the obligations which borrowers must accept, while commercial lending agencies will recognize the existence of that degree of personal security which is so largely lacking today. In the meantime, however, a cautious approach to the problem both by governments and by commercial lenders is inevitable.

5. There is a manifest failure on the part of many Africans to understand the essentially negotiable nature of any acceptable security. This was particularly exemplified for us in connexion with the question of pledging land as the security for loans. One of the reasons given by Africans for wanting certificates of title to their land was that the existence of titles would enable them to borrow money as did the European landowners in Kenya or the 'mailo' landowners in Uganda. They had frequently been told that they could not borrow on terms similar to those which could be obtained by owners of freeholds or leaseholds because their security was inferior, and this had obviously bred a feeling of resentment that their customary rights

to land should be considered inferior to rights which had been acquired in quite recent times. Although we received some evidence that Africans were anxious to obtain loans on the security of their land, we also gained the impression, particularly in parts of Uganda, that local dignitaries expected this to be achieved without any abandonment of the customary control over the disposal of the land and without any relinquishment of the customary communal rights in the land. It is essential that Africans shall come to realize that they can only expect to borrow on the security of land if the land is a negotiable asset, and that the value of land as a security increases in proportion to the absence of restraints on its disposal.

6. A further sense of grievance on the part of the African arises from the fact that loans made by established banks are made almost entirely to non-Africans. The most important reason for this is bound up with the security problems to which we have already referred. But an additional reason is the heavy overhead costs involved in providing local lending facilities among scattered communities and in maintaining the accounts of small borrowers, many of which may involve more work than is involved in the management of large accounts. This is a problem which is not in any way confined to East Africa and later in this chapter we shall discuss some of the ways in which it might be tackled. Here, however, it is important to dispel the notion that the withholding of lending facilities is a matter of racial discrimination. It is not. It is a matter, on the one hand, of security and, on the other, of management costs.

7. There are two further misconceptions about loans which are widely held, and not only by Africans, which we think must be removed before a clear approach to the subject can be made. The first is the belief that any state of indebtedness is a bad thing which, at all costs, should be avoided. Indebtedness, according to this view, is a measure of extravagance. The truth is, of course, that indebtedness is a good or a bad thing according to the circumstances of the loan and the use to which it is put. If the loan is used to increase the productive power of the borrower it is economically advantageous; if it is not so used it brings peril to the borrower and involves a waste of resources to the community. The abuses which are associated with great indebtedness are almost invariably found, as in India and elsewhere, where loans are contracted in order to enlarge, for the moment, the consuming capacity of the borrower. If it should be deemed expedient to protect the African against the dangers of unproductive borrowing it is important also to ensure that by so doing a valuable means of promoting the material advancement of the peoples of these territories is not denied to them.

8. The second widely-held misconception, particularly among Africans whose education has not proceeded far, is that the provision of credit facilities will provide a solution to all their economic difficulties. This notion proceeds from the assumption, which is often made freely, that the availability of credit to the non-African is the result of the non-African's strength. In the minds of many Africans, banks are regarded as institutions which give money out in contrast to government which is regarded as an institution which takes money away. Apart from the crude notion of the functions which banks perform it is often assumed that there is no limit to the extent to which credit could be advanced. There is, of course, no such bottomless purse. The resources which are available for lending, from whatever source they may come, are very strictly limited, so that it becomes a matter of great importance that they should not be dissipated in the form of unproductive loans.

9. It has frequently been suggested that the East African territories possess an untapped source for raising capital in the asset of their land, and that the value of this asset has in large measure been sterilized by customary forms of

tenure which restrict its negotiability. We believe this to be true. But the removal of this restriction would not in itself be sufficient to ensure that new capital would be forthcoming for the improvement of African agriculture and the development of African trade and industry. The problem is complex and we propose to examine it in more detail.

10. The bulk of the African population is directly engaged in agriculture. Most of the cultivators work on small family holdings, varying in size according to local conditions but limited for the most part by the amount of available family labour applied in accordance with customary practices. There are, of course, exceptions to this description. In Buganda considerable numbers of immigrants from Ruanda-Urundi are employed. In some areas, too, notably in western Uganda, the available resources of good land are such that, provided capital could be obtained, cultivators could make effective use of larger holdings. But these conditions do not apply generally throughout East Africa. Large areas of low grade land exist where it is doubtful if capital expenditure could be justified until new agricultural techniques have given some promise that the capital expenditure would in fact be profitable.

11. In the limited areas of high quality land which exist, agricultural departments are endeavouring to introduce new farming methods which involve some amount of capital outlay, and in other sections of this Report we are concerned with the ways and means by which this process of agricultural improvement can be promoted. The introduction of cash crops may involve bench terracing and the purchase and application of manures and artificial fertilizers. Other agricultural improvements may involve fencing or hedging, the provision of water supplies and the erection of farm buildings. In these cases the introduction of modern farming methods may involve capital expenditures from which no immediate return can be expected. In some cases it is possible that new improvements could be effected, without external aids, by a better utilization of the labour already attached to the holdings, but in many cases the expansion of African agriculture cannot be achieved without the aid of new capital in some form. The agricultural departments of all three territories are satisfied that there exists a need for loan facilities for the African farmer, coupled with a form of tenure which would encourage the farmer to effect new permanent improvements in the land.

12. Elsewhere in this Report we suggest that the future of the pastoralist depends upon his adoption of modern ranching practices. The capital expenditure required on a modern ranch is high for such things as fencing and properly distributed water supplies. In the normal way these capital outlays are spread over a considerable number of years. African ranching must proceed in the same way and capital will be required for the purpose. But the need for loans is not an urgent one if the pastoralists already have at their disposal resources which they can convert into the particular capital assets which the organization of a proper ranch requires. We are satisfied that drastic changes in the customary practices of stock management in relation to land are necessary in the first instance and that the need to estimate the capital requirements of the African pastoralist on any general scale will not arise in the near future. When new capital is required, the means of acquiring it are ready to hand in the surplus livestock which must be taken off the land as a first step in balanced management, and it is by no means certain that the raising of loans on the security of the land itself will be necessary.

13. The capital requirements of Africans in trade and industry, in an economy which is still primarily agricultural, depend upon the growth of ancillary employments and that, in turn, is conditioned by the growth of

disposable agricultural surpluses. Apart from Uganda cotton and coffee, and Chagga and Bukoba coffee, these disposable surpluses are not large but, from the evidence which we received, we believe that the lack of credit facilities has some effect in curtailing the services which the African transporter, trader and craftsman could provide. The main difficulty is the African's inability to provide an acceptable security. We think that legislation should be introduced to provide for chattels mortgages and crop liens where this does not exist, and that the existing legal restrictions on the granting of credit should be reviewed. We recognize that the effect of these changes might not be great in the first instance having regard to the African's lack of experience and knowledge of the implications of credit operations.

14. The type of loan which may be required by the African trader is likely to be for comparatively short periods. Loans to enable agriculturists to effect permanent improvements in the land must be for longer periods, which means that the lendable resources available for this purpose must have a slower rate of turnover. Commercial banks are, as a rule, unable to undertake this type of business and it is desirable to provide organized financial aid of this kind by the establishment of special land and agricultural banks, operating perhaps on special government funds or on funds provided by development agencies. It is necessary to point out, however, that the African who is both able and willing to offer his land as security for a loan is offering a type of security which is likely to have a low realization value. Moreover, the effect of converting considerable areas of land to individual ownership when negotiability is restricted by confining purchase to Africans is likely to keep realization values at a very low level. When group exclusiveness and strong opposition to the intrusion of strangers are added it is probable that land realization values will be still further depressed. The Credit and Savings Bank in Uganda was recently confronted with this type of situation when it was found that, although an apparently low value was placed on a plot of land which was offered as security, the sale of the land, necessitated by foreclosure, was boycotted and the realized price was negligible. So long as this type of situation persists no bank or government agency could regard African-owned land as anything other than an indifferent security. The remedy lies partly in a change in the African's attitude to land and in a recognition that the value of land is increased as its negotiability is widened, and partly in the general expansion of the economy through the production of disposable surpluses whereby the effective purchasing power of the African is increased and, in consequence, the demand for land. But these remedial processes are slow to evolve. It is possible that something may be done to educate the agricultural population towards an understanding of these matters by associating responsible Africans with the management of any land banks which may be established. Meantime, it would be illusory to suppose that the value of African lands as the collateral for loans is likely to be great.

15. If the granting of loans to Africans were to be left altogether to commercial agencies there is little doubt that the terms of these loans would be onerous, having regard to the nature of the security which could be offered and the magnitude of the risks attached to the loans. These terms, indeed, might be prohibitive to the potential borrower unless the purpose to which the loan was applied would enable a large and quick increase in agricultural output to be obtained. There is little reason, however, to suppose that this condition would readily be fulfilled. In general, we think that governments or government-sponsored agencies should adopt similar commercial principles in fixing the terms on which loans to Africans are made available. The only circumstances in which we think that governments

might reasonably depart from this rule would be when the security offered falls short of what a commercial agency would accept and when, in the view of government, the purposes to which the loan would be applied would be calculated to bring new productive resources into being. It may be argued that where the initiative towards agricultural improvement comes from the side of government, even though the co-operation of the African is essential to its success, and where the immediate benefits of that improvement are enjoyed by the African whose co-operation has been enlisted, government should accept some of the risks associated with the loan. But in these cases, the safeguards against the mis-application of the loan must be strong. Apart from the form or extent of the security which can be obtained, all the other conditions of the loan should be determined on a commercial basis. It would be no service to the African to encourage the belief that he can have easy access to a philanthropic government agency for financial support.

16. The resources which governments could be expected to make available for lending on a non-commercial security are likely to be large. But if loans of this character are to be made through an agency which also provides loans on a wholly commercial basis, the two types of lending operation should be kept distinct, and should be accounted for separately. Loans made on a less than completely commercial basis should come under the direct scrutiny of the legislatures. We understand that the Credit and Savings Bank in Uganda is already taking steps to divide its accounts in this manner.

17. In each of the East African territories attempts have already been made to provide special credit facilities to African borrowers. In Kenya in 1949 a committee was appointed to study the problem of making loans available to African farmers. This committee reached the conclusion that until progress had been made in the matter of land holding in a negotiable form the extent to which loans could be made to African farmers was small. They proposed that funds should be provided to enable loans to be made to farmers on the terms and for the purposes which they recommended, under a closely supervised scheme, based for security largely upon the personal knowledge which responsible government officers had of the character and past record of the potential borrower. The committee considered that the best chance of extending credit facilities beyond the very restricted limits of this scheme lay in the formation of credit co-operatives of unlimited liability.

18. The scheme for making loans on the personal security of the borrower was adopted and a sum of £10,000 was provided for in the annual development estimates of the Colony, together with another sum of approximately £10,000 in the annual estimates of the African district councils. These Colony funds have taken the form of block grants to districts, and the loans to African farmers have been made on the advice of the district teams* on terms and conditions prescribed by government. A general supervision of the scheme has been exercised by the African Land Development Board and the results show that some progressive farmers have been enabled to increase the productiveness of their holdings beyond what would otherwise have been possible. No great difficulty has been experienced in securing the payment of interest and the repayment of the loans. It has, however, operated on a small scale and no appreciable extension of the scheme is possible on the basis of the present administrative and technical district staffs. Recently the scope of the scheme has been extended by enabling loans to be made to African traders.

* See chapter 24 for a description of the composition and functions of district teams.

19. In Tanganyika a Local Development Loan Fund was established in 1947 with a capital of £100,000 derived from the margins which had accrued on the war-time bulk purchasing of certain African produce, particularly cotton. The major part of this fund has been used to provide free grants or loans to local authorities for development projects and up to the end of 1953 a total of only 75 loans had been made to individuals or co-operatives. These loans have been made at interest rates substantially below commercial rates and they have been secured either by chattels mortgages, or on the guarantee of a native authority, or on a combination of both. In the cases of all the largest loans it has been necessary to defer the repayment.

20. In Uganda a Credit and Savings Bank was established in 1950. By the end of 1953 a sum of £600,000 had been placed by the Legislature at the disposal of the Bank. The Bank is obliged to maintain a reserve of not less than £250,000. At the end of 1953, the number of loan accounts was 1,285 and the balance outstanding amounted to £306,312. The Ordinance provides for loans to be made for a variety of purposes. An examination of the accounts shows that approximately one-half of the loans have been made to agricultural borrowers and that the remainder have been made for trade and industry, for industrial and commercial buildings and for residential buildings. The statement of unpaid loan instalments and interest shows an alarming increase in 1953 over the already high figure of 1952. The decision to foreclose on some of the securities held showed that their realizable value was both low and uncertain. In some cases, less than one-quarter of what the Bank required was offered for land and buildings held as security, despite the fact that in no case did the original loan amount to more than 50 per cent of the Bank's valuation of the security. The experience of the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank amply bears out the dangers to which we have referred in paragraph 14 of this chapter.

21. Both in Kenya and in Tanganyika there are Agricultural Land Banks operating under legislation whereby loans can be made up to a fixed percentage of the value of the property in respect of which a first mortgage is taken as security. These facilities are available to members of all races but the conditions under which the Banks function virtually exclude Africans from participation since so little land is held by them on a form of title over which a mortgage could be taken.

22. The number of co-operatives is increasing in all three territories but as yet they have little to offer to their members in the form of credit facilities. Under careful guidance and supervision some development of co-operative activity in this direction might be contemplated. We have already referred to the high management costs involved in keeping small accounts. The cost of the inspection and valuation services is also certain to be high. This gives some support to the view that the appropriate agency for making small loans is the co-operative, provided there is adequate guidance and supervision. But even in this case it is not to be supposed that operating costs per account will be low. These loans, however, would consist almost entirely of short-term advances, secured on the crops which the co-operatives handle. Arrangements might be made with the statutory lending agencies, or directly with the commercial banks, for funds to be made available to the co-operatives for this purpose. This could be done on the security of the crops which they market.

23. In some cases, African local government bodies lend directly to private individuals and businesses. We think that this practice is dangerous, that it is not an activity which is appropriate for local government authorities and

that it should be discontinued. Similarly we think that local government authorities should not guarantee private loans made by other agencies. Guarantees of this kind transfer the responsibility for the security and management of private loans from the properly constituted lending agency to the local government authority and place upon the latter the same risks and obligations which it would assume if it made the loans itself. Local authority credit balances should only be lent to the central government which should pay an appropriate rate of interest on balances so lent.

24. The making of agricultural loans for other than short periods cannot conveniently be done except by specialized lending agencies, of the land bank type, operating on revolving funds provided by government or on the basis of government guaranteed overdrafts provided by the commercial banks, though there is an obvious danger if too high a proportion of the disposable resources of the land bank is derived from this latter source. We recommend that the governments of the three territories should establish, or extend the scope of land banks, that the operation of these agencies should be determined by legislation, and that they should not be subsidized except in so far as government finances or government guarantees may provide them with loan capital on favourable terms. The establishment of branches to meet local requirements presents a difficulty. We do not think that local authorities or district administrations should be used by the land banks as their agents. These persons and authorities are not experienced loan administrators and though their advice may be of value to the lending agency it is in the capacity of advisers alone that they should be employed.

25. This recommendation obviously narrows the scope for long term agricultural loans to Africans, partly on account of the difficulty and cost of setting up branches and partly on account of the African's inability to offer a security which could be accepted as adequate collateral for loans of this type. In so far as this difficulty exists it may not be reasonable to expect, at this stage in the development of East African agriculture, that long term improvements should be financed on the basis of advances to African cultivators. The whole conception of long-term borrowing presupposes a maturity of mind which, as yet, is only in evidence among a small number of East African cultivators. Where that maturity of mind exists the technique of long-term borrowing can be utilized; where it does not, the use of the technique of private long-term borrowing must be postponed until a climate more favourable to its success has been evolved.

26. Alongside this gradual development of land bank activities to bring within the scope of their operations the enterprising and progressive African cultivator, attempts must be made to enlist the interest of co-operatives in the technique of long-term lending. This, too, should be a gradual process. It would be useless to encourage co-operatives to participate in the activity of long-term lending before they had acquired the knowledge and experience of successful short-term lending. The co-operative has the great advantage of constant contact with, and local knowledge of, its members. The lending operations of co-operatives are, at present, rightly limited by the assets which they possess, and the accumulation of these assets depends upon the skill and prudence with which their affairs are conducted. But a co-operative which had successfully mastered the technique of short-term lending and whose members were inspired with the urge to effect more durable improvements in their agricultural holdings would, in our view, qualify to become an intermediary between a land bank and its members. This process of evolution could only be expected to occur as a result of the close supervision of the

activities and accounts of co-operatives by the Registrars of Co-operatives and their staffs and we would urge upon the Governments of East Africa the importance of strengthening these staffs. We do not contemplate that the provision of long-term finance for African agriculture can emerge from the sudden introduction of a new technique. We do, however, contemplate that if the urge to improve can be firmly implanted in the minds of African cultivators—and much of our Report is concerned with the fostering and promotion of this urge if there are ready to hand agencies which can be adapted to the task of providing the requisite finance.

27. It will be gathered from this discussion that it is not within the scope of our intention that either governments or local authorities should enter into competition with ordinary commercial lending agencies. Our intention is rather that these public authorities should limit their activities in this field to the filling of gaps in the ordinary commercial network or to the provision of some measure of subsidization where, on grounds of public policy, that is deemed to be desirable. We have indicated our belief that interest rates and conditions of repayment should be determined on ordinary commercial principles. The only departure from strict commercial principles which we think might be made by government-controlled or government-sponsored agencies is in the form of security to be accepted. We allow this departure with reluctance but we cannot disregard the fact that at present the type of security which even progressive and enterprising Africans can offer to ordinary credit agencies rarely complies with commercial requirements, and although we would hope that with the passage of time this particular disability would diminish and disappear we think that public and financial policy should have regard to the circumstances which now exist.

28. We indicate in chapter 8 the importance of directing resources in East Africa into those channels which are likely to be most directly and most rapidly productive. It is a corollary to this that the statutory agencies which are established to provide loans and credit facilities should also be required to employ their capital resources in the same productive manner. If they are to be efficiently conducted the lending agencies must maintain the necessary inspectorate staff to ensure that the loans which are granted are in fact applied to the purposes for which they were made.

29. We refer elsewhere to the problem of chronic indebtedness which in certain undeveloped countries is commonly found among peasant proprietors of land. It is inconsistent with the principle of economic mobility, upon which we place so much stress in this Report, to place restraints on the pledging of land as security for loans. There are, however, two circumstances in East Africa which at present necessitate a departure from this general principle. The first is the generally low level of cash incomes and the consequent danger that loans may be diverted into non-productive uses. The second is the comparative lack of income-earning opportunities other than those directly associated with the use of land. We therefore recommend that legislation should be introduced to ensure that no suit shall lie for the recovery of a debt secured by a charge on land except in the case of loans made by specified agencies. These specified agencies would be conducted on the basis of sound commercial principles and the loans which they made would, in consequence, be based on a conservative assessment of land values. The loans would not, therefore, carry with them the dangers for borrowers to which we have referred.

CHAPTER 10

Manufacturing Industries

LIMITING FACTORS

1. It was frequently represented to us that it was desirable to stimulate the development in East Africa of industries other than agriculture, partly as a means of generating new income and partly as a means of absorbing in employment some of the population which was held to be redundant in the overcrowded areas. The second of these reasons does not commend itself to us as a main ground on which to formulate public policy. New industrial development should not be thought of in the language of relief works which are not, as a rule, economic and which, in any case, do not generally afford employment to any large number of persons. We therefore approach the problem by considering the prospects for new industrial development which will make some significant net contribution to the geographical incomes of the three East African territories.

2. Mining has contributed less to the economic development of East Africa than to other African territories. This may not always be so and we would welcome a rapid growth of that industry both on account of the addition it could make to the real net income of the territories and on account of the indirect economic advantages which would proceed therefrom. But the industries with which we are mainly concerned here are industries of the manufacturing type.

3. These industries must either be concerned with supplying the local territorial market or with supplying markets outside the territories. At present the scope of the local territorial market is not large. It is to be expected, however, that the more the African sector of the economy passes over from subsistence production to the production of cash crops the greater will be the scope of the local territorial market for the products of manufacturing industry situated within the territories, provided they can be produced at prices which compare favourably with the prices of similar products imported from abroad. New industries of this type in East Africa would enjoy the natural protection which is afforded by the heavy transport costs involved in importing competing supplies from other places of manufacture. On the other hand, there are certain handicaps which may be inconvenient to East African manufacturers. Fuel and power may be relatively expensive. There may, during the initial stages of development, be a difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply of suitable labour and, although this difficulty may diminish in the course of time, the cost of training labour may be a burden of some magnitude during the early period of development. More important still is the possible handicap of working to a small territorial market. It may not be possible, in the present circumstances of East Africa, for new industrial establishments to operate on a scale which would enable them to enjoy all the economies of production which may be experienced by their competitors in other countries, however much these competitors in turn may be handicapped by the transport costs involved in sending supplies to the markets of East Africa. There is also the factor of labour costs which should not be confused with wage rates. In East Africa wage rates are low in comparison with rates in industrial countries but labour costs may well

be high, having regard to the quality and quantity of service obtained in return. The level of labour costs is to some extent dependent upon training and management and if labour costs for manufacturing industry were low in East Africa a certain advantage would accrue to manufacturers there as against their competitors elsewhere. If labour costs elsewhere were to rise relatively to labour costs in East Africa the situation would become favourable to new industry in East Africa. The importance of these several considerations varies from industry to industry but the over-riding limiting factor is the size of the territorial market and that, in turn, depends upon the size of the population and upon the effective demand which that population can exercise.

4. Manufacturing industries which cater principally for an export market must either process raw materials produced locally or must depend upon raw materials imported from outside the territories. Apart from the possibilities of oil-refining near the coastal ports we do not think that any significant development of manufacturing industry which relies upon imported raw materials is likely to occur in East Africa in the foreseeable future. The transport cost of conveying raw materials from distant sources, coupled with the lack of an industrial experience suitable for this type of manufacture, are obstacles which are not likely to be readily surmounted. There remains the possibility of processing for export raw materials which are already available in East Africa. The manufacture of goods out of raw cotton, sisal, or timber are obvious examples. Some development in this direction has already occurred and more will doubtless follow but from the evidence before us we are not disposed to anticipate, even under the most favourable conditions of political and economic stability, that spectacular results in this direction are probable.

5. The factor of perhaps greatest uncertainty is that of mineral development. Here our approach has necessarily been a cautious one based upon the present state of knowledge, but we are conscious of the danger of dogmatism in a sphere in which the unexpected is so often the rule. Large scale mineral exploitation in East Africa could effect an important transformation of the economic situation in that region as it has done elsewhere, and this is a possibility which should not be ignored.

6. As we view the situation, and in the absence of new discoveries which cannot be foreseen, the industrial expansion which is probable in East Africa is one which depends in the main upon the expansion of the local territorial markets. That depends, in turn, upon the success with which activities in the sphere of agriculture become increasingly orientated towards the market and upon the increased efficiency of agricultural production. It is important that the possibilities of agricultural development and those of industrial development should not be regarded as mutually exclusive alternatives. An increase in the marketable surplus of agriculture means an increased demand for manufactured goods, a widening of the market for these goods, and, in consequence, a greater opportunity for their most economical production. Similarly, an increase in manufacturing activity provides a larger market for agricultural produce. But both processes presuppose a re-allocation of the available productive resources, apart from whatever new productive resources of labour and capital may be attracted into the territories from outside. That re-allocation of resources can only proceed under conditions which are conducive to economic mobility. It cannot proceed effectively under conditions which inhibit movement and perpetuate restrictive practices.

7. In this connexion it does not matter whether the increased disposable surplus of agriculture is sold in the local territorial markets or in markets

overseas. At present sisal, cotton, tea, coffee and pyrethrum are agricultural products which are marketed almost entirely in export markets, but it is possible that other agricultural products could be added to the list. In some instances the tribal restraints on land tenure and on land use obstruct the commercialization of large sections of the African economy. In other instances, and for reasons which we discuss elsewhere in our Report, the forces which would otherwise have facilitated greater production have been impeded by a public policy which is excessively pre-occupied with the importance of preserving district, provincial or territorial self-sufficiency. Even when we make full allowance for the fear of periodic and local shortages which lies behind this type of public policy, considerations of self-sufficiency are not compatible with those conditions which are likely in the long run to promote the greatest increase in real income and therefore the greatest expansion of the territorial market.

THE EXTENT OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

8. Estimates of the geographical income and net product, and of its composition, are not complete for all the East African territories but the estimates which are available for Kenya over the period from 1947 to 1951 show how small has been the increase in the value of the net product of African agriculture when compared with that of non-African agriculture. Thus, whereas the net product of non-African agriculture increased nearly three times from £7,200,000 to £21,100,000, that of African marketed produce only increased from £2,500,000 to £4,700,000. The value of African subsistence agriculture increased over the same period from £15,400,000 to £23,800,000 and remained five times the value of African marketed produce. The proportion of the total net geographical product represented by the product of African agriculture, including both subsistence and marketed produce, has fallen. These measurements are an indication of the extent to which African agriculture has lagged behind the general economic development of the Colony. They also illustrate how the backward condition of African agriculture in Kenya has hindered the expansion of the territorial market for other types of production.

9. It is only for Kenya, too, that estimates are available which indicate the importance of manufacturing activity in the general economy. In 1951, the value of the net product of manufacturing industry amounted to £10,000,000, or approximately 12 per cent of the total net geographical product, exclusive of African subsistence agriculture. In 1947 the corresponding value was £4,500,000, or nearly 12 per cent of the total for that year. The number of Africans employed in manufacturing industry in 1952 was 42,000, or approximately 10 per cent of the total number of Africans in paid employment in Kenya in that year. In Uganda, although we have no estimates of the value of the net product of manufacturing industry, the number of Africans employed in manufacturing industry, including electricity, in 1952 was 23,600, or about 13 per cent of the total number of Africans in paid employment. In Tanganyika the corresponding number was 22,500, or 5 per cent of the total.

LABOUR AND CAPITAL

10. If we are correct in our view that new industrial development in East Africa in the foreseeable future is likely to be conditioned in the main by the expansion of the internal market, it is right that we should give some consideration to such other factors as the supply of labour and capital for that development.

11. We are conscious of the limitations on the use of labour statistics, especially as regards the African population, but despite these limitations there is little doubt that the number of Africans in urban areas and in paid employment has been increasing at a rate which is appreciably greater than any overall rate of growth which can reasonably be entertained for the African population. In Kenya between 1922 and 1953, the number of African adult males in wage employment has increased from about 133,000 to 359,000—a rate of increase of 3.25 per cent per annum—and the rate of increase has not varied appreciably throughout the period.

12. In 1952, taking the three territories together, there were some 936,000 African adult males in paid employment. In 1948 the African adult male population between the ages of 16 and 45 numbered some 3,500,000, and if we assume that that total increased by 1.5 per cent per annum the corresponding figure for 1952 would be 3,715,000. Thus about one-quarter of the total number of African adult males could be said to be in some form of wage employment. Of those in employment about one-half were employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing. Another 20 per cent were employed in central and local government service, and only a little over 11 per cent in manufacturing industry and mining. The predominance of agriculture in this analysis is what might be expected, having regard to the economy of the three territories. In Kenya, about one-half of the agricultural labour force (or about one-quarter of the total labour force) was employed on farms in the Highlands, the remainder being employed in the plantation industries of coffee, tea, sisal and pyrethrum. In Tanganyika, the sisal industry alone employs about one-third of the total number of Africans in paid employment. It will be observed that, even within the range of agriculture, employment is associated in the main, and particularly in Kenya and Tanganyika, with the investment of imported capital.

13. Of the total East African Indian population of 168,000 in 1948 some 51,000, or 30 per cent, were gainfully employed, and of the total European population of 44,000, some 22,000, or 50 per cent, were gainfully employed. These non-African elements constitute at present the main sources of skill and enterprise for the East African economy and it is at once apparent how small these resources are when compared even with the present total of Africans in paid employment, and how much smaller they would become in relation to a greatly expanded African labour force in search of paid employment. We have no doubts about the importance of enabling Africans to acquire the special skills which are required in modern industry, nor have we doubts about the importance of creating conditions which would allow Africans to exercise the greatest degree of lawful enterprise of which they are capable. Indeed many of our recommendations are directed to that end. But the acquisition of these skills and the successful exercise of that enterprise cannot be accomplished in the short period. We are thus compelled to recognize an important man-power limitation on any large-scale economic development of East Africa.

14. This leads us to a consideration of major policy. It is not sufficient, nor is it helpful, to express a view that new industrial development is desirable without regard to the means by which that development can be accomplished. If it cannot be accomplished under African initiative, enterprise and control, there must still be a large measure of dependence upon non-African capital and managerial ability. It is that dependence, however, which is liable to generate suspicion and mistrust among certain sections of African opinion. An atmosphere of fear and suspicion is not conducive to

the growth of successful new enterprise, and for that reason alone, although there are others, it is desirable to examine more fully the conditions of further industrialization of the East African economy.

15. Up to the present the economic development of East Africa has been almost entirely the result of non-African capital and enterprise. Even in Uganda, where cotton and coffee are successfully grown by African cultivators, the initiative did not come from indigenous enterprise but from outside experiment and pressure. At no time was it represented to us by African witnesses that the indigenous population was able to provide either the capital or the organizing ability which would be required for any significant degree of further industrialization. The basic poverty of the regions imposes very strict limits on the saving capacity even of that section of the African population which has succeeded in entering the exchange economy, and whatever savings are possible in that section are almost entirely canalized, and very properly so, into small scale improvements in their own economic enterprises, whether in agriculture or in trade. It is, of course, possible that some amount of compulsory saving might be imposed upon African producers with the object of providing resources for new capital projects and in Uganda this has been done as an element in the price-stabilization schemes for cotton and coffee. It would not be true to say that these schemes were designed to impose forced saving for the purpose of financing new industrial expansion, but in the circumstances which subsequently emerged it became possible for government to give effect to a policy of compulsory saving which formed no part of the original conception. We discuss this policy in chapter 8 of our Report. But here it may be sufficient to point out that even where capital formation is possible as a result of compulsory saving there remains the question of the direction and control of the new capital investment and of the new industries which it is hoped to promote.

16. Where the direction and control of new capital investment can be conveniently vested in the state, as in the case of public utility services, no particular difficulty need arise. Sometimes, however, it is suggested that the colonial governments might be encouraged to pioneer the creation of new industries which would not otherwise have been established, and that some of the forced saving which had been imposed upon the public might be devoted to that end. This view is commonly expressed by those who wish to weaken the dependence of the territory on external capital for its economic development, but it might also be expressed by those who would be willing to allow the governments of the territories to borrow externally for the purpose. The view to which we have referred is often based upon certain assumptions about the role of external capital which we discuss in chapter 8 and which we are unable to accept. But apart from any theoretical considerations we do not think that colonial governments are equipped to establish and operate new industries whose prospects are uncertain and whose failure, if they are ill-managed, would be bound to affect adversely the credit of the government which was responsible. They do not have the resources in qualified personnel, and would be obliged to enlist the help of personnel from outside the territories. Nor do we think it proper that any of the proceeds of forced saving should be invested in such highly speculative ventures. Since we do not suppose that colonial governments would be able to raise external capital to finance ventures of this type, the governments which contemplated such a policy would have to depend upon compulsory domestic savings for the purpose. We are unable to support such a proposition. No large amount of new capital could be raised in this way from a population whose resources are small, except by the imposition of a rate

of forced saving which would impose an intolerable burden upon the populations and cause a very real discouragement to their ordinary productive activities.

17. We would mention one further consideration. When reference is made to the greater industrialization of East Africa we understand that reference as meaning not one, or even a few, very large industrial projects in one or a few industries, such as the abandoned iron and steel project in Uganda, but rather a diversification of new undertakings in a variety of industries. In that sense we are unable to suppose that government ownership and control in those industries would be appropriate, even if the necessary capital could be obtained by a process of forced saving. We think it would be objectionable to impose forced saving on a group of indigenous producers in order to provide capital for what is generally known as private enterprise. In other parts of our Report we have had occasion to emphasize the limited resources which are, and which are likely still to be, at the disposal of the governments of East Africa. In these circumstances we think it important that the resources which these governments can command should be concentrated on the provision of basic services and not dissipated in the promotion of speculative enterprises which would not otherwise be undertaken. It is not without significance that at the very time when the Government of Uganda was diverting capital into a number of diverse industrial projects, it was failing to make adequate provision for roads and communications which would have encouraged the expansion of cotton and coffee production.

18. The argument is sometimes advanced that even if the governments did not themselves use part of the capital resources which they are able to acquire in pioneering the erection of new industries, they might with advantage be prepared to assist outside enterprise to do so by taking a stake in the venture. The availability of such government capital, it is said, might be sufficient to induce an enterprise to locate itself in East Africa rather than elsewhere. Theoretically there is substance in this argument. It is akin to the 'infant industry' argument to which we refer in chapter 8. But it has grave practical dangers. External enterprises, having the knowledge that the governments of East Africa were prepared to take a capital interest in new projects, would be under a strong temptation to seek assistance of this kind even when they did not require it and would be in a strong bargaining position to obtain it if they could show that there were other regions in which they could conveniently settle. Moreover there is no certainty that the governments' interest would be limited to providing part of the capital required. The temptation would be great to seek, and to obtain, other concessions to ensure, as far as possible, that the enterprise was made profitable. We do not consider that this kind of protection or the creation of monopolies, which might result from the policy, is to be commended.

19. For these reasons any considerable degree of new industrial development in East Africa must depend upon capital which comes voluntarily from private sources for private investment, and since in the present stage of growth of the East African economy that private investment cannot be expected to come from African sources, with the exception of relatively small-scale enterprises, the dependence upon non-African sources becomes great. We do not attempt to estimate how much new capital would be necessary to make possible a given rate of industrial development, whether that development be measured in terms of new industrial output or in terms of additional employment. Calculations of this type depend upon many arbitrary assumptions and are not as a rule helpful. But with our knowledge of the East

African economy it is clear to us that for any important degree of further industrialization it would not be possible to rely exclusively upon domestic savings, even including those of non-Africans at present resident in East Africa.

20. At this point a possible difficulty arises. New industrial enterprises over a diversified range of industries which will cater in the main for the territorial markets of East Africa are likely to be of comparatively small size, and are not likely to be of a type which will make much appeal to overseas institutional investors. Institutional investors are more likely to confine their colonial investments to government and public authority issues. Nor is the private investor overseas likely to invest in small colonial enterprises of which he has little knowledge and over whose affairs he can exercise little supervision. The creation of a stock exchange in Nairobi, by providing a regular market for the shares of comparatively small industrial enterprises, may make some little improvement in the attractiveness of this type of investment to overseas investors but it would be unwise to expect too much from a change of this nature. In most cases, for new industrial investment in East Africa over the range of industries which is generally contemplated, it will be necessary to rely either upon the overseas investor who comes with his investment and directs his own enterprise, or upon the comparatively large overseas business which is prepared to open a branch or series of branches in East Africa. Efforts indeed are being made to interest this type of individualist. In both these cases, the new overseas investment is likely to mean more immigration into East Africa. In the one case, the immigration is likely to consist of persons who will wish to take up permanent residence in East Africa; in the other case, permanent residence is possible but less probable. But unless public policy is favourably disposed to the type of immigration which is likely to accompany the influx of capital, and bring with it the requisite enterprise and managerial ability, it may well be doubted whether the new industrial development which is desired will in fact occur.

AFRICAN FEARS

21. We deal separately, and in more detail, with the issues which centre round immigration policy in chapter 14, but we refer here to the particular point because of its close connection with the importation of capital for new industrial development. In certain African circles, new industrial expansion is both desired and feared: desired because of the contribution which it can make to the income-earning opportunities of the African population, and feared because of the increase in political and economic influence which it is thought will accrue to non-Africans if the capital required for the expansion has to come from overseas. In some cases this fear is so pronounced that those who share it would be prepared to sacrifice the advantages of further industrial development which they otherwise desire. In other cases the fear is confined within narrower limits and relates to the leasing of land for new industrial sites. In other cases, again, it is associated with the notion that the economic development which is made possible is one in which large numbers of Africans are unable to participate.

22. It is important to allay these fears and, as far as possible, to remove the misapprehensions which are commonly associated with them. The apparent inability to participate in the visible economic expansion of East Africa is often the result of a slavish adherence to tribal law and custom, and of the attitudes of mind which are fostered by an adherence to the subsistence economy. With these attitudes of mind there is no possible compromise because, so long as they persist, there can be no economic expansion in which to participate. But some of the fears which are expressed have a more rational

source, especially when they are expressed by Africans who are eager to share in the general expansion and who are prepared to depart from the observance of those tribal concepts which are incompatible with economic progress. There is the notion that non-African enterprises are founded on a technical knowledge and a managerial experience from which the African is excluded, that these enterprises become a monopoly of those who own them, and that the exercise of this monopoly position restricts the benefits which these enterprises bring to the African sector of the economy. It is, of course, proper to add that considerable efforts are now made to provide facilities for technical instruction to Africans. But the effect of these increased facilities depends upon the extent to which Africans who have been trained are enabled to make use of their acquired skill. Anything which restricts the range of occupations which Africans may enter also restricts their opportunities to make use of acquired skills; and the particular skill of management cannot be acquired except through the opportunity to work up to executive posts.

23. It has been suggested that non-African firms above a certain size should be required to employ at least a quota of Africans in the managerial grades and there are some precedents for this suggestion in the practice in other countries. There are difficulties in this proposal, some associated with the definition of managerial grades and others with the administration of the requirement. It would obviously be easier to enforce a requirement of this kind in the case of large business units employing large staffs, and more difficult for small firms. In the case of large firms there may be a certain advertising value in the claim that it is their policy to employ a number of Africans in their managerial staffs and this might still be true even where some, or all, of those so employed did not earn the salaries they received. But for small firms there is no advertising value in such a policy. For them it must be shown that the policy pays and that the Africans employed in this way justify the salaries which are paid to them. The precedents which exist elsewhere for the quota system do not commend themselves to us and we do not recommend that they should be followed. On the other hand we think that the provision of facilities whereby Africans can obtain technical and other forms of instruction should be accompanied by the removal of racial exclusiveness both at the technical and at the administrative level. The railway workshops of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration provide a striking example of how it can be broken down at the technical level, and we believe that it can be broken down elsewhere. But to achieve that result requires strong and persistent pressure from government and a public declaration that it is the policy of government to exert that pressure. We do not think that we should endeavour to be more specific in our recommendations on this point having regard to the obvious difficulties of enforcing any particular regulations and to the general principle that governments should refrain from enacting what they are unable to enforce. But we commend the policy to their careful consideration.

24. We emphasize this approach to the question of African participation in new industrial development because we consider that, unlike certain other proposals which have sometimes been made, it is realistic. We do not believe that Africans in East Africa can be encouraged to start new industrial enterprises, and to operate them with any reasonable prospect of success, by the simple expedient of lending them money on easy terms. We discuss the problems of African credit in chapter 9. Here we submit that the difficulties which stand in the way of direct African participation in the field of industry are not primarily financial but proceed from lack of managerial skill and experience. Loans may be helpful, provided they are accompanied by the most

careful supervision, both as a protection to the funds so loaned and as a means of assisting the African where his weakness is greatest. It is knowledge and experience which are lacking and it is on the removal of this deficiency that a public policy anxious to promote direct African participation in new industrial development should concentrate.

CHAPTER 11

Mining

THE PRESENT POSITION

1. We have already referred to the small contribution which mineral exploitation has made to the economic development of East Africa. In 1951, 95 per cent of the exports of Northern Rhodesia consisted of minerals, and the corresponding proportion was 33 per cent for Southern Rhodesia, 24 per cent for the Gold Coast and 60 per cent for the Belgian Congo. By contrast the proportion for Kenya was 6 per cent, and for Tanganyika 3 per cent, while for Uganda it was negligible.

In Appendix VI we have given some statistics which include the value of mineral exports in recent years. In Tanganyika they grew from just over £500,000 for the quinquennial period 1923 to 1927, to £14,500,000 for the quinquennial period 1948 to 1952. It was suggested to us in evidence that Tanganyika appears to be entering upon a period of expanded mineral exploration and production. In Uganda the development of the copper deposits at Kilembe is proceeding.

2. The developments that have so far occurred cannot, however, be taken as an indication of the mineral potentialities of East Africa. The region as a whole contains vast areas about which little is known. Five years ago less than one-tenth of Kenya had been covered by geological survey, even of reconnaissance type. In the last few years more staff has been made available, and at the end of 1952 about a quarter of the territory had been covered by reconnaissance geological survey. In a valuable report* Dr. William Pulfrey, the Chief Geologist of Kenya, wrote:

‘Prospecting has been sporadic both in locality and time and often carried out by persons of no technical skill. It can safely be said that a large proportion of the country has not been adequately prospected, and that a forecast of the ultimate mineral potentialities is unwise until much more geological surveying and prospecting has been carried out.’

Only about one-tenth of Tanganyika is covered by good geological maps, somewhat under three-fifths by poor maps and three-tenths by no maps at all. The geological survey is attempting to go over the whole territory and map it geologically as a basis for development. But the Director of Geological Surveys estimated that at the present rate of progress it would take thirty years to complete this work.

* William Pulfrey, *The Geology and Mineral Resources of Kenya*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1954.

It should be remembered that topographical maps are necessary before geological maps can be prepared. Topographical maps are now being made rapidly by aerial photography; but in Tanganyika it has been found by experience that it takes a single qualified man a full field season to prepare one only of some 350 geological maps required. We mention this detail to illustrate the magnitude of the task, and in Tanganyika and Uganda the difficulties are increased by the fact that the geological survey departments cannot devote their qualified staff to this end without interruption, because of the prior necessity for answering calls for proving particular mineral deposits or prospects. In addition they have other duties such as responsibility for work in connexion with water development. Only in Kenya is there the convenient arrangement of a combined mines and geological department.

3. Quite apart from the actual discovery of minerals there are other obstacles to overcome in East Africa. On account of poor communications, inadequate water supplies, inadequate supplies of skilled labour, and, sometimes, of unskilled labour, it may not be possible to exploit the minerals economically. For example, the exploitation of the large coal and iron deposits in south-west Tanganyika might lead to considerable development. Here long-term railway development of the kind to which we refer in chapter 12 might set off a considerable chain reaction of mineral, industrial and agricultural development. It is wrong to regard mineral development as simply a question of discovering particular deposits in this or that region. Both the discovery and exploitation of minerals is bound up with the tempo of general economic advance, through the opening up of new areas, through urbanization, through industrialization and the consequent better access to engineering facilities and through greater mobility of labour.

4. The amount of mineral exploration which has taken place in East Africa so far is very small. This is because so large an area of the region has not really been opened up, because the geological survey has only recently got under way, and because the East African Governments, although aware of the need for stimulating mining exploration and development, have not succeeded in adopting a consistent and long-term approach to it.

NEED FOR UNIFIED EAST AFRICAN MINING POLICY

5. Modern mineral exploration is a very costly, protracted and highly specialized enterprise. It requires expensive mechanical and scientific equipment and involves exploration at great depths. This means that those embarking upon it must be able to plan their activities over large areas in order to carry out systematic prospecting, and they require for this purpose exclusive prospecting licences over such areas for long periods of time, and an assurance that they will be granted mineral rights, under suitable conditions fair both to them and the state, and such as to give them a real interest in undertaking the risks involved. These risks are such that only those able to obtain and embark very considerable amounts of capital for the purpose over long periods of time can afford to enter upon it. The skilled personnel on which it depends, such as mining engineers, geologists, geophysicists, and the like, is scarce and the opportunities for mineral exploration exceed the supply of both the personnel and risk-capital available. In view of the existing handicaps to the discovery and economic exploitation of minerals, the East African Governments should in their mining and taxation policy at all times bear in mind the overriding fact that their territories are competing with the rest of the world, and with highly mineralized areas in Africa itself, when they attempt to attract those who might be prepared to devote resources to the

search for minerals. It must also be appreciated that East Africa is at present a marginal area in which the attraction to the investment of capital from abroad has a very low priority. It is another example of East Africa needing the enterprise and capital of the outside world more than the outside world needs East Africa. In this case East Africa needs the outside world very much indeed ; but this is not always realized. We have found an equivocal attitude which is based on the belief that somehow, since minerals are like a hoard in the ground—provided one knows where they are—governments or local authorities can with impunity make such conditions for the removal of the hoard as they think fit, since the minerals will at worst remain untouched. This is a dangerous attitude to take. If the hoard is not removed it will, of course, still be there for removal at a future date, but at that future date it may not be worth removing. If, for example, atomic energy were to obviate the use of coal fifty years from now it will have been a mistake to leave coal in the ground. The real point is that by not removing an available mineral now the people of East Africa are depriving themselves of income now.

6. As the Commission of Enquiry into the Mining Industry of Southern Rhodesia reported in 1945, 'The test for doing something or not doing something at any given point of time depends only on whether or not the action can be shown to be desirable in view of all the circumstances known at that point of time.' Referring to the effect of postponing gold mining operations through attempts to burden them with uneconomic lease or tax payments, it was stated in this report that:

'the longer the removal and sale of the gold is postponed the longer is the period during which the people of the Rhodesias would have to forgo that income, and the longer is the period over which they would have to postpone the creation of future income which might result from its accrual in the present. It would, however, not be economic for the people of Rhodesia to forgo this income unless they could fully utilise their labour and capital resources (and that of others whom they desire to attract to Rhodesia in order to develop the country) to create alternative income of equal amount while the gold is being conserved.'

As we have shown in previous chapters, East Africa is greatly in need of surplus income at present. Indeed, without it, the future need of the growing population will be extremely difficult to meet. There is probably no single source from which surplus income for the benefit of the territories could be so readily obtained as from successful mineral exploitation.

7. We wish to stress, therefore, that the overriding consideration in regard to mining policy in East Africa must be to make the conditions for mineral exploration and exploitation as attractive as possible to those who may be induced to embark upon it: (a) by providing every possible assistance in the form of properly equipped geological and mining services which have to be provided by government ; and (b) by removing legal and fiscal obstacles which unnecessarily increase the cost or the risk of mining exploration and development.

The first consideration implies that the East African governments must, in view of the expense and the difficulty of recruiting highly qualified staff for the geological and mining departments, be prepared to pool their resources in order to make the most effective use of them. In their present circumstances the East African territories cannot afford to duplicate or triplicate all these services. As regards the second consideration, this implies that the East African governments should endeavour to formulate consistent, clear, and unified policies in regard to mining royalties, lease conditions, taxation, access to land for prospecting and mining operations, compensation, and the like.

PROPOSALS FOR AN EAST AFRICAN PROSPECTING AND MINING LEASES BOARD

8. Whereas in the last resort the policy governing the terms and conditions on which prospecting or mining rights should be granted, and taxation levied on mining enterprises, must at present continue to be decided by each territorial legislature, it is in our opinion desirable that the technical advice on which such policies are formulated should be tendered to the three governments by a single authority so constituted as to enable it to employ the specialized staff required for the purpose. At present highly complex matters are decided from time to time on an *ad hoc* basis when negotiation with particular mining interests are entered upon by government. But none of the three governments is able to maintain mining and geological departments so staffed as to be able to ensure that the highly technical, scientific, and specialist legal and fiscal advice is made available for particular negotiations or decisions when agreements with those seeking large-scale exploration or mining rights have to be made. Nor is there any department in East Africa which is properly equipped with staff continuously to supervise mining activities and advise on mining policy.

9. The authority should be under the direction of a highly qualified mining engineer, assisted by such specialists as may be needed, and his salary should be in full keeping with his responsibilities. The authority we have in mind might be known as the East African Prospecting and Mining Leases Board. We recommend that no mining rights or titles, leases, prospecting licences, claims and the like should be granted except after taking the advice of the Board. In the case of any lease or agreement involving financial transactions or contracts in excess of a minimum amount (to be defined in the Act establishing the Board) the advice tendered by the Board should be published, and the report containing it should be laid on the table of the legislative assembly concerned, and no such advice or report should be rejected by the legislative assembly concerned without the reasons for rejection being made public, and without the Board having an opportunity to reply thereto. We recommend further that no regulation or legislation, directly or indirectly affecting prospecting or mining operations, should be formulated without consultation with the Board.

10. There is great need in East Africa for advice of technical competence which commands undoubted confidence as emanating from a body of the highest standing, because of :

(a) the importance of safeguarding the disposal of potentially valuable mineral assets in which the territories and their people have a paramount interest ;

(b) the complexity of the legal and financial considerations which affect the disposal of mining rights ; and

(c) the need to attract, and to negotiate successfully with, those prepared to undertake large scale mining exploration and development.

11. We hope that the proposed Board will be constituted so as to achieve this standing in the eyes of the public, of investors abroad and of the governments concerned, so that its advice will not be lightly disregarded and will lead to the adoption of a consistent mining policy by the East African governments which will protect the interests of the territories in the mineral wealth.

The Board should, in our opinion, publish information relating to all matters affecting prospecting and mining in East Africa, and should be the channel for all enquiries in regard to the conditions governing such operations. This would greatly simplify the procedure by which interested parties from outside the territories can obtain information and advice.

The Board should be consulted in regard to the policy best suited to each particular case where a mining enterprise requires special assistance in respect of the provision of railways, roads and other facilities necessitating expenditure from special development funds or by governments. The Board should report annually on the mining industry and its needs, and on the assistance required by, or given to, any mining or prospecting enterprise in each of the three territories; and should itself have power to recommend any measures or expenditure required to stimulate or develop the mining industry in East Africa as a whole.

12. We recommend further that existing or prospective mining enterprises should have access to the Board in order to make representations through it to any of the governments of the three territories, or to local authorities in them, on any matter affecting the conditions on which prospecting or mining operations are conducted or proposed, and that the governments or local authorities in each territory should obtain guidance from the Board in regard to any such matters.

FISCAL AND ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES

13. We do not propose to examine in detail the fiscal and economic legislation affecting prospecting and mining in the three territories. We have, however, come to the conclusion that there are certain matters of principle on which there is some confusion, and it is desirable to draw attention to them. Many of the matters could well form the subject of further detailed study by the Board to which we have referred.

14. Throughout East Africa the right to all minerals is vested in the governments and they determine the conditions of prospecting for and mining them. This is not clearly understood by many African tribes or African authorities. The position has been greatly bedevilled by the conception and definition of Crown land, Trust land and Public land, particularly in regard to compensation to be paid for disturbance. There is also much misunderstanding, particularly in Uganda, as regards the rights of Africans who own land, or the rights of tribal authorities in regard to minerals on land over which they claim rights of one kind or another. On various occasions the consent of African authorities to mining operations being undertaken has been obtained by giving them an equity, or other consideration, in the proposed scheme. *Ad hoc* arrangements of this kind are very unsatisfactory and are no solution to the uncertainty which exists in the mind of African peoples. Some of these uncertainties and fears will be overcome if our recommendations in regard to the registration of land, and the proper adjudication of compensation, are adopted.

15. We are unable to support the principle that native or tribal authorities should be given shares in any mining undertaking in recognition of their permitting prospecting or mining development. For in addition to the fact that such authorities have no legal claim to mineral rights which they might exchange for such shares or interest in the proposed mining enterprise, it is also undesirable that native authorities should either invest funds in, or claim a share in the profits of mining. There is also a more important consideration: it is not in the interests of the development in mining in East Africa that there should exist a multiplicity of different governmental authorities who believe themselves entitled to claim a share of the proceeds from mining, and who proceed to a process of bargaining concerning such claims with those interested in promoting mining development. Such a situation merely increases the uncertainties which those prepared to invest capital in prospecting or mineral development have to face.

There are certain principles involved in this question which are of wider application and affect the basic policy which should guide the governments and the Prospecting and Mining Leases Board which we have recommended. We propose to refer to them briefly.

16. There is much misunderstanding concerning the share of any surplus from mining operations which government should rightly claim. In order to attract the investment of capital in mining exploration and development the prospective investor must be left with an expected rate of profit not below that which he could expect to retain from the investment of capital under similar conditions of risk elsewhere. As in East Africa the expected risks are, in general, greater than elsewhere, it will obviously be necessary to allow the investor to retain a higher proportion of any profits which he can reasonably expect, or he will not be prepared to make the capital available.

17. It is necessary, however, to take account of a further important consideration. Royalty payments, lease payments and taxation (including income taxes, taxes on the value of the product, and indirect taxes) the amount of which it is known are being levied, or will be levied, will, to quote from paragraph 58 of the Commission of Enquiry into the Mining Industry of Southern Rhodesia, which has analysed these questions in great detail :

' always be allowed for by entrepreneurs before embarking on new, or extending old, mines, and that taxation which is not known in advance, but which past experience indicates may occur, will also be allowed for by weighting the expected return which the entrepreneur requires to induce him to invest in, or commence new mining enterprises by a special risk factor. If the entrepreneur is forced to allow for a very heavy "fiscal" risk factor of this kind then not he, but the people of Rhodesia, will suffer to the extent that such factor deters the entrepreneur from commencing or continuing mining operations.'

18. It is, therefore, of great importance that the fiscal burdens and risks should be kept as low as possible by the governments of East Africa, and, therefore, it would be very unwise to permit these burdens and uncertainties to be increased haphazardly by the decision of local authorities, or through widely differing conditions attached to prospecting or mining enterprise by the laws of the separate territories.

19. At the present time in East Africa mining enterprises are subject to various forms of indirect taxation which increase the cost of mining supplies. It is not our intention to discuss these in any detail. We would, however, point out that royalty payments are a tax on the product, and bear most heavily on marginal production or marginal mines, with the result that low-grade ore bodies are thrown out of production. It would be wise to abolish royalty payments on minerals wherever the cost of collection and the inconvenience caused by them, particularly their uneconomic effects on potential production, are not commensurate with the revenue derived from them by governments.

It is highly desirable that all customs duties or other imposts which increase the costs of mining supplies should be abolished.

20. We have already indicated that the rate of income tax in East Africa is already unduly high in relation to the need for encouraging economic development, and particularly so in regard to income tax on companies. While, for reasons we have stated previously, we do not favour differential income taxation as between different types of industry, in order to subsidize one industry at the expense of another, we believe that insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that, as mines are wasting assets, it is necessary to take this into account in the calculation of depreciation and development allowances and the like. In mining such allowances must be much more

generous than in industry. In particular we recommend that the taxation of private companies engaged in mining operations should be reconsidered in order to make possible the maximum concessions to them. The present rates of tax definitely retard mining development and make it extremely difficult to build up reserves or to raise new capital.

21. It is very unfortunate that in most colonial territories taxation concessions by colonial governments are largely negated for United Kingdom companies by the taxation policy of the United Kingdom. This question is now being considered by the Royal Commission on the Taxation of Profits and Income and we do not therefore propose to deal with it in detail. We wish to point out, however, that the present practice greatly retards the investment of capital in East Africa for mining purposes from the United Kingdom on which it is so largely dependent.

22. Finally, we would urge the East African governments to endeavour to enlist the assistance of international agencies for the supply of capital for experimental and long-term purposes which may assist mining, and for technical personnel for investigations and exploration. We believe that the Prospecting and Mining Leases Board could play a very important part in obtaining such international co-operation. We believe also that the Board should co-operate closely with other development agencies in East Africa such as the Railways and Harbours Corporation and the Transport Development Board, the establishment of which we propose in chapter 12. Constructive and continuous action by the East African governments is essential if the present backward state of mining exploration and development by large-scale enterprise from abroad is to be remedied.

CHAPTER 12

Transport

TRANSPORT AND DEVELOPMENT

1. In chapters 4 and 8 we show that in view of the present poverty of East Africa and the scarcity of capital and skilled labour it is essential that development expenditure should be concentrated at those key points in the economy where it will make the greatest contribution to economic development. We recommend that a determined effort should be made to raise agricultural productivity, particularly in fertile areas where new income can be generated fairly rapidly, and to stimulate mineral exploitation because industrial development will largely depend on the expansion of these primary industries and on the growth of the exchange economy in the indigenous areas.

2. In the pursuit of all these objectives the provision of modern means of transport and communications is essential. It is useless to hope for the development of a modern market-economy if potentially productive areas remain cut off from local and export markets. Without economic transport facilities the continuance of the system of existing subsistence production is unavoidable because goods can be moved only over very short distances.

3. The crippling effects of the high cost of head portage have often been described, but in view of the fact that there are large areas in East Africa in which there are no roads able to carry even primitive types of wheeled traffic it is worth quoting an example of the stifling effects on production. We draw attention to this matter at the very outset of this chapter to emphasize that the problem of transport must not be considered only in terms of railways and main trunk roads, but rather as an overall problem of supplying adequate communications wherever economic production can be stimulated by linking villages with their own productive hinterland, and the local regions as a whole to the ports and main centres of distribution.

4. In a recent study of a coastal tribe it has been pointed out that the absence of a road to bring crops from the fields into the coastal villages necessitates the carriage of grain by head load or by donkey. The cost of transport by head portage was from Shs. 8/- to Shs. 12/- a ton mile, and by donkey Shs. 7/- to Shs. 12/-. By lorry it would have been Shs. 3/50 to Shs. 5/-. Transport costs at Shs. 10/- a ton mile would, if the cultivator's plot is ten miles from the village, form about 20 per cent of the maximum gross return, and if the plot is 15 miles from the village this figure would rise to 30 per cent. Maize could, therefore, be farmed only within a few miles of each coastal village, *and this was one reason why land was overworked*. When in 1953 a road was completed, it was found that land had been cleared and planted as far as 18 miles away *in anticipation of the completion of the road*.

5. The development of roads and railways in East Africa now falls short of the current requirements of the territories, of the potential development of traffic and of long-run development to open up new areas. In developing areas transport facilities should always be provided to anticipate and stimulate the economic development of traffic and should not be permitted to lag behind such development.

A. Railways

INADEQUATE DEVELOPMENT

6. Taking first the railway situation, the extent to which railway development now lags behind the existing traffic needs of the territories can be seen from an examination of railway operating statistics. The first fact to be emphasized is that the mileage of open lines has, over a period of twenty years, increased to a quite negligible extent. East Africa, with an area equal to that of Western Europe, still had in 1953 only 3,100 open miles of railway: twenty years earlier the open mileage was 2,979. Over the same period the number of locomotives had increased by only 59, from 271 to 330, and the whole increase took place after 1948, when the number of locomotives was actually 37 less than in 1933. From 1933 to 1953 coaching vehicles increased from 617 to 716, and goods stock from 5,180 to 6,932, i.e. by 1,752, equal to a rate of increase of approximately 1.5 per cent per annum. Much of the rolling-stock was old and would have been scrapped if deliveries of new rolling-stock on order had been received. When the Tanganyika Railways were amalgamated with the Kenya and Uganda Railways, the Tanganyika system was found to be poorly equipped and generally under-maintained. In fact little had been done to improve the capital equipment since the system was taken over from the Germans.

7. At the outbreak of the war in 1939 the Kenya and Uganda Railway system had considerable surplus capacity, but the post-war developments brought about an increase in traffic of tremendous proportions over the East African system as a whole. The gross tonnage (revenue and non-revenue earning) increased from 1,342,000 in 1933 to 3,515,000 in 1948 and to 4,737,000 in 1953, i.e. by three and a half times; ton-mileage increased from 390 million to 1,400 million, and passenger journeys from 758,000 to 5,794,000. The traffic density, i.e. the average public tonnage per mile of single-line railway, for the first four months of 1938 was 433,000 of combined up and down traffic on the Kenya and Uganda section of the railways, and by 1952 the corresponding figure was 968,000, an increase of 124 per cent.

8. The Railways Administration deserves the highest praise for the manner in which it has met these greatly increased traffic demands. But the actual growth of traffic indicates only the traffic which could be accepted. In recent years the railways and ports have not been able to handle all traffic which was offered, and they were unable to make provision for the development of potential traffic. Congestion on the railways was only avoided by keeping imports back in the United Kingdom and by phasing traffic generally.

9. The difficulties with which the East African railways have been faced in the post-war period in obtaining delivery of rolling-stock and capital equipment have not been exceptional. The back-log of demand due to the war has affected all railways dependent on supplies of capital goods from the United Kingdom and from Europe as a whole. But it is not possible to regard these post-war difficulties as the only explanation of the existing unsatisfactory railway situation in East Africa; the causes of it lie deeper, and we propose to examine some of them.

DIFFICULTY OF FINANCING RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION IN AFRICA

10. In nearly all African territories the construction of railways has had to be undertaken by government or financed by government guarantees of one kind or another. Investment in them has not been economically attractive because of the long distances that have to be traversed to tap paying traffic, the difficulties of the terrain, and the general sparsity of paying traffic. The main railway lines south of the Sahara, apart from those decided upon on political or strategic grounds, would not have been built but for the discovery of, or hope of discovering, valuable mineral deposits, and they could not have been economically operated after construction but for the general economic development of the regions concerned which resulted from mining development. In all cases where mining development was absent, or long-postponed, the railways were run at a loss, sometimes for as long as a quarter of a century. The basic reason for this situation is that, broadly speaking, there has been relatively little close agricultural settlement of a kind yielding a sufficiently high money-income to the farming population to give rise to sufficient import and export traffic. For the same reason local traffic has usually been quite inadequate to enable the railways to pay their way in the absence of mineral and urban development.

11. In East Africa the situation in these respects is worse than in many other territories in Africa because mineral and urban development have been comparatively negligible. The Central Line in Tanganyika was primarily built for strategic reasons, and the Uganda Railway on philanthropic and political grounds in which the desire to suppress the slave trade played a very important part.* The first capital cost of the Uganda Railway, amounting to over £5,500,000, was made in the form of Parliamentary Grants

* See *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into and Report on the Financial Position and System of Taxation of Kenya, 1936*, Colonial No. 116.

and stood as an unremunerated capital item in the Uganda Railway and the Kenya and Uganda Railway accounts. It was not until 1939 that the British Treasury agreed to convert this part of the capital to a free grant, and it was only after about twenty-five years of its existence that the Kenya and Uganda section of the railways was able to meet all costs of operation from current revenues, including the servicing of the interest-bearing debt and provision for depreciation and reserves. The Tanganyika Railways never attained to this state of solvency at all.

HIGH COSTS OF OPERATION

12. The costs of operating the railways in East Africa are enhanced by the lack of local fuel supplies and by the long distances through desert, unhealthy or undeveloped areas which intervene between the ports and the productive areas which the railways serve. Even these productive areas are largely the result of the building of the railways, without which development East Africa might have had to await the gradual extension of communications from neighbouring territories. As Mr. Bissett, Director of Geological Survey, Tanganyika, has said, speaking of the present need for communications to stimulate mineral development: 'Tanganyika is not a natural geographical entity: it is a series of areas strung together around a central desert and unless communications improve these areas around the desert will look to adjacent countries for their links. The only way to link the north and the south is to build a railway.'

NECESSITY OF LONG-TERM RAILWAY INVESTMENT

13. In our opinion the history of railway construction in East Africa, and the surveys that have been made from time to time since the present lines were built, show clearly that new lines traversing hitherto undeveloped areas can in general not be expected to meet the total costs, including the servicing of the capital invested, for anything from twenty to forty years, unless they tap valuable mineral resources. But the history of railway construction of this kind also shows that without the basic framework of rail communication, supplemented by a network of serviceable roads, it will not be possible to introduce modern economic systems of production, or to stimulate mineral exploitation in many regions at all. The investment of capital in railways, roads and communications is but a part of the general social and economic cost of breaking down the vicious circle of subsistence economy and poverty. In so far as capital can be made available for investment of this kind, in which the returns are long postponed and often also largely indirect, development expenditure on communications should be given priority. This principle has not always been observed. We have found the paradoxical situation in which priority has been given for expenditure on social services, on uneconomic housing schemes, and even for investment in particular industries where private enterprise regards the risk as too high, while the expansion and improvement of the communications net-work, on which all basic development must in the last resort depend, has been unduly postponed. As we show later, even railway rates have, under political pressure, been so framed as to accentuate this misdirection of resources. We would point out, however, that by itself the provision of railway facilities is not enough. The change from a subsistence to a modern economy requires the establishment of the conditions of economic mobility and increased productivity to which we have referred elsewhere. Without them the new railways will simply be left with surplus capacity of the kind which existed for a long period before the war.

PAST FINANCE OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

14. We pass now to a consideration of the methods by which new railway development should be financed. From 1921 onwards the Kenya and Uganda Railway accounts were divorced from the account of the Kenya Government and the railway system was self-contained financially in its day-to-day operations. But it still remained dependent on the government for its capital requirements in so far as these could not be built up from surplus current revenues. It was laid down that financial policy should be based on the objective of earning annual current revenues adequate to remunerate capital, to provide for its amortization, to contribute to a renewals fund, and to establish such betterment and such reserve funds as were approved by the Transport Advisory Council.

15. This greater degree of financial autonomy led to an improvement in the finances of the Kenya and Uganda Railways. At the time of the amalgamation of the Tanganyika and the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours, although the general reserves of the Kenya and Uganda sections were still inadequate, its financial position was on the whole good; the physical condition of its equipment was well-maintained; its maintenance organization was well developed; and the system was in good running order generally, notwithstanding the difficulties of the war years. The situation of the Tanganyika section was very different. Reserve funds had not been built up, and to all intents and purposes there was no Renewals Fund at all. The position, both in terms of physical assets and in terms of earnings, was most unsatisfactory. Revenues were insufficient for proper maintenance or for capital improvements, which had been negligible. The Kenya and Uganda Railway had therefore to give great assistance to the Tanganyika system for the rehabilitation of its equipment. It had to make good renewals on the Tanganyika section out of its own Renewals Fund, and is now endeavouring to build up the Tanganyika Renewals Fund by an annual contribution of half a million pounds. It had even to undertake to repay to the Tanganyika Government over 10 years the sum of £414,000 which had been advanced many years ago by the government to the Tanganyika Railways. It is clear that the basic problem of financing the future requirements of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration was misunderstood at the time of the amalgamation of the two railways systems. To burden the Administration with the repayment to the Tanganyika Government of capital which should clearly have been written off (since in effect the assets on which it was spent were worn out or not any longer revenue-producing) was to put the government into the position of a creditor whose claims on the past were given precedence over the future needs of the system as a whole. It implied the use of the current revenues of the railways not to service current capital charges and to build up reserves for future improvement and expansion but to repay to the Tanganyika Government a capital debt which should either have been repaid out of *past* earnings of the railway at the time, or have been borne by the government itself. Moreover, when the two railway systems were amalgamated there was no revaluation of the Tanganyika system. This is to be regretted. There was no justification for burdening the new Railway Administration with liabilities for capital assets which had not been adequately maintained, or were not revenue-earning, or for which inadequate provision for renewals had been made, since it was one of the main objects of the amalgamation that the Railways and Harbours Administration should be conducted on business principles. The amalgamation of the two systems left the Administration with a heavy financial burden from the past failure to provide adequate reserves for the system as a whole, a burden which the accumulated reserves of the Kenya and Uganda

section were not really in a position to meet because it had not been permitted to accumulate sufficient reserves to meet fully even its own future requirements. The opportunity was missed at the time of the amalgamation of reconstructing the finances and financial policy of the whole Railway and Harbours system so as to make it a viable and financially more flexible undertaking. In our opinion this requires to be done at the earliest opportunity in order (a) to safeguard the system against financial difficulties in the future and (b) to enable it to improve and develop transport facilities which will meet the urgent transport needs of the East African territories.

16. The amalgamation of the Kenya and Uganda and the Tanganyika systems was a most necessary first step in the rationalization of transport in East Africa, and it is very doubtful whether without it Tanganyika could have raised the loan capital which has since been authorized for expenditure on the Tanganyika section. Since the amalgamation the annual revenues of the whole system have greatly increased. They were some £9,000,000 in 1948 and are estimated to reach £18,500,000 in 1954. With the heavy density of traffic, particularly high-rated import traffic, this is not surprising. After much delay, for which the Administration was not responsible, authorizations for a capital expansion programme which now total £60,000,000 (but of which only £17,000,000 have so far been received) were finally approved, but unfortunately the development plans which they cover do not provide for more than urgently required improvements. Development plans are still lagging behind even foreseeable increased traffic requirements which would be strictly justifiable on business principles, quite apart from such long-term development as cannot be justified on business principles and which the Administration is precluded from undertaking under the East African Railways and Harbours Act.

17. In relation to an expenditure on Capital Account (as at the end of 1953) of nearly £60,000,000 (likely to reach £100,000,000 by the end of 1956), of which roughly 45 per cent is non-interest bearing, the Rates Stabilisation Fund (at about £1,500,000) and the General Reserve Fund (at £575,000) are inadequate, particularly as the proportion of the non-interest-bearing capital will, by 1956 have fallen very considerably. Moreover, in regard to the General Reserve Fund it must be borne in mind that the Administration has no working capital and has to rely on general balances to finance its stores holding and the like.

INADEQUACY OF EXISTING SYSTEM OF RAILWAY FINANCE

18. The financial and economic viability of the Administration has been adversely affected by two major factors. The first is that railway rates and charges have not been determined so as to enable the Administration to build up its reserves and to finance betterment and improvements to the extent that is necessary and desirable. The second is that the present dependence of the Railways Administration on loan capital raised entirely as part of the general borrowing programme of the East African governments retards the ability and flexibility of the Administration to develop its facilities and services and to carry out the objectives of the East African Railways and Harbours Act. We propose to examine these factors in some detail as they are basic to the future development of a proper system of railway transport in East Africa.

19. Section 5 of the Act lays down that the Commissioner for Transport shall secure the fullest development, consistent with economy, of the Administration, which is to be operated efficiently, economically and with due regard to safety on a non-profit earning basis, and that any surplus of revenue over

expenditure shall be applied towards the reduction of transport costs to the public. Section 23 provides that the estimates shall be framed on a non-profit-earning basis, so that the total earnings shall not be more than sufficient to meet the necessary outlays for the working and maintenance of the Administration, and for proper provision for the renewal of wasting assets, for interest and similar fund charges due on capital *not* being capital contributed out of revenue of the Administration, and for contributions to such reserve funds *as are approved by the Transport Advisory Council*, and contributions to such betterment funds *as may be approved by the Council*. Moreover, section 21 provides that 'The Administration shall be administered on business principles, and, so far as is not inconsistent therewith or with the principles of prudent finance, cheap transport shall be provided by the Administration to assist agriculture, mining and industrial development in the territories.'

20. It has not been sufficiently realized that the railway rating policies of the Administration and the methods adapted for financing its capital requirements must be so related as to ensure (a) that capital can be obtained or accumulated on the cheapest terms; (b) that the Administration can build up sufficient reserves to meet the very considerable variations in earnings which are a special hazard to which it has in the past been, and is likely in the future to be, subjected owing to the sensitivity of the main export crops on which the East African economy depends to considerable price fluctuations in world markets; and (c) that its fixed debt charges must be kept to a minimum in order to enable it to raise new capital whenever the necessity and suitable opportunities arise.

21. The existing methods of supplying the capital needs of the Administration do not achieve these objects. All new capital is now raised through the exercise of the borrowing powers of the East Africa High Commission. Before 1948 the capital needs of the two railway systems were met by government loans of trustee status on the London market. Although these generally enjoyed a comparatively low rate of interest, loans so raised have always had to be fitted into meeting the other requirements, not only of the East African but of colonial governments generally, from the section of the new issues market which is particularly interested in trustee stocks. The requirements of the East Africa High Commission for railway borrowing are subject to the same limitation, which in certain circumstances can have unsatisfactory consequences from the point of view of meeting the needs of an undertaking which is to be run independently on commercial principles. Unfortunately, however, the East Africa High Commission cannot borrow on its own account. One of the reasons for this is that it does not own the land on which it constructs its railways, port facilities and other installations. Most of this land is Crown land or other land in public ownership and is not vested in the High Commission or the Administration. The various governments provide Crown lands where possible, while retaining intrinsic ownership; and although the Administration meets the cost of the land acquired, the land remains Crown land. This anomaly should be removed so that the Administration can obtain full ownership of the land.

22. An amendment of the Colonial Stock Acts was needed to permit the High Commission to borrow on the London market. As, however, it had no revenues of its own it became necessary for its loans to be supported by the several guarantees of the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika pledging their revenues. This meant that each High Commission Loan Act had to be followed by three territorial Guarantee Ordinances, and this slowed up considerably the ability of the Administration to place orders for new

equipment as it was needed. The difficulty persisted until 1952 when the policy was adopted that a Loan Act should be enacted to cover all foreseeable needs of the Administration for 5 years ahead, that is to 1957. A suggestion was also made by the High Commissioner that a Loan Board should be established to reduce the present legislative processes which involve the guarantees of each separate legislature for the loan programme of the Administration. This suggestion was not agreed to by the territorial governments. The policy of covering all foreseeable loan requirements for 5 years ahead was an improvement on the old system but it does not go to the root of the difficulties.

23. There has been much discussion of the extent to which the system of loan finance prior to 1952 did in fact cause the delays in re-equipping the railways (and ports) which have so greatly hampered their activities, and still hamper them. We have little doubt that it was one of the causes of the delay, but we do not propose to enter into this question here. We are more concerned to draw attention to the factors in the present system which affect the development programme and future operations of the Administration. The problem, as we have already indicated, is to find ways and means of safeguarding the management of the undertaking on business principles, financing normal development and improvements, ensuring adequate financial stability in the face of the fluctuations in world economic conditions to which the economy of East Africa is particularly vulnerable, and financing new long-term developments which cannot be undertaken by the Administration as immediately paying propositions.

24. It has been realized for a long time that the Administration must be safeguarded against political pressure, and to achieve this was one of the main purposes of the Railways Act of 1948. Unfortunately as long as the Administration's programme is dependent on the political exigencies of the separate territorial governments and is decided as part of the overall loan operations, not only of each territory, but of all the colonial governments which have to depend on the relatively limited funds available for investment in trustee securities, and which moreover include demands for much investment of a non-economic character in the various territories, the Administration can at no time be certain that its place in the queue for capital will be determined by the intrinsic economic necessity or justification for its proposals, rather than by the political considerations which have often been a determining factor in the past. Political considerations have also prevented the revision of railway rates and charges from building up an adequate General Reserve and an adequate Rates Stabilization Reserve.

25. In any case the present financial procedure is unduly cumbersome and rigid. No development programme can be embarked upon by the Administration until it has been accommodated to the wishes of numerous non-railway authorities. Decisive action by those who should be solely responsible for the management of the Railways and Harbours may often thus be inordinately postponed. At present no development project can be proceeded with until the Administration has proved it to be operationally necessary and financially sound and has convinced the three East African governments, the Central Legislative Assembly, the Colonial Office and the United Kingdom Treasury of the necessity for the capital commitment; and before it can apply for the consent of these higher authorities the Administration has to convince its advisory committee and the Transport Advisory Committee which are composed *inter alia* of local business men.

26. Moreover, the present system of capital finance has the great drawback that it makes the Administration unduly dependent on raising new capital by incurring fixed interest-bearing debt. Against this the Administration has

to provide not only a Renewals Fund but a Sinking Fund for the amortization of the debt. Thus the governments have in the past been creditors as against the Administration ; even now the Administration has little scope for escaping from continued dependence on a structure of fixed interest-bearing debt which may seriously hamper its operations.

27. As at December, 1952, the ratio of loan charges to net earnings was as low as 29 per cent, partly because the raising of new loans so urgently necessary had been delayed and the railways were working with a very high traffic density. In 1953 the ratio was 63 per cent, but it is well to remember that in 1933 when the railway systems were separate it was about 82 per cent for the Kenya and Uganda Railways, and actually 163 per cent for the Tanganyika Railways. In 1937 the corresponding ratios were 61 per cent and 90 per cent. It is dangerous for the Administration to be exposed to the possibility of falling revenues due to changes in the demand for East African exports in the face of the growing proportion of the fixed interest-bearing debt.

RE-CONSTITUTION OF THE RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS ADMINISTRATION

28. The time is ripe for the re-constitution of the Administration so as to make the governments partners in the undertaking rather than holders or merely guarantors of fixed interest-bearing capital in it. This could best be done by establishing the Administration as an independent autonomous Railway and Harbours Corporation whose share capital should be owned by the governments of the three territories. There should be a complete revaluation of the assets of the Administration, and all capital which is not revenue-earning should be written off. Should the revaluation of assets indicate that it is thereafter still desirable, or necessary, to reduce the existing fixed interest-bearing debt of the undertaking in order to permit it to enter the capital market as an independent borrower we recommend that the governments should convert a suitable proportion of the interest-bearing debt incurred prior to the amalgamation of the railways systems into equity share capital. The new Corporation would be responsible for servicing the remaining debt as heretofore, but it would in future be empowered to raise capital by the issue of loans, preferred shares or equities entirely at its own discretion. It would be necessary to provide that the land on which the installations are erected should be vested in it, and the land should be re-valued for that purpose and transferred to the Corporation free of charge by the governments. It is desirable that the new Corporation should be empowered so to determine its rates and charges as to enable it to operate and develop as a financially independent commercial concern.

THE UNSUITABILITY OF THE NO-PROFITS PRINCIPLE

29. The present Railway Act enjoins that the Administration should not be run at a profit, although section 16 rightly provides that:

‘The Commissioner shall not be required by the Government of any of the Territories to provide to that Government, or to any authority or person, transport services or harbour facilities either gratuitously or at a rate or charge which is insufficient to meet the costs involved in the provision of such services or facilities by the Administration, unless the Government concerned undertakes to make good the amount of the loss incurred by reason of the provision of such services or facilities.’

It is of course right and proper that the Administration should not place an undue burden on the present users of the railways, and the current development of the economy of East Africa, by making unduly large profits, by accumulating undue reserves, or by financing non-economic development out

of revenue. But the no-profits principle can be easily misunderstood. It has in practice been defined and applied far too rigidly in East Africa, and this has had harmful consequences.

30. It is one of the cardinal principles of the East African Railways and Harbours Act that the Administration shall provide cheap transport. It has been mistakenly assumed that the prohibition on the Administration to earn profits is one way of ensuring this. But cheap transport cannot be provided unless the Administration has, first of all, capital on the cheapest possible terms to develop and keep up-to-date its equipment, without which of course cheap transport cannot be provided at all. To build new lines, and keep its equipment modernized to compete with other forms of transport by road or air, it must be able to plough back profits. To prevent this is to divert the profits which might have been accumulated into the hands of others who may consume them, or invest them in directions less economic. At the same time, for example, as the Administration, which is the largest single economic enterprise in East Africa, was being prevented from accumulating savings out of profits, East African governments were adopting methods of forced saving through some of the marketing boards ; a part of these marketing surpluses arose because railway rates were not increased as they should have been.

31. It is often cheaper in the long-run to avoid incurring fixed interest-bearing debt by financing new development and improvements from profits. This also obviates the undue dependence of the undertaking on the vagaries of the capital market. Moreover the more the equity of the Corporation is strengthened, the cheaper will be the terms on which it is able to borrow. We recommend that the Corporation should be permitted to operate at a profit. Since, if our proposals are adopted, the governments of the East African territories will be shareholders in the Corporation, they will benefit accordingly from profits which may be distributed by it.

NEED FOR COLONIAL TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT FUND

32. Notwithstanding that we envisage the accumulation of reserves and adequate funds for working capital and betterment by the new Corporation, and that this will have to be one of its first objectives, it is clear that the Corporation will not be in a position to finance long-term development which can offer no early promise of being profitable or covering interest on capital. It was suggested to us by the General Manager of the Railways that this kind of development, which is essential if the territories of East Africa are to be developed at all, should be financed by the establishment of a Colonial Transport Development Fund, comparable with the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, for the construction of railways, roadways, and the inauguration of air services. We strongly support this suggestion and recommend that if such a Fund is established it should, as far as railway and harbour development is concerned, finance this by taking up equity shares in the Railways and Harbours Corporation. We regard the principle underlying the establishment of such a fund as equally applicable to other forms of development, such as water supplies, which involve long-term capital investment.

33. This is preferable to free grants of capital, and will further strengthen the independence of the Corporation while giving the United Kingdom Treasury a potentially valuable asset in the equity. It may also be possible to arrange for equity shares issued for these or other purposes to be taken up by international agencies, and, of course, by the East African governments themselves, or by local authorities.

OBJECTIVES AND MANAGEMENT OF THE CORPORATION

34. We wish to emphasize that the purpose of our recommendations in regard to the establishment of an autonomous Railways and Harbours Corporation is to divorce railway finance, management and operation from political considerations and from uneconomic territorial rivalries which undermine the viability of the system as a whole. The need for eliminating these uneconomic influences has been repeatedly emphasized by independent investigators, and particularly by General Hammond in 1921 and Mr. Roger Gibb in 1933 in valuable and authoritative reports. Yet unfortunately the illusion still persists that each East African territory may be relinquishing large advantages if it divests itself of the power to influence railway development and operation to suit political exigencies. This is the exact contrary of the facts, as has been amply shown by the history of the railway system in the last twenty years. Nothing would benefit the development of the three territories more than the establishment of an independent, financially viable, and economically sound transport system, better able to withstand the shocks of world and local economic fluctuations. Moreover, if this Railways and Harbours Corporation were made financially independent, its requirements would no longer interfere with the other capital needs of the East African governments.

35. If our proposals are adopted, we recommend that the Corporation's Board of Directors should consist mainly of persons chosen for their railway and business experience who should represent the different categories of subscribers to the Corporation's capital—including, as we hope, representation of those who, whether as governments or individuals, subscribe capital from abroad. The Directors should not be chosen as territorial delegates but they should act in the interests of East Africa and be capable of taking wide constructive views. We further recommend that the decision of the Board of Directors in regard to railway rates and charges should be final. The Transport Advisory Council should be re-constituted as a technical advisory body to the General Manager, who would not be bound by its recommendations but would be solely responsible to the Board of Directors. The Transport Advisory Council should include persons able to represent adequately the special needs of each territory, and also representatives of railway users.

36. We envisage that the ultimate control of the Corporation through a majority equity shareholding, or of voting shares, should remain with the East African Central Legislative Assembly on behalf of the East African governments; such control should not be exercised except in very special circumstances which may affect the national interests of the three territories, or in case of national emergency. In such cases the Central Legislative Assembly should give general directions to the Board of the Corporation. In general, changes in railway rates or charges should be determined otherwise than by the Board of the Corporation. Where such changes involve an exceptional and considerable alteration in policy, which appears to conflict with the national interest, the Legislative Assembly might be called to exercise its ultimate power of giving a general direction to the Board.

THE RAILWAY TRIBUNAL

37. We see no reason for the establishment of an independent body to determine railway rates and charges or conditions of service. There should be a Railway Tribunal to which customers of the Corporation can appeal in regard to any particular rate or charge, or class of rates, which are considered unreasonable. It should not be an executive

body in any way involved in matters affecting the management of the railways and harbours. It should not determine rates policy or initiate action. Its efficiency is not to be judged by the number of cases which it has to decide. On the contrary it is to be hoped that the number of such cases will be small. It will be a protection to the railway user and also to the Corporation that there should be a judicial body to decide, in any case brought before it by interested parties, whether the Railways and Harbours Corporation is exercising its rate-making powers in a manner which is reasonable and which bears a proper relation to the charges for other goods and services of the same nature.

FUNCTIONS OF COMMISSIONER FOR TRANSPORT

38. The functions of the Commissioner for Transport in so far as his office is concerned with the administration of railways and harbours should be altered. He should no longer have executive powers. His office should be the channel through which the Central African Legislative Assembly, and the three governments, should make representations to the Corporation on general matters concerning railways and harbours—such as the co-ordination of railway, road and air transport. Moreover in those rare cases and special emergencies in which the governments give to the Corporation directives of the general kind to which we have referred above, the Corporation should have the right to appeal to the Railways Tribunal to adjudicate in any dispute concerning the liability for any extra financial cost in which the Corporation may be involved owing to such directives. Similarly, the Corporation should have the right to appeal to the Tribunal to adjudicate upon the losses in which the Corporation may be involved owing to requests by the governments to provide facilities, or to provide services, at a loss or at a rate of charge which the Corporation regard as *unreasonable*. We recommend, therefore, that section 16 of the Railways Act should be amended to enable the Corporation to charge more than the actual cost of the facilities or services in cases where governments request that these be provided.

RAILWAY RATES

39. We do not think it necessary to discuss the question of railway rates in detail. We wish, however, to record that there is clear evidence over a long period of years, supported by the findings of previous official enquiries, that railway rates policy has been, and continues to be, affected adversely by political, territorial or sectional pressure. We are convinced that the fact that the Administration has been, and still is, prevented from adopting that flexibility which is necessary for the determination of railway rates and charges on business principles has been detrimental to the economic interests of the three territories.

40. The overall objective of any transport system must be to give the cheapest service consistent with efficiency. But this does not mean that the transport undertaking should be required to quote rates which are uneconomic in relation to its costs of operation, the value of the products it carries, and the overall circumstances affecting the financial soundness of the undertaking. On the contrary, nothing can be more detrimental to a transport undertaking than the insistence that certain rates are sacrosanct and have to be maintained at a low level whatever may be the general economic conditions the undertaking has to face. It is equally detrimental to regard other traffic as necessarily to be conveyed only at high rates. In East Africa the Administration has not been able to establish a properly balanced system of rates: some rates are at present too low and consequently others have to be fixed at a

level which is too high. This also makes the system unduly vulnerable to competition by road. The present system of determining rates and charges is cumbersome and not sufficiently flexible, especially because, as in the case of development projects, the Administration has not sufficient freedom of management to vary rates and charges quickly or to overcome alleged sectional or territorial opposition to them. This is one of the reasons why the Administration did not succeed in raising the general level of railway rates and charges until 1954, although not only had costs risen very greatly, but much traffic could have well afforded to pay higher rates. At a time when the Administration's reserves were not being built up sufficiently this failure to raise rates was inexcusable, particularly as the territories were experiencing boom conditions, and were in other directions actually endeavouring to take anti-inflationary action. Such action would have been furthered by raising railway rates and building up reserves for the future. The Administration should have been permitted to raise appreciably certain low rates on coffee, cotton and similar products, some of which had risen as much as five-fold in value, and which could no longer be regarded as requiring special assistance through lower rates than were warranted in relation to the over-all situation of the railways.

41. It is frequently overlooked that all attempts to favour any particular section of producers or consumers by railway rates not warranted in relation to the economic exigencies of the railway undertaking as a whole, and the needs to develop new traffic, must be borne by other users of the railway either now or later. Even from a territorial point of view nothing is gained by attempts to subsidize one section at the expense of others through interference with the system of rates and charges best suited to the operation of the East African system as a whole. Indeed, in so far as such interference necessarily weakens the economic viability of the railway undertaking, it makes it less able to quote proper development rates for new traffic and thus retards the development of all the territories. We recommend that there should be a thorough review of all class and individual rates and charges, and of the general level of rates, at the earliest opportunity so as to produce a viable and economically justifiable system of rates and to build up adequate rates stabilization, general, and other reserves. Such a review should take into account the necessity to permit the proper developments of road transport wherever this is more economic.

B. Roads

NECESSITY OF ROAD DEVELOPMENT

42. Generally speaking, before the outbreak of war in 1939, the importance of the development of a modern system of roads was not recognized as clearly as is now the case. In Tanganyika the general rate of economic growth was slow, and in view of the fact that not even the railway system was adequately maintained it is not surprising to find that there was little capital expenditure on new roads. The position was somewhat better in Kenya and Uganda but even there it was only after the war that construction on a scale intended to cope with the expanded traffic needs of the economy was inaugurated. The lack of a proper policy of road construction retarded development in the past, and this retardation will continue unless road construction and improvement is greatly expanded by the three territories and is properly co-ordinated between them and with the railway system as a

whole. In particular there must be very considerable road extension and improvement in areas where railways cannot yet be provided. It must, however, also be borne in mind that although roads may often be cheaper to build in the first instance, and for a time may be more economic where traffic density is low, in many areas where there is, as yet, not sufficient traffic to warrant a railway, climatic conditions may nevertheless make it desirable to build a railway rather than a road to avoid high maintenance costs and continued interruption of traffic during the wet season.

43. Our observations concerning the need for taking a long view in regard to railway construction to open up new areas for development apply with added force to road construction, particularly in areas where the indigenous population has inadequate access to markets and distribution centres. We draw attention in chapter 19 to the factors which have prevented, and still prevent, the proper growth of new towns and the expansion of old ones, and we make proposals to remedy this economically and socially undesirable state of affairs. Here we would emphasize that urban development will have to be accompanied by a proper road system to link town and country, both to enable the production of food for the urban population at economic prices, and to supply the rural population with goods without the stimulus of which they will have little incentive, and indeed little opportunity, to adopt specialized production. In all three territories there are at present considerable road construction programmes under way.

TANGANYIKA

44. In Tanganyika the Ten Year Development and Welfare Plan of 1946 envisaged an expenditure of £3,335,600 on capital works for the period ending with the year 1956. Owing to the rise in capital costs and for other reasons the plan was revised in 1950. This revision provided for capital expenditure on road works alone of nearly £8,500,000 for the period from 1950 to 1956. It has already become apparent that this sum will have to be exceeded, if the plan is to be completed in its entirety to the original standards proposed. Roughly 30 per cent of the total expenditure will be made available from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. It has been estimated that the total cost, based on existing prices, of bringing the road system of the Territory up to a good standard, including major works already in hand, would be not less than £20,000,000.

KENYA

45. In Kenya the realization after the war of the need for a determined attack on the problem of expanding the road system led to the appointment in 1947 of the Road Authority Committee which produced an Interim Report in 1948 and a Final Report in 1949. As a result of the recommendations of the Committee, a Road Authority and a Road Fund were established. Subject to the general or special direction of the Member for Development, the Authority is responsible for the formulation and execution of policy in relation to all matters concerning public roads, for direction or research in connexion with road construction; for the determination of priorities which are to be given to road works; for advising local authorities on matters relating to works on public roads; and for such supervision and direction as may be necessary in connexion with works on public roads carried out by local authorities from money made available from the Road Fund. It is also the responsibility of the Authority to recommend to the Governor in Council such new legislation or amendments to existing legislation as are required to enable it to carry out its duties. The proceeds from vehicle licences and motor drivers' licences and of the petrol tax are annually transferred to the Road Fund.

46. An indication of Kenya's needs is provided by the Authority's Fifteen Year Road Development Programme. This long-term programme which was drawn up by the Chief Technical Adviser envisaged the construction of 1,200 miles of new bitumen roads, 650 miles of new gravel roads and 150 miles of re-constructed bitumen roads at a total cost of £20,000,000. In addition, a total expenditure of £2,250,000 was envisaged on the secondary system and £1,750,000 on municipal and township networks. In regard to this long-term plan, the Planning Committee recommended in June, 1951, a total allocation of £3,600,000 to enable the first five years' phase to be realized. This recommendation which was accepted by the Legislative Council, presupposed, however, that a further £2,500,000 from E.C.A. funds would be available. This proved not to be the case and the programme has had to be retarded by spreading it over a much longer period.

UGANDA

47. In Uganda no long-term programme has been approved by the Government. Each year's works programme has largely been determined piece-meal. It has been represented to us by the Director of Public Works that the time is overdue for the preparation of a considered programme for the betterment of Uganda's road system so that the Roads Branch of the Department can organize its services and plan its construction programme well ahead. Traffic intensities now being experienced over considerable sections of Uganda's road system, and in the other East African territories, coupled with the large increase in the number of heavy vehicles in use, are such that the gravel-surfaced carriageways are quite unable to stand up to the resultant attrition; on these sections the only satisfactory measure is to provide a bitumen-surfaced carriageway. But in Uganda, as elsewhere in East Africa, this type of expensive surfacing, which may well cost over £3,500 per mile, is uneconomic unless the roads to be bitumenised are on their final alignment, and this is mostly not the case. Thus in effect road-betterment involves the provision of expensive foundations and re-alignment. It is estimated that from 1947 to the end of 1953 approximately £2,590,000 will have been spent on main roads and new road construction. The programme of road construction and improvement, based on the policy of re-aligning roads prior to bitumen-surfacing, placed before us by the Director of Public Works covering the period from 1954/55 to 1960/61 would involve expenditure of nearly £8,000,000.

48. This brief survey of the position in the three territories is intended to be broadly illustrative of the magnitude of the road construction problem. It is not complete and it should be borne in mind that the detailed problems in each territory and in each district vary considerably. With these we are not here concerned. It is our purpose to draw attention to certain fundamental issues.

FINANCE

49. It is clear that throughout East Africa the construction and improvements which are now urgently needed to further the more economic movement of goods and passengers and to open up new areas for economic production, are bound to be so expensive as to require to be financed by the East African governments, which will themselves have to obtain capital from outside the territories, not only through loans but in the form of non-interest-bearing development grants. We have already recommended that a Transport Development Fund should be established for this purpose. We wish to stress that we regard the provision of funds for railway and/or road construction and improvement as of the highest priority. The present condition of the roads

is in all the territories, especially in the African areas, a main cause of the high cost of food, of the recurrence of famines, of the relatively slow rate of expansion in the volume of agricultural production, of the persistence of subsistence economies, and of unduly high cost of road transport due to excessive wear and tear on the vehicles in use. The expansion of the East African road system and its improvement to modern standards is so urgent and involves such considerable capital expenditure that it cannot be left to be either financed or planned merely as part of the ordinary activities of central or local governments. The construction of a proper system of roads is, in a modern state, not merely a question of serving the convenience of the inhabitants but of providing the very arteries of economic expansion. The task is similar, and indeed complementary to that of providing a railway and port system, and should be handled as far as possible under the general direction of an independent authority, not only able to plan ahead but provided in advance with the certainty of receiving the funds required for that purpose.

50. The experience of those now grappling with the problems of road construction and improvement shows clearly that far-reaching technical changes in methods and organization are required. Much research on road materials, road engineering, bridge construction and the like, is necessary, and varying degrees of mechanization (involving the training of personnel) have to be introduced. The old, rather haphazard, methods of hand-labour, and reliance on temporary labour have to be revolutionized.

51. In recent years, particularly in Tanganyika and Uganda, there has been increasing use of private consultants or road-construction contractors. This policy should be adopted more generally in order to enable the highest degree of specialization and efficiency. In order, however, that private contractors should be able to reduce costs, it is necessary for them to have the certainty of being engaged for long periods of time to enable them to make available the heavy and specialized equipment, the skilled staff, and the labour-training facilities which are required. It is therefore all the more necessary that plans should be so designed as to enable long-term and large-scale contracts to be made with such firms.

TERRITORIAL ROAD AUTHORITIES

52. The establishment of an independent Road Authority in Kenya, with the functions to which we have already referred, was a progressive step. We recommend that similar Road Authorities should be established in Tanganyika and Uganda. Such Road Authorities should be so constituted as to be able to make decisions based entirely on the over-all economic needs of each territory. In Kenya, for example, we are of opinion that sectional interests have prevented an objective and proper assessment of the transport needs of African areas. The system of financing the Kenya Road Authority from the Road Fund (whose revenues are, apart from special grants from the Government, mainly derived from vehicle taxation, petrol taxation, and drivers' fees) has proved quite inadequate. This system should be modified and supplemented by the establishment of an East African Road Corporation to which we refer below. It is illusory to expect revenues from these sources to be in any way sufficient to finance the construction of that comprehensive road system which we regard as absolutely essential in East Africa. Even in the United Kingdom it has been found that the Road Fund cannot alone finance the great expansion of the road system now necessary in the national interest. In East Africa any road funds relying only on specific allocated revenues of the kind made available in Kenya could only hope to raise a small portion of the sums required to establish what amounts, in many

areas, to almost a new road system. In any case the capital necessary must be made available for a long period of time so that the road programme can proceed without interruption. Indeed, the road programme should, together with railway and harbour development, be regarded as a very important source of continuous employment, both skilled and unskilled, for African labour which may be displaced from subsistence agriculture.

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EAST AFRICAN ROAD CORPORATION

53. We have come to the conclusion that an East African Road Corporation should be established. The Corporation should be financed from loans raised jointly by the East African governments, and from grants from the Colonial Transport Development Fund which we have recommended above, and possibly from international development agencies. The Corporation should be managed as an autonomous body under the High Commission. It should have powers (a) to finance such road construction and improvement plans submitted to it by the territorial Road Authorities as meet with its approval ; (b) to assist in co-ordinating, and itself to undertake inter-territorial road construction or improvement projects ; (c) to enter into agreements with the territorial Road Authorities for the carrying out of any projects in part, or in whole ; (d) to engage in contracts with private road contractors, or to guarantee contracts entered into with private contractors by the territorial Road Authorities ; (e) to assist the work of the territorial Road Authorities in order to increase the efficiency of road construction and maintain economic standards ; (f) to advise on, stimulate, or itself undertake, road research and experimentation in co-operation with the territorial Road Authorities so as to avoid unnecessary duplication of research ; and (g) to advise on all matters affecting the economic expansion of the road system, with special regard to African areas and to proper co-ordination with the railway and port system.

54. We would emphasize that the construction of inter-territorial and trunk roads on a standardized basis will require much expert personnel, specially trained permanent labour, and considerable capital investment in modern machinery and equipment. It is, therefore, essential that as far as possible the construction and maintenance of such roads should be carried out by a separate department of the East African Road Corporation able to plan its operations over a long period of time and able to employ the necessary personnel and use the specialized equipment on a permanent basis. The department should take an overall view of the requirements of East Africa and should plan its work and research accordingly, and should co-operate with, and assist, the territorial Road Authorities in every way necessary to bring about the co-ordination of trunk, provincial and district roads.

CHAPTER 13

Water Development

INTRODUCTION

1. Throughout East Africa the lack of discovered or developed water supplies is a major factor in preventing the use of otherwise productive resources. We are not qualified to suggest precisely where the development of water supplies will be most effective, nor can we assess the finance or staff which, within the resources available to the territories, should be devoted to this task. There are, however, certain matters of principle regarding the provision of finance, the organization of water development agencies and the training and engagement of staff which we believe require attention.

THE FINANCE OF WATER DEVELOPMENT

2. Water development, including the discovery, conservation and distribution of water, which is likely to lead to the productive employment of resources over a wide area and to affect a considerable section of the community, should be placed in the same category of basic developments as railways and roads. It is important that decisions to proceed with major water schemes should not hinge solely on the ability of some particular productive project to support the capital structure required for the basic water development. For example, if governments have in mind a land settlement project which is dependent on the provision of water from a water conservation scheme involving considerable cost, the decision to go ahead with the water conservation scheme should not necessarily rest on whether the proposed settlement scheme could carry the recovery of the capital cost and capital charges of the water project.

The decision to proceed with water development must depend on an assessment of the possible long-term effects of the project. If a water scheme is likely to be an important factor in attracting private development either on the land or in the establishment of industries, then it falls within the category of the basic developments and no attempt should be made to carry all the capital costs against some immediately contemplated productive development. On the other hand when a water development project is designed only to serve some specific enterprises then there is no reason why the capital cost of the water development and the capital charges should not be recovered from the enterprises benefited; and the decision to proceed with the water development must depend on whether the enterprises in question can carry this cost, spread over the calculated life of the water development asset.

The question of the extent to which the governments of the East African territories can afford to employ resources in subsidizing water development for private schemes is, of course, a matter which they must decide in relation to alternative uses for public revenues. It is desirable, however, that any subsidization should be apparent to the legislators and should not be of a hidden nature. In other words, an agreed scale of re-imbusement of costs on a fixed basis would be preferable to the employment of government water development agencies operating at below cost. Government departments are not usually equipped to undertake satisfactory cost accounting and, in fact, the normal government accounting systems preclude the assessment of a particular project on a true business basis. In consequence, services rendered by a government department in water development for private enterprise is very liable to contain elements of subsidy, with the disadvantage that the legislature cannot see precisely what is being spent on this function. There may be the further disadvantage of discouraging commercial firms operating in the water development field through their inability to compete with government departments working on hidden subsidies. Perhaps this can be illustrated by the operation of dam construction units of a government department in Kenya. The intention was to give some impetus to private water development by employing some of these units on constructing dams for individual farmers, and the units have undoubtedly done much excellent work. Attempts were made to operate the units on a self-financing basis and charges for services have from time to time been adjusted to this end. The cost to the farmers has, however, been lower than they would have been had commercial enterprise been employed, and numbers of farmers postponed embarkation on water development pending the availability of the government units. The Government,

on the other hand, was only prepared to devote a limited amount of its resources to the establishment of these units with the result that the amount of water development undertaken in the country may, in fact, have been less than would otherwise have been the case. It would be preferable for the charges of government water development units to be fixed in consultation with commercial concerns engaged in this form of work, and for any measure of subsidization which governments feel they can afford to be provided on a pre-determined scale, applicable when either private or government water development agencies are employed. Finally these territories certainly cannot afford to expend money on water development to bring land into use for the sole purpose of enabling a greater number of people to carry on subsistence agriculture and still less can they afford to expend money to enable the unproductive maintenance of greater herds of livestock. Expenditure on water development must be directed towards the production of marketable surpluses on which the expansion of the economy depends, and it should not be undertaken unless technical advice points to the probability of economic activities resulting.

THE ORGANIZATION OF WATER DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

3. The development of water resources in a manner which, in the long term, will be most productive necessitates the organization and co-ordination of agencies to carry out a number of distinct functions:

(a) It is necessary that there should be a proper legal basis for ensuring that the public interest can be served to the full in the conservation and distribution of water. All three territories have water legislation on their Statute Books, and that of Kenya in particular is of an extremely detailed and comprehensive nature. It is most important, however, that the territories should examine their legislation in the light of the manner in which it has operated, to ensure that private or sectional interests cannot stand in the way of water development. This does not mean that there should be no recognition of private interests in water supplies but the law should be designed not to preserve such interests in all circumstances but to enable them to be utilized for the public benefit in a manner which will at the same time be just to the private interests concerned. Rights in land as well as in water are affected by water development, and it is equally important for the land law to ensure that water development schemes for the public benefit cannot be obstructed by the preservation of existing private land interests or by laws preserving exclusive sectional interests in land.

(b) The planning of the productive use of available resources involves hydrological research. Such problems as the effect of various forms of vegetation cover, and of alternative forms of productive land use on surface and underground water supplies and on the loss or preservation of soil fertility as a result of the action of water, are of primary importance. Much of this research is of a long-term and basic nature requiring highly qualified and specialized research workers. Many of the problems involved are common to all three territories and it is thus desirable that the work should be undertaken under the aegis of the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation. But it is essential for staff to be specifically earmarked for this work, and this arrangement will only work satisfactorily if the programmes for research are most carefully prepared to meet problems which the individual territories recognize as being of primary importance.

Some of the data required for this basic research will be of a general nature collected over a wide area, and clearly for this purpose the organization must use agencies in the field other than its own employees. The data collected will also serve purposes other than those of research. The work of the research

department and the collecting agencies concerned must be properly co-ordinated, and the research department must have at its disposal facilities for sorting out and analysing the data which it requires. All basic hydrological research should be conducted through a single channel, but this would not, of course, preclude the inter-territorial research organization from using such territorial facilities in the field as can be placed at its disposal.

(c) Although a certain amount of basic hydrological data is at present collected in all three territories, this work is not always co-ordinated. The normal method of procedure appears to be to select a possible project for water development and then to set about obtaining the data on which its investigation must be based. It is fully appreciated that it may not be possible for the collection of all the data that may be required in every possible area to proceed simultaneously and continuously, but there should be a territory wide continuing plan for collecting as much data as possible on such basic matters as stream and river flows, and rainfall quantities, reliability and intensities. The recording and organization of all hydrological data and all geological data which may have a bearing on water development should be the responsibility of the water development departments to which we refer later. But here again the actual collection of data in the field and its submission to headquarters will necessitate co-operation with wide interchange of data of departments such as the Meteorological Department, the Geological Department, the Agriculture and Forestry Departments and the Provincial Administration.

(d) The present organization for carrying out specific water development investigations and development projects is different in each of the territories. In Tanganyika urban and rural water supplies are the respective responsibilities of the Public Works Department, answerable to the Member for Communications, Works and Development Planning, and the Water Development Department which operates under the aegis of the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources. In Uganda the Department of Geological Survey is responsible for the search for, and provision of, rural water supplies; the Department of Hydrological Survey is concerned with the collection of hydrological data and with swamp reclamation and irrigation, while the Public Works Department is responsible for urban water supplies. In Kenya the position is more complicated. The Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources is responsible for water development policy but the agency for carrying out development and making investigations is the Hydraulic Branch of the Public Works Department, a department which is under the general authority of the Member for Development. In addition the collection of hydrological data is shared by the Public Works Department, the Meteorological Department and the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation, the last two bodies being interterritorial. The geologists form part of the staff of the Mines Department and further water investigational and development agencies consist of a branch of the Agricultural Department which sites dams and operates mechanical dam construction units and, finally, a survey and water engineering branch of the African Land Development Board which carries out small scale investigations and surveys in the field, and which helps provincial and district administrations to undertake water development projects financed by local government funds, or specially allocated central government funds. In addition the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources is advised by a Water Resources Authority, consisting largely of unofficials who are not technical experts, and this authority stands at the apex of a pyramid consisting of Regional Water Boards appointed for each of the major catchment areas in the Colony.

It is most important that this dissipation of effort should be rectified and we recommend that there should be a single department in each territory responsible for all aspects of water development with the exception of urban water supplies. The undoubted financial advantages which accrue from savings in plant and equipment, staff and sundry overheads by including water development in a single Public Works Department responsible for all kinds of public works, are, we are certain, more than outweighed by the advantages of having a separate water department under the responsibility of the Minister concerned with the development of land use. A close co-ordination of land and water conservation and development is required, and the drive and initiative demanded by the water situation in the East African territories is unlikely to be forthcoming when the executive instrument for water development is part of a Public Works Department which must necessarily fall under the aegis of a Minister whose primary concern is not the development of land and water resources.

Regarding the suggestion that responsibility for urban water supplies might not rest with the proposed water departments, it was represented to us in many quarters that the employment of staff and equipment inevitably become directed into urban water development channels at the expense of rural water development when a single department is responsible for both functions. The pressure which can be brought to bear to meet immediate requirements of urban communities backed, as is often the case, by health authorities, is usually greater than that exercised in support of potential and rural development. On the other hand, water development schemes initiated primarily for urban purposes may frequently serve an important function in rural development and when rural considerations are taken into account urban water schemes may be changed both in their nature and their scope.

We favour the separation of urban and rural water development functions provided a close measure of co-operation and mutual assistance is maintained between the two departments, and responsibility for urban water supplies might remain the responsibility of a branch of the Public Works Department.

(e) The Water Department in each territory should contain a General Section and an Irrigation Section with branches in each section as follows:

General Section

(i) A branch dealing with the collection and organization of hydrological and geological data which have a bearing on water development.

(ii) A branch containing the technical, hydrological, geological and engineering staff earmarked specifically for investigation work on all kinds of water development work other than irrigation, and this branch should be capable of bringing investigational work up to any stage required including, if necessary, the preparation of full project reports for presentation to the Minister.

(iii) A works branch equipped either to carry out approved surface and underground water development projects itself or to organize the completion of such projects under contract.

Irrigation Section

A Section with separate investigational and works branches; and in this field perhaps more than any other it will be necessary for close co-operation with other departments such as the Agricultural Department.

(f) In general the essential close co-ordination between land and water development should be maintained by the fact that the departments concerned are responsible to a single Minister; and in addition the Land Development

Boards, which we recommend in chapter 22, will provide a convenient instrument for associating the head of the Water Department with the heads of the other departments concerned.

THE STAFFING OF WATER DEPARTMENTS

4. Persons capable of carrying out the functions of the head of a water department, particularly when that department is enlarged to embrace irrigation, will be extremely difficult to find, and such is the urgency of the matter that governments must be prepared to offer remuneration which will be competitive in this narrow field in which there is such a dearth of persons combining technical qualifications with experience in comparable conditions. We should think it regrettable if the appointment of a suitable officer were held up on the grounds that the salary required is out of line with that of other appointments.

5. At headquarters level within the various branches of the department governments may be able to afford specialized technical staff required for a particular sphere of work. But at provincial or district level the tasks to be performed, either in directing attention towards the necessity for expert investigation or in carrying out works approved, are of a multifarious nature, and the technical training of civil engineers does not in itself equip men for all the tasks involved in water development and investigational work in the field. These territories cannot yet afford a high degree of specialization and it is essential that they should have men in the field capable of understanding the basic requirements in a much wider sphere than engineering alone. It would be of great value if those concerned with water development problems at the highest technical level in East Africa could, in conjunction with other African territories which undoubtedly are confronted with the same problem, determine the precise qualifications most needed by technical field staff in this sphere. The next step would be to ask universities in the United Kingdom, or elsewhere, to institute an appropriate course of study.

CHAPTER 14

Immigration

1. In each of the three territories immigration is subject to certain restrictions. In Kenya persons who wish to enter the Colony for residence must obtain an entry permit issued by the Principal Immigration Officer and entry permits are divided into categories according to the purpose for which residence is desired and the occupation which the immigrant desires to follow. In Tanganyika it is laid down that, apart from prohibited immigrants, any person may enter the territory in order to engage in any business, trade or occupation, provided his activities cannot be held to be prejudicial to the inhabitants generally. In Uganda non-native immigration is restricted to persons of sound mind, good character and adequate resources whose entry will not be to the prejudice of the inhabitants. In each case the attempt is made to exclude persons whose admission might be inimical to the local

population. In this sense the legislation is protective in that it is of a restrictive nature. It does nothing to encourage immigration. We have to consider how far this policy is in accord with the interests of economic development in East Africa, qualified if necessary by reference to any relevant political considerations.

EXTENT OF IMMIGRATION

2. The following table shows, for Kenya, in respect of each year from 1949 to 1953 the number of new permanent immigrants, distinguishing between European and Indian, Arab and Goan :—

NEW PERMANENT IMMIGRATION INTO KENYA					
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
<i>Europeans</i>					
Male	2,588	1,727	1,889	2,084	2,677
Female	2,380	1,776	1,830	1,743	2,104
<i>Indian, Arab and Goan</i>					
Male	4,111	2,121	2,041	2,305	1,888
Female	2,774	1,990	2,167	1,981	1,861
<i>Total, including others</i>					
Male	6,763	3,896	3,960	4,415	4,600
Female	5,193	3,794	4,040	3,761	3,978
<i>Grand Total</i>	11,956	7,690	8,000	8,176	8,578

The second Table gives a similar analysis for Tanganyika.

NEW PERMANENT IMMIGRATION INTO TANGANYIKA					
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
<i>Europeans</i>					
Male	2,525	2,226	1,726	1,461	1,510
Female	1,788	1,607	1,306	1,078	1,118
<i>Indian, Arab and Goan</i>					
Male	1,926	2,025	1,365	1,978	2,303
Female	1,181	1,126	1,022	1,149	1,432
<i>Total, including others</i>					
Male	4,552	4,319	3,162	3,499	3,916
Female	3,024	2,789	2,370	2,282	2,609
<i>Grand Total</i>	7,576	7,108	5,532	5,781	6,525

Corresponding data for Uganda are not available.

Over the five years, and in each of the two territories, Europeans represented one-half of the total number of new permanent immigrants, the other half being represented by Indians, Arabs and Goans. The figures cited also include children. For Kenya, over the period, 30 per cent of the total numbers, consisted of children up to the age of 14 years ; in Tanganyika the proportion was 23 per cent.

3. These are small numbers in relation to the total population of each territory and if account is taken of new permanent emigration the net effect of new permanent immigration on the population is even smaller. This is more marked in the case of Europeans. Thus for Kenya during the six years from 1946 to 1951 new European permanent immigration amounted in the aggregate to 27,240, but new European permanent emigration amounted to 12,047 leaving a net inward movement of 15,193. In the same period, new Indian, Arab and Goan permanent immigration amounted in the aggregate to 28,623 while

new Indian, Arab and Goan permanent emigration amounted to only 4,367, leaving a net inward movement of 24,256. Thus, although the numbers of Europeans, appearing as new permanent immigrants, have appeared to keep pace with the numbers of Indians, Arabs and Goans in the same category, the former are in effect less permanent than the latter and net permanent immigration makes a larger addition to the existing population of Indians, Arabs and Goans than it does to the existing European population. In 1948 the European population of Kenya numbered 29,660 and the net permanent inward movement of Europeans over the six years from 1946 to 1951 averaged 2,532 per annum. In 1948 the total population of Indians, Arabs and Goans numbered 121,861 and the net permanent inward movement of these peoples over the same six years averaged 4,043. But the proportionate net addition to the European population was greater than the proportionate net addition to the population of Indians, Arabs and Goans.

4. These numbers should also be compared with the numbers of the African population. In 1948 the African population of Kenya was estimated at 5,251,120, so that the net annual inward permanent movement of Europeans, Indians, Arabs and Goans amounted to only 0.12 per cent. of the existing African population. We cite these figures in order to put the existing position in its proper numerical perspective. The permanent immigration which has been permitted in recent years has done nothing to disturb the overwhelming numerical preponderance of the African population and this latter position would still be true even if more liberal conditions of entry were permitted.

5. If the effect of new permanent immigration in the composition of the population is extremely small in Kenya it is even smaller in Tanganyika and Uganda. The problem, however, is not fundamentally a numerical one in the East African setting. Any apprehension to which net immigration may legitimately give rise must be attributed to other causes.

PRESENT VIEWS ON IMMIGRATION POLICY

6. We found divergent views on the kind of immigration policy which it was thought should be followed, and these varying opinions cut across rather than followed the main racial divisions. Broadly speaking there were two main views: the one which thought that the future economic development of the territories depended in the main upon further infusions of external capital and enterprise, and the other which thought that substantial amounts of new permanent immigration were liable to disturb and, in some cases, damage existing interests. To most Africans who had considered the matter there was some apprehension that, however much new immigrants might contribute to the full development of the available resources in land, whether by bringing in fresh capital or by the application of greater knowledge and superior techniques, these immigrants would be occupying good quality land which was in short supply and would thereby be depriving Africans of access to this land, either now or in future. Some few, indeed, who were alive to the apparent dilemma which confronted them, were prepared to sacrifice the economic development which new permanent immigration might make possible, rather than incur the risk that the shortage of land for Africans might be intensified. In some other cases the apprehension was associated with certain misconceptions, to which we refer elsewhere, about the rôle of external capital in the development of a borrowing country. In other cases, however, the apprehension was associated with a simple fear that the economic development which new permanent immigrants might facilitate, or make possible, would be one in which Africans could not participate.

7. Similar fears are sometimes expressed by members of other races. There are Europeans who have doubts about the future economic possibilities of

East Africa and who fear that fresh permanent immigration would merely encroach upon the economic activities of the existing occupied population and create a problem concerning their support and maintenance in later years. There are Indians who feel that their community is already so circumscribed by restrictive legislation that any increase in their numbers by infusion from outside would merely add to their existing disabilities and inconveniences.

8. All these views, however they may be coloured by sectional interests, have in common a highly restricted conception of the future economic development of the region. They do not anticipate any remarkable degree of economic expansion. They think in terms of the continuance of a narrow and limited market both from the angle of production and from that of consumption, and they are concerned more with the sharing of the market than with any increase in its scope.

9. An opposing view, which again cuts across divisions of race, exhibits a more favourable estimate of the future economic possibilities of the territories. But those who hold this view are highly conscious of the extent to which future economic development depends upon the availability of new capital, new enterprise and new skill and of the very limited supplies of these prerequisites which are available within the territories themselves. They therefore look outside the territories for the new infusions of capital, enterprise and skill which, as they think, will alone ensure this favourable future.

10. The approach to the problem is frequently influenced by political considerations which raise certain issues of public policy on which we are not required to pronounce. Kenya is a 'colony'; Uganda is a 'protectorate' and Tanganyika is a 'trust territory' held and administered under the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations. These are different political conceptions and they are associated with declarations of public policy which are not couched in identical terms. We mention this complicating circumstance not to pass judgment upon it but to indicate that its existence is not always appreciated and that, not infrequently, it is a source of misunderstanding and therefore of suspicion. Among other things it means that it is impracticable to operate a uniform immigration policy throughout the three East African territories. Our own examination of the immigration problem is made within the limits of this complex political setting and we have endeavoured to confine our attention in the main to the economic aspects of the problem.

PRESENT REQUIREMENTS

11. The economic development of the three territories presupposes fresh accretions of outside capital, enterprise and skill. Without these aids the indigenous populations would not merely be deprived of the opportunity to participate in a favourable economic future; they might find it impossible, under the pressure of growing numbers of population, to maintain the degree of improvement which has already occurred. The problem is, therefore, not one of a fundamental clash between the interests of the indigenous populations and those of other races who might supply the capital and skill which economic development requires. Indeed it might be said that in the absence of outside aid in the form of capital, enterprise and skill the difficulties which are associated with the growth of the African population are likely to become more intractable. The problem which appears to us to be basic is that of integrating the activities of very large indigenous populations with those of very small non-indigenous populations so that the greatest increase in territorial incomes may be secured; for it is upon these increased incomes that the future prosperity of both groups, indigenous and non-indigenous, depends. This does not mean that no conflict between individual or group

interests will occur. Every process of expansion involves cases of apparent hardship and inconvenience for it is of the essence of improvement that some existing arrangement or practice is disturbed. But in an expanding economy the long-run identities of interests are more important than the short-term discords. Having regard to our terms of reference we think it right to consider not whether immigration should be permitted but the terms and conditions on which it should be allowed.

CONDITIONS OF IMMIGRATION

12. We have shown that the present rate of net permanent immigration, so far as numbers are concerned, is not a valid cause of racial tension. There is, however, more legitimate ground for African disquiet if it is felt that the economic development which is associated with net permanent immigration is one in which Africans are unable to participate. For this, as well as for other reasons, it is important that training facilities should exist which would enable Africans, through their acquired skill, to play a more active rôle in this development. But a new and emergent people cannot, in a short period, acquire the technical skills and organizing capacity which other older peoples have acquired only after long periods of tradition and experience. And since economic development in East Africa is vital, if the pressure of population growth is not to entail disastrous consequences, the urgency of the situation does not make it possible to wait until the indigenous populations have developed the skills and organizing ability necessary to promote and sustain the economic expansion. The knowledge and experience which suitable immigrants can bring to East Africa are assets with which it is impossible to dispense in any foreseeable future. But our concern that Africans should have adequate training facilities which would enable them to make the maximum contribution to the economic development of the region is dictated not merely by liberal sentiment. It is based upon a recognition that African skills are essential to that full development.

13. The provision of facilities whereby Africans may be trained to perform more skilled work and to occupy more responsible positions in trade and industry does not represent the only way in which there may be greater African participation in new economic development. It is one of the main themes of this Report that the activities of the indigenous population must be directed to an increasing extent to specialized production for sale, either in the internal markets of East Africa or in markets abroad. This may involve greater scope for co-operative enterprises, either on the side of production or on the side of marketing. It may involve corporate enterprises or it may involve new marketing arrangements to dispose of the produce of small producers. But in all these cases organizing capacity is essential and it may be impossible for some time to obtain adequate supplies of that organizing ability from the indigenous population. In these circumstances it may be convenient for African enterprises to engage non-African managers, whether on the basis of a temporary contract or on a more permanent basis. Any development in this direction should reduce whatever symptoms of racial tension may be associated with immigration policy. Our concern here, however, is to submit that any difficulties to which the immigration of non-Africans may give rise, depend upon the manner in which the activities of Africans and non-Africans are integrated in the general expansion of the economy.

14. We do not propose any fundamental changes in the existing arrangements governing immigration. We do not propose that immigration should be freed from regulation, supervision or control by government. Nor do

we suggest that a quota system should be introduced. But we recommend that the supervision of immigration should be exercised by government directly and not through boards which may reflect, either in their membership or in the considerations which they take to be relevant, the views of sectional interests. We recommend further that policy should be governed by the interests of the territory and not by any desire to protect existing sectional interests. In considering whether an application for admission should or should not be accepted, the test should be the contribution which the applicant might make to the development of the economy, not the inconvenience which he might occasion to some established interest. In this connexion we would refer to the procedure which operates in Kenya.

15. In Kenya permanent, as distinct from temporary, immigration is controlled by a statutory board on which unofficials constitute the majority. The board is nominated by the executive and is charged with the exercise of a statutory discretion to refuse admission to any person whose admission is considered to be to the detriment of the Colony. The membership of the board consists of a chairman who is appointed by the Governor, two representatives of the European Elected Members submitted by that body to the Governor for nomination, two Asians nominated by the Governor, one African and one Arab nominated by the Governor and one representative of the Chief Native Commissioner's Office. There is also a right of appeal to an Appeals Tribunal. But we do not think it proper that the test which the board applies to the cases which come before it should be whether some existing interest is likely to be prejudiced by granting the application. It is possible for the admission of an immigrant to be in the interest of the Colony and, at the same time, to be inconvenient to an existing sectional interest. The exercise of a protection over existing interests frequently stifles enterprise and militates against the most rapid economic advancement. Control of immigration by the executive is essential if immigration policy is to be integrated with general public policy for economic development. In Kenya it is anomalous that while the executive has complete control over the issue of temporary permits, the admission of permanent immigrants should be delegated to a board of the kind which we have described.

16. For certain categories of immigrants the applicant is required to have in his own right, and in his full and free disposition, sums which are specified in the Ordinance and 'the prescribing authority for . . . determining any sum less than the prescribed sum' is the Immigration Control Board.* In Uganda, too, non-native immigrants must provide assurance that they are supplied with adequate means. We appreciate the reasons which have led to the adoption of these conditions but think it proper to point out that they can be employed in a manner which is unduly restrictive of enterprise. We recommend that they should be reviewed for the purpose of determining whether they do not obstruct the admission of persons who have enterprise and skill which would be of value to the development of the territory but who lack the financial resources which would satisfy these tests.

17. We have already referred, in paragraph 10, to the impracticability of operating a uniform immigration policy throughout the three East African territories. We are reluctantly obliged to accept this situation but we would point to one of its consequences. Since inter-territorial movement cannot be completely controlled immigration is in fact determined by the least restrictive of the policies pursued by the three territories.

* *Laws of Kenya*. The Immigration (Control) Regulations, 1948, (as amended to 31st December, 1950) Section 4 (i).

CHAPTER 15

*African Labour**A. Urban Employment*

THE PROBLEM

1. The main relevant facts as regards the African wages problem may be summarized as follows:—(a) the general level of wages is low; (b) even where there is minimum wage legislation, as in Kenya, the basis of the statutory minimum has been taken to be the requirements of a single male adult worker with a very small margin above physical subsistence; (c) the productivity of African labour is generally low; (d) the machinery for collective bargaining is almost non-existent; (e) as a rule there is little difficulty in obtaining ordinary unskilled labour even at the low wage levels which prevail; and (f) much of the labour which is employed is migrant labour in the sense that it seeks employment for short periods and returns to the tribal area. Much of the evidence which we received emphasized the mutual relationship between low wages and low labour productivity: wages were low because the labour was inefficient and the labour was inefficient because wages were low. It was apparent too, that considerable interest was taken by intelligent observers in the possibility of raising the productivity of labour, by such devices as incentive schemes and improved labour management, with a view to making it possible for the employers of labour to pay a higher wage which would sustain a higher standard of life. It is not unreasonable that so much interest should be taken in what are, in fact, matters of mechanism, but it is expedient to give prior consideration to what may be regarded as the underlying economic factors which affect the labour market.

2. The most conspicuous features of the conditions which affect the labour market in East Africa are the scarcity of capital and the scarcity of land of good quality. Increases in the supply of good quality land may result from improvements in water supply and the greater use of fertilizers, and in other ways. Increases in the supply of capital will depend upon the increase in disposable incomes arising within the territories themselves and also, and perhaps to an even greater extent, upon the availability of capital from outside the territories. Indeed, in the circumstances of East Africa, any obstacles which may be raised to this latter source of supply, however these obstacles might be justified, must react unfavourably on the market for African labour, on the level of wages and on the standard of life of the employed population.

3. But we also get a situation in which new avenues of employment may be opened up without causing wages to rise as markedly as might be expected. The increase in the number of persons offering themselves for employment may keep pace with the increase in the demand for paid labour at the prevailing wage level. Shortages of labour are not commonly reported and where they occur are generally attributed to special circumstances. In a memorandum prepared for us by the Labour Department in Uganda in April, 1953, we read:

‘There is no shortage of labour in industry. All the large concerns which started operations recently in Uganda, such as the Owen Falls Construction

Company, Kilembe Mines, and the Uganda Cement Industry, have no difficulty in meeting their requirements. Other established industries, such as the East African Tobacco Company, also have all the labour they need as do the many smaller concerns. In the seasonal employment offered by the ginning industry the position varies from year to year. At present with only a fair cotton crop and food by no means plentiful, there is no shortage. In other years the reverse is the case. . . . The Uganda Company, with its associated concerns, is the largest employer of plantation labour . . . and has no shortage. A number of smaller estates are chronically short of labour and poor labour utilisation exaggerates their difficulties. . . . In the larger townships there is no shortage of P.W.D. labour except for certain specific jobs such as trench digging where the work is uninteresting and arduous.'

This is typical of the evidence we received : an expanding volume of employment not restricted by labour shortage.

4. Taking the East Africa economy as a whole there is no evidence of unemployment as that is commonly understood. To some extent this lack of evidence is due to the fact that no records are kept as they would be if proved unemployment involved an entitlement to unemployment benefit, or if other forms of public relief could be obtained. It is known, however, that in urban areas persons who are in employment sometimes have to support friends and relatives who have come in search of work without succeeding in obtaining it. There is also evidence of concealed unemployment or under-employment in the congested areas and elsewhere. The extent of actual unemployment and under-employment cannot be measured on the basis of the available data but there is general agreement that it is considerable. The fact that it exists, moreover, limits the possibility of effecting any considerable rise in the level of real wages by changes in the mechanism by which wage rates are fixed.

REAL WAGES

5. Any attempt to measure in quantitative terms changes in real wages is difficult even in developed countries. In East Africa it is still more difficult but there are grounds for the view that the real wages of those in paid employment have risen over, say, the last twenty years during which the economic expansion of the region has been most pronounced. On the other hand, it may be doubted whether the increase in real wages has kept pace with the increase in other real incomes. Perhaps the most marked real improvements in African living standards are to be found in Buganda, and in the coffee-growing area of Kilimanjaro, where they are associated with the receipt of larger incomes from the sale of cash crops. If real wages have risen it has been largely as an indirect effect of the rise in the real incomes of the peasant cultivators.

6. We now have an important clue to what governs the wage level which African labour is prepared to accept and at which supplies of labour are forthcoming. The governing factor is not the existence of a statutory minimum wage, which in any case does not operate over the whole of East Africa; nor is it any predetermined and arbitrarily conceived notion of what constitutes a 'fair' or 'reasonable' or 'living' wage. The governing factor is the real income which can be obtained in alternative occupations. These alternatives may consist either of the production of cash crops or of subsistence farming. The pull exercised by the increased incomes of the producers of cash crops has already been noticed. But over large areas of East Africa the production of cash crops is either non-existent

or is so restricted that it cannot exercise much influence. In these cases the alternative to paid employment is subsistence farming. However low may appear to be the real incomes of those in paid employment there is a strong presumption that the real income derived from subsistence farming is still lower.

7. If this view is sustained an important consequence follows: apart from the factors which govern the demand for labour and the wage which employers are able and willing to pay for the labour they employ, the key to a permanent raising of the supply price of African labour is to foster an increase in the real incomes of the peasants, whether they produce for their own subsistence or for sale in the market. And since, for reasons which we discuss elsewhere, there can be little opportunity for raising the real incomes which are exclusively derived from subsistence farming, the emphasis must be upon increased real incomes derived from participation in the exchange economy. The possibility of achieving this result is considered in detail in other sections of this Report, and from a different angle. What now emerges is the conclusion that the solution of the African agricultural problem is important not merely as a means of achieving better land usage and raising the real incomes of the cultivators, but also as a means of contributing to the solution of the problem of the urban wage-earner. It is against this economic background that we have to consider labour policy. In that connexion we have been greatly assisted by the work done by the Committee on African Wages—whose report* is known generally as the Carpenter Report—which was appointed by the Governor of Kenya in April, 1953.

8. The majority of the Carpenter Committee based its recommendations on the view that 'the essential prerequisite for the creation of an effective African labour force is the stabilization of African labour and the severance of its ties with the reserves' (paragraph 290). This view is in accordance with our approach even if we may be unable to support all the recommendations which were made by the Committee.

LABOUR TRAINING

9. The great mass of African labour is unskilled labour and of low productivity. The opportunities to follow more skilled occupations are limited, not on account of any industrial colour bar which in East Africa does not exist, but mainly because the facilities for acquiring skill are not highly developed. There are some important exceptions which we were able to observe but over the greater part of industry we believe the statement to be broadly true. Our attention was repeatedly drawn to the need to provide African labour with greater facilities for acquiring skill so that higher wage-rates would be justified and so that higher earnings might create the foundation for higher living standards. It was represented to us, too, that many of the skilled crafts in industry were practised by Asians who, while not openly pursuing a policy of the racial closed shop, offered powerful resistance to any form of African penetration. It was also represented to us that where apprenticeship facilities for Africans existed, it was not unusual for apprentices to break their contracts of apprenticeship before the completion of their training in order to take up positions which carried skilled or semi-skilled rates of pay. Many of those who mentioned this matter to us thought that strict penalties for breach of the apprenticeship should be enforced but it is by no means obvious that the enforcement of more severe penalties would be effective. The result might merely be to reduce the flow of young Africans who were prepared to enter into

* *Report of the Committee on African Wages*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1954.

apprenticeship contracts. The significance of the complaint, and we have no reason to doubt that the statement was well-founded, lies in the fact that it indicates the existence of a market for skilled or partially skilled labour which cannot be satisfied by the supplies of effective skilled labour which are available. The arrangements which are made to provide industrial training should have regard to this fact.

10. It may be argued, and indeed we have heard the view expressed, that the absence of a large supply of skilled labour in East Africa in itself constitutes a check on new industrial development. Within limits this contention is true. The existence of a skilled and adaptable labour supply may be one among several considerations which influence industrialists in choosing the most convenient site for their operations. But labour is not normally trained *in vacuo* and in anticipation of demands which may, or may not, develop. The training of labour normally proceeds in association with the evolution of industry and is primarily a responsibility of industry itself. To take this view is not to disparage the steps which may be taken or which have already been taken, by governments to provide systematic instruction in a variety of skilled crafts at technical and trade schools. But the numbers who can be trained under government auspices must be small in comparison with the numbers who acquire some sort of industrial skill in industry and still smaller in comparison with the total industrially employed population. Indeed there is commonly an expectation that those who are trained in this way will attain to a higher and more general standard of proficiency and knowledge than is likely to be acquired through the ordinary channels of industry, and that in consequence these trainees will qualify for positions of special responsibility. At the other end of the scale, however, there may be scope at the school level for greater emphasis on the manual arts so that a greater aptitude for the exercise of skill may subsequently be displayed by those who enter industrial employment.

11. It may be doubted whether, at this stage in the industrial development of East Africa, there is much scope for the further extension of systematic schemes of apprenticeship or for a slavish adherence to a type of apprenticeship which is peculiarly European. Historically, the apprenticeship system in Europe was introduced to preserve the exercise of a craft which already existed and, by restrictions on entry, to maintain the economic position of those who already practised this craft. It was not primarily designed to increase the supply of skilled labour. In East Africa, where among the African industrial population there are practically no established crafts to protect, it may well be that the dominant need is for a more flexible system of training rather than a close imitation of a system which evolved under quite different circumstances.

12. At present few firms have organized schemes of training, and apprenticeship schemes are in the main to be found in government trade schools and in one or two large industrial undertakings, such as the East African Railways and Harbours Administration. We have already referred to the complaints which we received that apprentices often abandoned their apprenticeship before the completion of their training in order that they might take up relatively well-paid employment. It was represented to us that in this way a considerable number of partially trained workpeople were able to undertake skilled work which was then so badly done that it spoiled the market for the craft. We doubt if there is much substance in this latter complaint. What is clear is that there exists a market for semi-skilled labour. For this reason where the apprenticeship system is adopted there might be some justification for two forms of training, one of shorter and the other of longer duration. But it is probable that the

greater part of industrial training will still have to be provided by industry outside the limits of formal apprenticeship schemes, and it is a responsibility of industrial managements to provide these facilities. Industry should not look to government to provide these ordinary training facilities. The assistance which government provides should endeavour to supplement what is done by industry by organizing, within the limits of its resources, trade schools and technical colleges which combine some amount of theoretical instruction with its practical application.

13. In view of the scepticism which exists in some quarters about the possibility of training African labour to any considerable level of proficiency we think it right to affirm our conviction that satisfactory results can in fact be achieved. In that connexion, and in order to make our conviction more precise, we quote paragraph 296 of the report of the Carpenter Committee:

'A striking example of what can be done with African labour, given a progressive and realistic management policy, is provided by the experience of one of the colony's larger factory undertakings. The firm is part of a large organization with branches in other countries and is thus in a particularly favourable position to compare its own production figures with those of similar undertakings elsewhere. The following is a summary of the evidence submitted to us by the firm's managing director:

(a) The factory processes, which are highly specialized, follow a standard pattern and no concession is made to the fact that the labour force is African.

(b) Supervision is carried out by Europeans and by African foremen. The foremen are all skilled workers who have been trained in the factory.

(c) Overall production has doubled in the last six years and is now approximately 50 per cent of that of a factory of similar size in the United Kingdom. Individual Africans have reached standards every bit as high as those of European workers. The management confidently expects that, in a further six years' time, overall productivity will have reached 75 per cent of that in the United Kingdom.

(d) With the increase in productivity, wages have also risen and continue to rise. Present wage rates, including those of unskilled labour, are markedly higher than the *general* level of wages in the Colony.

(e) The factory works a five-day week, and production schedules are based on a system of daily plans (or group tasks). Direct production workers are employed on piece-work rates, with a guaranteed minimum wage. Other workers receive fixed wages. Foremen receive a fixed wage plus production bonus. Wages are paid at fortnightly intervals.

(f) Employees with at least twelve months' service are eligible for an annual holiday of two weeks with full pay. Long-service employees also qualify for annual bonuses related to their length of service.

(g) 80 per cent of workers are housed by the company, many on a family basis. The company's aim is to provide permanent housing for all its employees over the next few years.

(h) Free schooling is provided for employees' children, with evening classes for adults. General provision is also made for recreational and other social amenities.

(i) Labour turnover is low.'

14. We do not suppose that all industrial undertakings could provide such a wide range of amenities. Indeed, some undertakings which it is desirable to encourage are prevented from developing if they are obliged to provide

the capital required for the unduly high-grade housing of their workpeople. Therefore we do not cite the above instance as a standard model of arrangements which should always be followed, but we do cite it as an outstanding example of what can be achieved if there is a will and a determination to achieve it. Much of the scepticism which is encountered can be attributed to the false expectation that African labour which has suddenly been introduced into the strange atmosphere of modern techniques of production will, with equal suddenness and in the absence of careful preparation and training, yield the same results which are obtained with the sophisticated labour of developed countries with perhaps centuries of industrial tradition. The effective utilization of African labour depends, among other things, on the efficiency of management. In many other countries the fact that labour, by its relative scarcity, commands a high price acts as a compelling force upon managements to economize in its use; in East Africa the fact that labour is abundant, relatively to land and capital, keeps its price low and encourages much wasteful application. This is one of the reasons why, despite extremely low wage-rates, labour costs are often extremely high.

15. We think it important to stress the responsibility of management for the efficient employment of African labour. But we think it important also to emphasize certain points which are often overlooked. The mere acceptance of the principle is not in itself sufficient to ensure that it will be, or that it can be, applied. Effective management means that there are available the personnel who can apply it. Yet throughout our travels we found abundant evidence of an acute shortage of suitable persons for this purpose. As in the administration of the territories it appeared that officials were frequently overloaded with burdens and responsibilities for some of which they lacked the requisite knowledge and experience, so also in industry it appeared that there was an acute shortage of managerial ability, particularly at the intermediate level between those who were responsible for general direction and the general body of workpeople. When we keep in mind the population figures cited in chapter 3 and the small numbers of the non-indigenous peoples on whom the responsibilities of management have hitherto rested, and when we have regard also to the range and magnitude of the tasks which are being attempted in East Africa, this result need cause no surprise. For that reason, too, it is not sufficient merely to enunciate the general principle that if African labour is to be made more efficient, already overburdened administrations and managements must accept yet additional responsibilities.

16. An increased supply of labour qualified for the work of management can be secured in two ways: by encouraging immigration from abroad or by training Africans for the work. The issues raised by immigration policy are discussed in chapter 14. Here we may record that it was not generally represented to us that business undertakings experienced much difficulty in obtaining permission to recruit this type of labour from overseas. More frequently it was represented that the price which would have to be paid for managerial labour at the intermediate level was greater than the undertaking could afford. But this view was often expressed by persons who were sceptical about the success which would attend the introduction of more carefully prepared methods of management. If there were a greater conviction of the beneficial results to business efficiency from a greater attention to the management of labour, the demand for suitable immigrant labour might be expected to increase. There is no evidence before us to suggest that the existing regulations which govern immigration would make it difficult or impossible to meet that demand if it should arise. But we think it would be wrong to neglect the other source of supply. The training of Africans to perform the tasks of management would, if successful, not

merely be conducive to the greater efficiency and lower cost of business operations ; it would also provide a means whereby Africans could participate more directly in the economic development of East Africa. There is the further advantage that African supervisors are more likely to understand the mental processes of African workers than supervisors of another race. For that reason they should be better able to interpret to the higher levels of management the problems which loom large at workshop level. But there is another aspect of the situation. Those who are concerned with good administration must be alive to the importance of innovation and experimentation so that waste may be eliminated and new sources of improvement detected. This presupposes a flexibility of mind which is not to be expected in people who have so recently emerged into the mental climate of the modern world. Intellectual flexibility may, in fact, be the result of certain innate characteristics but it is also a by-product of an experience which, as yet, the African has not enjoyed. There appears to be a volume of evidence to support the view that many Africans who have acquired a considerable degree of mechanical skill, by means of which they are able to perform quite complex repetitive operations, will suddenly forget how they must proceed so that they have to start again from the beginning. It may be possible to explain this phenomenon in psychological terms. But from the standpoint of our present discussion it suggests that we should be cautious in our expectations when Africans are trained for the exercise of managerial responsibility at whatever level may be contemplated. Whereas African supervisors may, when successful, have the advantage which we mention above, the general work of administration may best be promoted by having an admixture of managerial ability of a more varied character.

17. Subject to this qualification we endorse the majority view of the Carpenter Committee that 'The ultimate solution to the problem of supervision in this country [Kenya] lies . . . in the emergence of a foreman class from among the African workers themselves.' (paragraph 305). This may be assisted either by means of special training courses, which only government could provide, or by means of T.W.I. schemes—i.e. Training Within Industry for Supervisors. It may be doubted if the first of these methods is likely to be successful under African conditions, and it may be that the second has more to commend it. We note that T.W.I. instruction has already been introduced experimentally in Tanganyika and that a fully trained officer has been attached to the Labour Department for that purpose, and we understand that it is the intention of the Government of Kenya to follow this example. This experiment should be carefully watched in spite of the limitation that at first it is likely to be more applicable to the large rather than to the smaller type of undertaking, and the further limitation that it is not apparent how it would apply to agriculture, other perhaps than plantation industry. It is not for us, however, to dogmatize on the type of training which is most likely to be effective for the purpose. Scope for experimentation is still wide. But it is our concern to point to the importance of the problem and to the manner in which we think it should be approached.

18. In some quarters there appears to be a tendency to confuse the low productivity of African labour with the comparative absence of training facilities. It is natural to suppose that skilled labour will be more efficient than unskilled labour but, even within the same grade of labour, there can be different degrees of productivity. Where reference is made to the low productivity of African unskilled labour and the bearing which this has on the wage level for unskilled labour no comparison is being made between the productivity of unskilled labour and that of skilled labour.

The low productivity of ordinary African labour is not due merely to the lack of technical skill but to a variety of factors which may include under-nourishment, poor physique, endemic disease, inadequate supervision and, in some cases, a lack of interest in ordinary economic incentives. The immigrant labour which enters Uganda from Ruanda-Urundi is notoriously of poor physique and under-nourished but improves rapidly in quality under the influence of suitable diet and good working conditions. There is still scope for the efforts of government, as expressed for example through the provisions of the Uganda Employment Ordinance (1946), to educate employers in the proper use of labour and in ways which would increase the productivity of the labour employed. We also accept the medical view that though there are not to be found in East Africa the obvious evidences of malnutrition, under-nourishment and emaciation which exists in certain other countries, there are forms of under-nourishment which affect the African's physical capacity for work. The inadequacy and the monotony of the diets which impede the productive efficiency of the African labourer may be due in part to low wages but it may be due to lack of knowledge. It is difficult to assess the degree of importance which should be attached to each of these factors and we do not attempt to do so. But we are satisfied that arrangements to provide balanced diets to African employees would have beneficial results. In Kenya, in 1953, only about 15 per cent of African workers in towns received rations as part of their wages but in rural areas the inclusion of rations in the wages was almost universal. The rations which were provided varied both in quantity and in nutritional value. We endorse the recommendation of the majority of the Carpenter Committee (paragraph 311) that the Member for Labour should exercise his powers, under section 67 of the Employment Ordinance, to prescribe ration scales and that the Area Wages Committees, if these should be appointed, should have power to vary the ration scales within their areas, subject to the approval of the Rural Wages Advisory Board. This element of flexibility is required since a uniform ration scale would not necessarily be desirable throughout the whole territory with its varying conditions of custom and climate. Moreover, the supply position might not always make it possible to adhere to a fixed and uniform scale. Where rations do not form a part of the wage payment it would be in the interests of employers either to provide meals for their workpeople or to provide facilities whereby suitable meals at reasonable prices could be obtained. We have observed that results beneficial to output have frequently followed the provision of a satisfactory meal at the beginning of the working day. We are reluctant to make it obligatory on all urban industries to provide either meals or canteen facilities and would prefer that employers could be persuaded by labour departments, where conditions are found to be unsatisfactory, to effect the appropriate improvements.

LABOUR MIGRATION

19. It is reasonable to enquire why, if greater productivity could be obtained by greater attention to the conditions we have cited, the efforts made by employers, whether on their own initiative or under pressure from government, have not been more successful. It is probable that the main factor is the impermanence of the labour employed and its reluctance to form part of a settled labour force. This in turn may be attributed to the desire of labour to maintain contact with the native areas from which it has come and where it considers that the safeguard for its security resides. It is to be observed, moreover, that this migrant labour is inefficient not merely in industry but also in agriculture. Impermanence of the labour supply adds to the costs of employing labour and lowers the price for

labour which employers are able and willing to pay; while on the other hand a labour supply which knows that it is temporary and is reluctant to settle is likely to be willing to accept a lower wage than would be acceptable to a settled labour force with its normal family commitments. In these ways, both on the side of demand for labour and on the side of labour supply, the existence of a migratory labour force of the kind which is normal in East Africa is likely to exercise a depressing effect over wages and conditions of employment. Where a tradition of migratory labour exists and where the African feels there are strong reasons for keeping his stake in the reserve when he seeks employment outside, it becomes difficult, even for progressive employers, to make the most effective use of the labour which they employ, both from their own point of view and from that of their workpeople. Apart from the fact that migrant labour is less efficient to the employer and less capable of earning a 'good' wage, the depressing effect which it exercises on the wage level makes it difficult to raise the standard of life of African wage-earners. And the social evils of overcrowding, malnutrition, prostitution, venereal disease and juvenile delinquency, which were recognized by the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Unrest in Mombasa (1945) as a by-product of the employment of migrant labour in towns, tend to be intensified until, as the Carpenter Committee noted, 'they have now reached a serious proportion.' We think it important to recognize, however, that the removal of the obstacles to the creation of settled labour does not lie solely on the side of urban industry. The creation of new forms of urban security, whether by the provision of pensions for long service, or in other ways, may not be sufficient in themselves to persuade the African to abandon whatever traditional interests he may possess in the tribal areas. Even if we could equate the alternative securities in actuarial terms, which of course is impossible, the comparison would not necessarily exercise its proper influence on the African mind, for the one security appears to him a certainty whereas the other is both novel and conditional.

20. But we have to consider the migrant labour system against a larger background. In the existing situation the migrant labour system appears to be the only one through which a considerable section of the African population can meet its needs, because the economic opportunities for more effective specialization have either been absent or have been seriously circumscribed by legal and customary restrictions. For many Africans it is not now possible to attain to a higher income level for the support of their families without working both on the land and in urban employment. This means that, given the present productivity of Africans over large parts of the rural and urban sectors of the economy, the migrant labour system appears as the most economic choice which the African can make, however socially deleterious or otherwise undesirable it may be. Notwithstanding these disadvantages the system brings about an improvement in the economic condition of those who go out in search of paid employment. It follows that, if it is desired to curtail the system, it is necessary that the production opportunities in agriculture and in industry should be such that they can yield an income in cash and in kind which will be sufficient to enable the majority who work in either sphere to avoid working temporarily in the other. The replacement of the migrant labour system cannot be effectively accomplished merely by the introduction of special devices in the urban areas, but only as the result of a successful long-term policy which includes both agricultural and non-agricultural improvement.

21. The inference which we draw from these considerations is that the creation of settled labour conditions must take time and that it will result

not from new devices suddenly introduced into the conditions of employment in urban industry but from the simultaneous pursuit of long-term agricultural and industrial policies. The illusory nature of the traditional forms of security must become increasingly apparent as Africans come to realize the logical conflict which exists between the security of the tribal subsistence economy and the desire to participate in the enjoyment of a higher standard of life. The more the African can be introduced to advantages only to be obtained through participation in the exchange economy, whether through new forms of land tenure, new opportunities for specialized production, better opportunities to market his produce on adequate terms, or in other ways, the clearer will become the illusory nature of his traditional security, and the less will be his resistance to attempts made to provide a security of another type. But while these agricultural changes are taking place the alternative advantages which can be obtained by labour in settled employment must be built up and made clear. This dual process will not be free from discouragements and frustrations. We have no illusions about the nature or magnitude of these frustrations and we are convinced that only by the persistent pursuit of an appropriate and comprehensive long term policy for both agriculture and industry can the desired results be achieved.

22. We found widespread agreement about the advantages associated with settled or stabilized labour supplies. But we detected two senses in which the term 'settled' labour was commonly used. One involved permanency of residence, either in an agricultural area or in an urban area, and the abandonment of the present practice of regular movement between the two; the other involved permanency of attachment to a particular employer. It is to the first of these that we attach particular importance from the point of view of long-term policy. The second is a matter of the labour contract. We think it desirable to consider certain aspects of the labour contract.

23. Labour contracts are generally of two kinds: one, a verbal contract for a period which may be a day, a week or a calendar month; the other, a ticket contract, which involves an undertaking on the part of the employee, in return for a specified wage, to complete 30 days work in not more than 42 days. Both types of contract are renewable and many are, in fact, renewed automatically; but they are not continuing contracts and therefore make no provision for the giving of notice by either party to terminate the agreement. There would be obvious advantages, from the point of view of creating and preserving settled labour conditions, if an obligation to give notice to terminate a contract of service could be included in the contract and if the obligation could be properly enforced. But we share the scepticism of the Carpenter Committee about the possibility of enforcing this obligation in an equitable manner. Inasmuch as enforcement of the clause would be relatively easy against the employer but almost impossible against the majority of Africans who might be involved, it would be premature to introduce legislation to give effect to the requirement. The Carpenter Committee (paragraph 340) suggested that in Kenya the Employment Ordinance might be amended to enable employers who wished to do so to include a notice clause in their contracts of service. We see no objection to this recommendation but we do not expect much from its adoption.

24. The ticket contract is mainly used in agriculture where it appears to have certain convenient features, particularly when the African is disinclined to regular or sustained work, when he wishes to devote part of his working time to his own shamba in the reserve, and when the employer may not have work continuously available for all hands every day. But

it has great drawbacks, and we agree with the Carpenter Committee that the 42 day contract period is wasteful of labour, that the system adds to the housing difficulties with which employers are confronted, and that in many instances the ticket worker is paid the same wage as the monthly contract worker to the disadvantage of the former, who is in effect deprived of payment for weekly rest days (paragraph 332). We support the recommendation of the majority of the Committee that there should be a gradual approach to the abolition of the system, and that, as a first approach, section 5 of the Employment Ordinance should be amended so as to require the completion of a ticket contract within 36 days (paragraph 334).

WAGE REGULATION

25. We come now to the problem of wage regulation. By wage regulation we mean not merely the mechanism by which wage rates are fixed but also the economic conditions which govern the various levels of wages which exist throughout industry. The second of these may be the more important, and we have already expressed our views. With regard to mechanism, the first issue concerns the case for a statutory minimum wage and the basis on which it should be determined. In Kenya the principle is applied to wages paid in urban areas and the Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Ordinance, 1951, under which the Order fixing existing rates was issued, makes it possible to vary the minimum on an area basis. The rates fixed were intended to provide a reasonable living wage for an adult male African living under urban conditions as a single person and without reference to family responsibilities. The position has recently been reviewed by the Carpenter Committee which, in its majority report, has made a series of recommendations on the policy which should be pursued in the future. Although the Committee was only concerned with wages policy in Kenya we think it proper that we should have regard to its proposals in relation to East Africa as a whole. We are indebted to the Committee for its survey and analysis of the wage problem and we feel justified in making its report the basis of our discussion.

26. The majority of the Committee found that the intention of the statutory minimum wages had been to provide a 'social safety net' which, 'while covering the cost of living of a single adult male employee working at unskilled labour, would not give him that feeling of complacent satisfaction in which he would make no effort at self-improvement.' There is little doubt that the avoidance of 'complacent satisfaction' was effectively achieved. The majority of the Carpenter Committee had no doubt that the statutory minimum had largely governed the actual wages paid to unskilled labourers in urban areas, that the statutory minimum, even when revised to take account of price changes, had failed to cover the cost of living of the type of person to whom it was related, and that the 'social safety net' had in fact 'acted like a magnet to hold down wages'. For the Carpenter Committee this was an indictment not of the principle of the statutory minimum but of the method of its calculation. Under these conditions it could not be said that the minimum wage regulations had made any contribution to the creation of settled labour forces in the urban areas.

27. We accept the principle that statutory minima should be fixed and that some upward revision of the existing minima is warranted, and we have therefore been led to consider the broad line of policy recommended by the majority of the Carpenter Committee. Certain of its detailed proposals need not concern us but the main proposals may be summarized as follows:

(a) an interim but immediate increase of Shs. 10/- a month should be added to all existing minimum wage rates with new housing allowances

based on the average economic rent of a bed-space in local authority housing locations; (b) the introduction of a new minimum wage formula in January 1955; and (c) plans should be made now, and put in hand, for changing the basis of the statutory minima from one which takes account only of the needs of a single man to one based on the needs of a family unit, and that this transition should be made over a period of ten years starting in 1956. The first interim proposal has now been passed by the Legislative Council and is in operation.

28. The first two proposals involve substantial increases on the former minima. The new formula for calculating the minimum wage, including the new housing allowance, would involve an increase in the Nairobi minimum from Shs. 59/50 to Shs. 81/-, an increase of 36 per cent, and in other urban areas the increases would be of the same order. The third proposal presupposed that the basic 'family' minimum should be assessed at two-and-a-half times the basic 'bachelor' minimum and an additional allowance for 'family' housing at the average economic rent of a minimum standard of family accommodation in local authority African housing locations. On the basis of the prices ruling at the time of the preparation of the report the full 'family' minimum wage in Nairobi to be reached by 1965 would be Shs. 232/50, or just short of four times the statutory minimum operating in 1953. We cite these figures not in order to subject them to detailed scrutiny, but in order to indicate the magnitudes which are involved in the kind of approach to the problem which was made by the majority of the Carpenter Committee, and in order to facilitate a clearer appreciation of the issues involved.

29. The Committee's approach to the problem is based upon a conception of human requirements and the importance of creating a settled labouring population in the urban districts. But 'human requirements' is an arbitrary concept which, to be effective, must be related to the wage-paying capacity of industry. In that connexion it is relevant to bring forward the following considerations:

(a) The Carpenter Committee was concerned with Kenya, but if its recommendations are accepted they should also be applicable to Uganda and Tanganyika. Even if they should not be formally adopted by the governments of these territories the fact that they would apply to the inter-territorial railway service, which is one of the largest employers of African labour, would have direct and indirect repercussions on the wage levels in these territories. And if there should be no corresponding wage movement in the other territories there is a presumption that new industries would have some inducement, other things being equal, to settle there rather than in Kenya.

(b) Substantial wage increases of the kind contemplated can hardly be expected to give rise in themselves to corresponding increases in the productive efficiency of labour in a short period. To that extent labour costs must rise. In these circumstances either the prices of locally-manufactured products and services must rise or the wage increases must be secured, wholly or in part, out of profits. There is reason to suppose that in recent years in East Africa profits have increased more rapidly than wages, and there is, therefore, some cushion to absorb some of the impact effect of higher labour costs. From the point of view of the desire to raise the economic position of African wage-earners the existence of such a cushion may suggest that the opportunity is a favourable one for the purpose. But in so far as profits are reduced, and in so far as these profits are a main source of local saving for new industrial development, the effect of these substantial wage

increases may check in some measure that development. This possible effect may be important, particularly if new industrial development is desired as a means of absorbing displaced or redundant labour from the overcrowded areas. We cannot evade this dilemma, but having regard to our acceptance of the paramount need to create a settled African labour force and eliminate or reduce the dependence of industry upon migratory African labour we cannot hesitate to endorse the broad line of policy outlined by the Carpenter Committee.

(c) The importance which is attached to the settlement of labour is based partly on the ground that settled labour can be made more efficient, and partly on the ground that the social evils associated with migratory labour cannot be dealt with adequately unless some high degree of settlement is substituted. Rehabilitation measures cannot be effective on a short-term and intermittent basis. But it would also be unreasonable to expect that an increase in the efficiency of labour would automatically follow a substantial rise in the African wage level. This result is achieved partly from the fact that work people will be better nourished and partly through the initial rise in labour costs which brings pressure to bear upon employers to use the labour they employ more effectively. This may resolve itself into a problem of labour management. But there is reason to suppose that the attractiveness of the substantially increased wage-rates to African labour will make that labour more amenable to improved methods of labour management. On the other hand some industrial labour may become initially redundant even if, in the long run, the employed labour force should continue to increase. For this reason alone, although there are others, it will be desirable to keep the policy outlined by the Carpenter Committee under constant and independent review, preferably by some body which will not be representative of sectional interests, but which will be able to view wages policy in relation to the larger economic and social issues which are involved.

(d) Another interim unemployment problem might arise if a substantial rise in the earnings of urban labour relative to the incomes of Africans outside the towns should act as a powerful magnet drawing large numbers into the towns in search of employment. In theory this danger might be avoided by measures designed to regulate and control the movement of labour into urban areas. But these measures would be impossible to administer and would not be in keeping with the greater economic mobility which it is our desire to encourage. The Carpenter Committee's majority approach was to make the 'family' minimum wage, when it was established, or any statutory minimum wage above the 'bachelor' minimum, payable only to adult male workers who satisfied an age and service qualification. These were that the adult male was not less than 21 years of age and that he had not less than 36 months' continuous employment outside the native land units, 'employment to be deemed to be continuous if there is a record of at least 32 months' actual employment in the 36-month period immediately previous to application.' This, in effect, creates a dual minimum wage system with one minimum payable to 'bachelors' and another, at least two-and-a-half times higher, to adult males who satisfy the conditions cited above. With such a disparity of wages for labour, the great bulk of which is unskilled labour, it is difficult to suppose that the proposals of the majority of the Carpenter Committee will not defeat their own object.

30. This difficulty, which they anticipated, is dealt with by the majority of the Committee in the following terms:

'We appreciate that, should our recommendations be adopted, there will be a natural tendency on the part of employers to recruit their unskilled labour

from among workers who have not qualified for the "family" minimum wage. That tendency will, to some extent, be held in check by considerations of individual efficiency and labour supply. Should it assume, however, such proportions that men with four or five years' continuous employment in urban industry find themselves suddenly discarded in favour of younger workers, consideration will have to be given to further legislative control. This could take the form either of reducing the "family" minimum age qualification to 18, or of requiring all employers to employ a specified percentage of their workers on wages at or above the "family" minimum. We are aware also that the service qualification, with its insistence on 32 months' actual employment in a period of three years, might operate with undue harshness should the Colony experience a period of large-scale unemployment consequent upon a recession in trade. In such a contingency, it would appear desirable that the service qualification should be reviewed.' (paragraph 217).

31. We are not convinced that the difficulties which would arise could be disposed of effectively by these expedients. In particular, the device of requiring all employers to engage a specified proportion of their unskilled workpeople at a wage which equalled, or exceeded, the 'family' minimum would undoubtedly give rise to serious discontent when it was observed that for the same work in the same establishment workpeople were paid at widely varying rates. Wage differentials which reflect differences in individual proficiency may be understood and accepted, but differentials based upon the operation of an external formula which has no bearing upon the efficiency of the labour employed would inevitably generate suspicion and dissatisfaction. The other suggestion that the minimum age qualification might be reduced to 18 years would add substantially to the cost of the proposals. We are unable to support the principle of a dual minimum wage which would be both inequitable and awkward to administer.

32. But apart from any immediate difficulties to which these specific recommendations might give rise, it would be unwise to lay down in advance what the minimum wage should be over a long period of years. The policy suggested by the majority members of the Carpenter Committee would be particularly dangerous where it was contemplated that the minimum should be raised by substantial amounts in each year throughout the period. If government adopted this rigid time-table for wage increases and then found that, for a variety of reasons, the time-table could not be observed, it would expose itself to a charge of breach of faith which, however unwarranted it might be, would do serious injury to its reputation as a guide and counsellor in promoting good industrial relations within the territory. We do not think that government should incur this risk. While, therefore, we accept the objective which inspired the recommendations of the majority members, we think that the implementation of the policy and the approach to a 'family' minimum wage should be determined experimentally in the light of the experience gained during the period in which the policy is being applied. It is conceivable that the 'family' basis for the statutory minimum wage might be reached more quickly than the majority of the Committee supposed; but it is just as likely that the process might be more prolonged. It is not desirable to attempt to adhere rigidly to a predetermined time-table.

33. In this connexion the experience of the United Kingdom, when minimum wage legislation was introduced in the form of the original Trade Boards (Minimum Wage) Acts, is of some value. In that legislation no attempt was made to define what the amounts of the minimum should be or the basis on which they should be calculated. The Acts were limited to the creation of suitable bodies to recommend to the appropriate minister what statutory minima should be enforced. The trade boards which were set up were, in their essence, organs of collective bargaining, established

in trades where the ordinary forms of collective bargaining did not exist, but concerned with the same type of considerations which influence the parties in ordinary collective bargaining procedure. They were created, in the first instance, to fix minimum wage rates in what were then called 'sweated' trades whose wages rates were 'exceptionally low'. Later they were extended to trades in which the Minister was 'of opinion that no adequate machinery existed for the effective regulation of wages'. There is little doubt that the success of this trade board legislation, and of the subsequent legislation which was developed out of it, derived from the fact that the statutory wage-fixing authorities saw their task as one of interpreting economic forces, not of superseding them, and this is the form of the approach which we think should be followed in East Africa.

34. In the United Kingdom there was no national minimum wage, but a series of trade minima. This was doubtless due in large measure to the fact that regular negotiating machinery of a voluntary character already existed over the greater part of industry. The legislation which was introduced represented an attempt to cover the smaller part of the industrial field in which no negotiating machinery existed. In East Africa the position appears to be somewhat different. It is only in a very minor part of the field of industrial employment that some few examples of voluntary negotiating machinery can be said to exist. Moreover, unskilled labour in East African industry probably has a more homogeneous character than the corresponding labour in the United Kingdom had even in the first decade of the present century. Consequently, there may be a stronger case for the creation of a national minimum in East Africa, or in any one of the territories, even if this national minimum is subject to area or regional differentials. It is important that this national minimum should not be regarded as a substitute for wage-fixing machinery on a trade or industrial basis. Already some little progress in this latter direction has been made but it is still the exception rather than the rule. We recommend that in each of the territories there should be a national minimum wage, with area differentials as in Kenya, but that every effort should be made to promote wages councils in clearly demarcated trades and industries and that these councils should be responsible for recommending to the appropriate minister the legal minimum wages for all categories of workpeople in the trade or industry with which they are concerned and not just for the unskilled workpeople. In Kenya two such wages councils have already been established.

35. If this recommendation is accepted it becomes important that the national minimum should not be pushed to too high a level. Otherwise the freedom of action of the various wages councils, or other forms of wage fixing machinery, in fixing both their own trade or industrial minima for unskilled labour, and the various differentials for skilled labour, will be seriously weakened. We do not minimize the importance of having regard to the wages of unskilled labour, but we are also concerned with industrial development and the prospects for African skilled labour. A relatively high national minimum wage for unskilled labour is liable to lead to a narrowing of the differentials for skilled labour and thus to a weakening of the advantages which accrue to the African from whatever training in industrial skills may be available to him.

NEGOTIATING MACHINERY

36. We attach particular importance to the composition of these wages councils and of the body which recommends to the appropriate minister the amount of the statutory national minimum wage. Employers' interests can be represented without difficulty but it is a matter of extreme difficulty

to secure adequate representation of the interests of workpeople. We think it important, too, that as far as possible the representatives of the workpeople should contain a strong African element. In the first instance, as in the United Kingdom when trade boards were first created, it may be necessary to draw the representation of workers from persons who are not themselves workpeople. What is mainly important is that the individuals who are selected should be able to speak with knowledge and authority. There are also good reasons why the independent element on these bodies should be strong and vigorous. The fact that governments are themselves large employers of labour may make it difficult on occasion for 'official' representatives to be as impartial in their approach to particular issues as the circumstances of the case would require. In any case, government's interest is sufficiently safeguarded by the fact that the recommendations of these bodies would require the confirmation of the minister before they could be enforced. We have grounds for supposing that it is possible, in the East African territories, to obtain the services of individuals of knowledge, standing, and integrity to exercise the functions of independent members of these statutory bodies, and it is because we have confidence in that possibility that we recommend the three governments to pursue with vigour the creation of the statutory bodies which we have described.

37. We have been led to examine the possibility and desirability of evolving a system of industrial relations in which trade unions play a significant role. Already several attempts have been made under the auspices and guidance of government to promote this type of development. We cannot say that the policy has met with much success. Even in Kenya, where in 1952 there were some 40,000 members of registered trade unions, the membership figures give an exaggerated notion of their effective strength and authority. Indeed, the attempt to encourage the growth of trade unions on the British model is likely, for some time to come, to represent an expenditure of effort which might be employed more effectively in other directions.

38. The reasons why Africans in East Africa display so little interest in trade unionism are not difficult to discover. Some of them have their counterpart even in Great Britain today. We cite some of the more important : (a) the ordinary African still has a background of peasant agriculture and this background dominates his interests even when he is a wage-earner in the towns ; (b) industry is still in an early stage of development and urban employment has not ceased to be a novel experience ; (c) a large part of urban employment is obtained by labourers who are migrant in the sense which has already been described in our Report. To be effective, a trade union must be a stable and continuous association of workpeople, but stability and continuity are not readily to be found in urban employment where the stable labour force is so small ; (d) many of the matters, such as working hours, overtime rates and, in some cases, minimum rates of wages, which in the United Kingdom would normally be dealt with by the ordinary procedure of collective bargaining, are in East Africa dealt with by legislation ; and (e) the organizing experience and ability which are required if trade unions are to be effective are not readily to be found in a people so recently introduced into the climate of the modern world.

39. By way of contrast we have been impressed by some of the recent attempts to build up works councils and joint staff committees. In Uganda in 1953 there were already 38 joint staff committees covering some 30,000 workpeople. In Tanganyika there are now 7 fully constituted committees, mainly in the port industry. Others are in the course of formation. These joint bodies may consider any matter affecting the conditions of employment,

including wages. It would be premature to pass final judgment on these experiments but they should be encouraged and their results should be carefully watched. They have the advantage that they compel their members to focus their attention on matters about which they are likely to have some personal knowledge, and they may provide a training in negotiating which may prove to be of considerable value at a later stage of industrial development.

40. This procedure should be adopted in particular in undertakings which are classified as 'essential services'. This is done, for example, in Tanganyika in the case of undertakings so classified under the Schedule to the Trade Disputes (Arbitration and Settlement) Ordinance, 1950, the object being to create simple forms of consultative machinery which can ventilate grievances and complaints on the part of the workers and, at the same time, give simple experience of joint consultation. But the advantages are in no way confined to the airing of workers' grievances. The same machinery gives to employers an opportunity to explain to their workpeople matters of policy which can so often be the subject of misunderstanding and therefore of suspicion.

41. We have considered the arrangements which exist for the settlement of industrial disputes. We think it important that in East Africa these arrangements should be as simple as possible. The existing arrangements appear to satisfy that test. The Trade Disputes (Arbitration and Settlement) Ordinance in Tanganyika, for example, provides that in the first instance a dispute shall be subject to the conciliation efforts of the Department of Labour and that if conciliation fails the matter in dispute may, with the consent of both parties, be referred to an Arbitration Tribunal. In the case of disputes arising in any of the essential services there may be resort to compulsory arbitration within a prescribed period of time during which a stoppage of work is unlawful. We propose no changes in these arrangements. At a later stage of industrial development it might be advantageous to introduce arrangements of a more formal character.

B. Rural Labour

42. We have so far confined our discussion of wages policy in the main to the problems which arise in connexion with urban employment, but we cannot ignore the corresponding problems in rural areas. In Kenya, minimum wage legislation is limited in its application to specified municipalities and townships. This means that rural labour employed in agriculture, saw-milling, mining and quarrying, in trading centres and in government and local authority services is excluded from its provisions. The problem here is complicated by the variety of elements which may form part of the normal remuneration. Housing of widely varying standards may be provided; rations varying in quantity and in quality may be supplied; and there may or may not be a plot of land to cultivate. The cash element in the normal remuneration cannot therefore be standardized.

43. The absence of any reasonable degree of standardized practice in the manner in which much of this labour is remunerated makes it impracticable at present to contemplate any statutory method of wage-fixing for agricultural labour, but this will not always be true and when conditions are favourable fresh consideration should be given to the statutory procedure. Meantime, if urban wages are raised, some secondary influence will be felt on wages in rural areas which are in close proximity to the towns. We share the view of the majority of the Carpenter Committee that in Kenya the Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Ordinance should be

so amended that it becomes possible to set up a Rural Wages Advisory Board and that area wages committees should be appointed to advise the Rural Wages Advisory Board on matters relating to employment within their areas. These bodies would be able to keep under review the improvement of employment conditions in rural areas and the possibility of implementing, when circumstances permit, the introduction of a statutory wage-fixing procedure.

44. This line of approach promises greater success than the immediate introduction of an elaborate administrative machine which could not cope with the complex task which would confront it. The new bodies which we have in mind should be adequately representative both of rural employers and rural employees and should contain a strong and well-informed nucleus of independent members. Their existence would go some distance to prevent the usurpation of these functions by other bodies unsuitable for the purpose. We cannot, for example, nor did the majority of the Carpenter Committee, support the growing tendency on the part of county and district councils in Kenya to concern themselves with the wages and conditions of employment in their administrative areas. The suggestion has even been made that these councils should be empowered to supervise the enforcement of employment legislation in their areas by a delegation of authority from the Department of Labour. This would be a most retrograde step. These councils are politically elected bodies and are almost exclusively representative of the interests of employers. For this reason alone they would be unsuitable bodies either to enforce existing legislation or to prepare new standards for enforcement. But from what has been said earlier in this chapter it should be clear that we attach importance to an arrangement which will associate responsible African opinion with the statutory machinery by which minimum wages and conditions are recommended and determined.

RESIDENT LABOUR ON NON-AFRICAN FARMS

45. We come now to the rather particular problems which arise out of the employment of resident African families on non-African farms and which call for more detailed consideration. For the most part these problems are confined to Kenya. Although they involve problems of labour they are also bound up with questions of land use. The question of the permanent residence of African families on land in the Highlands and in forest reserves requires special attention because the present situation cannot be regarded as satisfactory and because the scarcity of highly productive land in Kenya makes it imperative that the best use is made of what is available.

46. There is evidence that as early as 1904 the new European settlers in Kenya encouraged African families to live on their farms. The settlers required labour and they frequently held areas of uncleared land which could be prepared for farming operations by allowing African families to practise their shifting methods of cultivation. The absence of many European farmers during the First World War, the early years of uncertainty regarding methods of farming, and doubts as to profitability, accentuated the need for labour which was cheap in cash outlay and, since there was little prospect that farms would be brought immediately into full production, the uncontrolled use of part of the farmer's land was held out as an inducement to the African to offer his services. There was also an advantage to the African. A cash economy was new to him and the opportunity to cultivate more land than he could obtain in his own area, together with the opportunity to graze stock in areas previously debarred to him by the fear of Masai raids, encouraged many families to accept the conditions which were offered.

47. The numbers of resident labourers on farms increased steadily. In 1933 the Kenya Land Commission estimated that the total of men, women and children amounted to about 150,000 of whom 110,000 were thought to be Kikuyu. In 1945 a labour census gave the total number of resident labourers and members of their families on farms and in the forest areas as 203,000. Subsequent estimates, based on labour returns and censuses, indicate little change prior to the declaration of the state of emergency in 1952, but the observations of administrative officers on the exodus of Kikuyu from farms back to their reserves give some grounds for believing that the previous figures were understatements, particularly as regards the number of dependants. The exact figures may be uncertain but we think it safe to say that during the last decade something like a quarter of a million people have depended for their livelihood on income obtained by resident labourers on European farms and in the forest areas which lie within the boundaries of the Highlands.

48. It was not long, however, before some of the disadvantages of this 'squatter' system became apparent. Farmers found that the African was bringing excessive numbers of stock on to their land, spreading disease and causing soil deterioration; and as the numbers of resident labourers increased so did the collection on the farm of undesirable elements, leading to an increase in stock thefts and other unlawful acts.

49. The Administration also became concerned about uncontrolled squatting by Africans both on the farms and on Crown land outside the reserves, and a first step to introduce control was taken in 1912 when, under the Native Authorities Ordinance, district officials were empowered to move back into the reserves Africans who were occupying unalienated Crown land, if these Africans belonged to tribes for whom land had at that time been set aside. The main reason given for this measure was the prevalence of stock thefts.

50. This first sign that the close proximity of Africans to European farmers necessitated some measure of control if the introduction of modern methods of farming and animal husbandry was to progress, was followed in 1918 by an Ordinance which sought directly to control the resident labour on farms. The preamble to this Ordinance indicates that the residence of African labourers on farms was considered in general to be desirable, although some control was thought to be necessary. It reads:

'Whereas it is desirable to encourage resident labourers on farms and take measures for the regulation of squatting or living of natives in places other than those appointed for them by the Government. . . .'

The Ordinance embodied measures which are today the foundation of the existing legislation. It provided for contracts to be entered into between the occupiers of farms and resident labour, for magistrates to order unemployed Africans living on farms to return to their reserves, and for the regulation of African stock on farms.

51. From this time onwards the legislation reflects a steadily increasing recognition that the uncontrolled African use of land on farms was incompatible with the best use of the land from the standpoint of those farmers who had the capital and knowledge necessary for modern long-term development. At the same time it reflects the fact that farmers who lacked the cash resources to develop their land rapidly should not be debarred from proceeding with development by means of low wage labour attracted by the offer of some land to supplement the income received in wages. It is this conflict between farmers with varying capital resources and with farms at

varying stages of development which has resulted in the different degrees of control and the different conditions under which resident labourers are permitted to use farm land.

52. The 1918 legislation was replaced by a more comprehensive Ordinance in 1925, and the Resident Labourers Ordinance which, subject to some subsequent amendments, stands on the Statute Book today, was passed in 1937. This Ordinance was not brought into effect, however, until 1940 because the Secretary of State for the Colonies wished to be satisfied that no African would be turned off a farm until he could be accommodated on suitable land elsewhere.

53. The present legislation is applied to the whole of the Highlands and to that part of Nyanza Province which falls within the jurisdiction of the Nyanza District Council. It is designed to ensure that no Africans can live on alienated land in these areas unless they have entered into contracts as resident labourers, or are on contracts of employment under the Employment of Servants' Ordinance, or are in possession of a permit allowing temporary residence of not more than fourteen days, or are pensioners living on the land with the permission of the occupier. The Ordinance empowers district councils to limit the numbers of resident labourers on any farm, to control their cultivation and stock and to determine the number of days in a year that they are obliged to work for the occupier of the land. The powers of district councils to control the numbers of resident labour, their cultivation and their stock extend also to the forest areas within their boundaries. The powers in respect of resident labourers are exercised by the making of orders which, after scrutiny by the Standing Committee for Local Government, require the approval of the Governor in Council. The Governor in Council may reject these orders, or refer them back to district councils, but he cannot initiate the making of new orders.

54. The history of the use by district councils of the powers conferred on them shows the objectives and the conflicting circumstances to which we have referred in paragraph 51. Although the orders may show some vacillation of policy, particularly in the Uasin Gishu, they have resulted in most areas in a progressive limitation of cultivation and stock. In the slump years of the early 1930's the low prices obtained for cereals encouraged farmers to turn over more to livestock and in consequence they wanted the land which was being used by resident labourers for grazing; while later there was a general intensification of farming practices with a growing appreciation that land cultivated by resident labourers could be more profitably utilized under proper farm management.

55. The first orders, issued by district councils in 1943, made generous provision both for land for cultivation and for the numbers of stock which could be kept. Furthermore, there is some evidence that little was done to enforce the orders in a rigid manner. During the four years which followed, however, district councils made a series of orders reducing the acreage which resident labourers could cultivate and the numbers of stock which they could keep, and in 1946 the first signs of uneasiness on the part of the Africans who were affected became apparent when many resident labourers refused to enter into new contracts drawn up in accordance with the order of the Naivasha District Council imposing a limit of 15 sheep a family and one acre of cultivation for each wife up to a maximum of two acres. A report of that time states that:

'This meant a very drastic reduction in the cultivation and livestock which had been enjoyed by many resident labourers in the Naivasha area for years past. Although the matter had been very thoroughly discussed for several

years beforehand, and although every effort was made to explain the new rules to the local Kikuyu, large numbers refused to accept the reductions or to sign contracts. A complete deadlock continued for some months, despite the intervention of officers of the Administration and the Labour Department. A number of resident labourers preferred to be discharged rather than stay on the new terms. Some of the more recalcitrant were signed off. Eventually by patient and firm handling the remainder were induced to sign contracts and return to work.'

56. By 1949 the diversity of the conditions imposed by the orders made by the various district councils was remarkable. They varied from allowing as many as five acres cultivation a family down to a minimum of two acres a family, and from no restrictions on numbers of livestock down to no livestock at all. The process of reducing livestock and cultivation has continued in recent years, notably in the various district council wards of the Nyanza Province all of which have imposed differing conditions to meet a variety of local requirements.

57. In certain areas, as in the Uasin Gishu, the need to regulate the numbers of resident labourers' livestock as a measure of disease control assumed primary importance. It is the custom of most African tribes to spread the family holding of cattle over a wide area as an insurance against disease and famine. Consequently, in a herd grazed by any particular family it is common to find animals belonging to a number of other families. This practice, together with the transfer of stock resulting from bride price payments, leads to a considerable movement of livestock, and when the movement takes place between African areas where dipping is not practised and European farms in 'clean' areas, the danger of introducing disease is great. This, among other things, led the Uasin Gishu District Council to make progressive reductions in the numbers of stock held by resident labourers. At one time the orders provided for the eventual removal of all livestock, but recently they have been amended to allow for an ultimate holding of not more than 40 head of cattle and 20 head of sheep or goats belonging to resident labour on any one farm. In this area the resident labourers consisted largely of Nandi who were primarily stock people and the numbers of stock involved were considerable. The District Council considered that it was incumbent upon the Central Government to provide the administrative machinery for enforcing their orders, and an extensive organization was set up to conduct auctions and to enforce the orders of the Council. This organization removed some 20,000 head of cattle from the Uasin Gishu farms in the first year of its operation.

58. In 1949 the Ordinance was amended to permit magistrates to confiscate stock in excess of the number permitted by a district council's order and to sell the stock, the proceeds of the sale being paid to the owner. In the same year it was made an offence for an African not on contract to cultivate more than half an acre, and for any African on contract to cultivate more than he was allowed under his contract. Thus a penal sanction was added to the normal remedies of the law for breach of contract.

59. One effect of this progressively restrictive legislation was to reduce the real income of the resident labourer and his family. This can be illustrated from the Nakuru District where, in 1946, the orders made by the District Council permitted each resident labourer to cultivate $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land and to keep up to 15 sheep or goats, and where in 1953 the orders which applied to certain wards in the District reduced the cultivation to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres and forbade the keeping of any stock.

60. A sample census carried out by a labour officer in 1946 showed that those resident labourers and their families who derived their income from wages, the cultivation of land and the keeping of stock, obtained an annual average of Shs. 187/- from cash wages, the equivalent of Shs. 358/- in cash from cultivation and Shs. 198/- from stock. The cash wage, therefore, represented about 25 per cent of the cash value of the total income of the family. The average cash wages of a resident labourer in 1946 in this area were approximately Shs. 12/- a month, and we observe, from the report of the Committee on African Wages in 1954, that in 1953 the average cash wage of a resident labourer in the Nakuru District was Shs. 16/- a month. The wages part of the income of a resident labourer's family had, therefore, risen by about one third. If we assume that with the enforcement of the 1953 order the quantity of produce from cultivation was reduced in proportion to the reduction in acreage, that is from $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and that the income from stock disappeared, it would appear that, whereas the 25 per cent of the total income derived from cash wages was increased by one third, the 75 per cent of the total income attributable to cultivation and stock was reduced by more than one third on account of the removal of stock alone. The 1946 sample census showed that the produce of cultivation was consumed by the family to the extent of almost half its value. Consequently a two-fifths reduction in quantity under the 1953 order left only one-tenth of the total produce to be sold for cash as against a half in 1946. It would have required at least a five-fold increase in the cash values of produce over the period to leave the cash position of the labourer unchanged so far as his crops were concerned. Thus, even leaving out of account the general depreciation in the value of money, and despite the rise in cash wages, the resident labourer's income was materially reduced by the implementation of the 1953 orders.

61. Throughout the period in which the squatting system developed, some thirty or forty years in the case of some families, the resident labourer had been dependent for the livelihood of himself and his family on the income which he derived from wages and from the land which his family cultivated and the stock which he retained on the farm. In many cases he had abandoned, or disposed of, any rights which he possessed in the reserve occupied by his tribe. This fact is borne out by the evidence of administrative officers and chiefs who were concerned with the reabsorption of Kikuyu resident labourers in the reserves during the present emergency conditions in Kenya. Many of the resident labourers were people who in any case had possessed no land rights in the reserves.

62. It was natural that the European farmer should wish to use his own land to the greatest advantage by applying modern farming methods and maintaining improved livestock. In fact if he did not take this course he could only farm profitably over a short term at the cost of ruining his land. But the long-term interests of the farmer, in so far as they were endangered by the uncontrolled activities of resident labourers, have been safeguarded by legislation, whereas no legislative measures have been taken to protect the resident labourer from a lowering of his real income. This was a serious omission and it has been the cause of much discontent which was avoidable.

63. It was clear from the evidence we received that there is a divergence of opinion among European farmers in Kenya about the desirability of retaining the resident labour system. In areas where 'extensive' development is taking place the resident labourer is still found to be a cheap and convenient medium for getting land cleared. There are also some farms where odd patches of broken land cannot be fully utilized under modern methods

of mechanical farming, but which can be used for peasant farming by resident labourers. In addition some farmers consider that cultivation by resident labourers and the grazing of their stock can be integrated into a farming system even when conditions necessitate 'intensive' methods. On the other hand, the general opinion, particularly in the more intensive mixed farming areas, was that the resident labourer was wasteful of land, that his stock introduced problems which did not permit of sound livestock improvement, and that the system should be changed to that of a cottage labourer or a labourer on a monthly contract wage basis.

64. From the point of view of the resident labourer there can be little doubt that in the early days the system held out income-earning opportunities and a chance to maintain his stock and much of his customary way of life. Herein lay its attraction to him, and when income-earning opportunities were reduced and the retention of stock was seriously affected by the legislation which we have described and the introduction of penal sanctions, there is no doubt that the system lost much of its attractiveness. By this time, however, many resident labourers had lost their land rights in the reserves, and income-earning opportunities in other directions sufficient to support a family were hard to find. That a search was being made for these opportunities, however, is indicated by the considerable exodus of Kikuyu resident labourers to the Arusha and Moshi areas of Tanganyika.

65. In considering the problem we should have clearly before us what it is we intend to achieve. African labour is required on farms in the Highlands, and such is the congestion on the land in most of the more productive parts of the reserves that it is important that the Highlands areas should make their own contribution towards the solution of the problem. Little contribution is made if the families of the farm labourers have to supplement family incomes by using land in the reserves, while there will be no satisfactory livelihood for the farm labourer in the Highlands unless he has an opportunity of earning an income which will support him and his family. We think that the objective should be to bring about conditions whereby the labourer is able to earn the maximum income which the product of his labour warrants in conditions of security and stability, and that his labour should be afforded such direction and supervision as will raise his efficiency and enhance his income-earning capacity.

66. It may be that the setting aside of specific areas on farms for cultivation by resident labourers and for grazing their stock will conflict with the objective of getting the greatest product from the land. If this is so, it would seem to follow that the more productive use of the land, being more profitable, would warrant the payment of higher wages to compensate the resident labourer for the loss of other income-earning opportunities. Mr. L. G. Troup, in his report on the general economy of farming in the Highlands, gave his opinion that the 'all-in cost of labour amounts to two-thirds of that on a British farm expressed in terms of effective output', and that the productivity of labour would be increased by its more economical use, organization and supervision.

67. As a first step towards ensuring that the African farm labourer receives wages commensurate with the product of his labour he should be enabled to offer his services where he will, without being tied to a particular farm because he has no alternative place of residence for his family. This condition could only be brought about by providing farm labourers and their families with the opportunity of enjoying living conditions and reasonable social amenities which are not tied to their employment. We recommend,

therefore, that the Government should purchase or, if necessary, compulsorily acquire land in suitable places in the Highlands for the purpose of enabling farm workers to rent village dwelling plots on long leases on which they would build houses for their families in accordance with minimum standards of health and layout. These rural labourers' villages should be administered by an appropriate local authority, but it is essential that control should be exercised in such a manner as to give the lessees of plots confidence that they are no more likely to be disturbed in their occupancy than is any lessee of urban property who has to comply with health and other normal urban regulations. Something more than a bare plot on which to erect a dwelling house is necessary and we consider that further land should be acquired to be leased as allotments on which the families of labourers could make some contribution to their food requirements.

68. We appreciate that objections may be raised in the Highlands to the use of land for this purpose. It should, however, be borne in mind that something like a quarter of a million Africans (resident labourers and their families) have been living in the Highlands for many years. It is true that they have been living under conditions of short-term contract, but many contracts have been repeatedly renewed, and it cannot be to the detriment of the European farming community to replace the existing arrangements by conditions which will save much land for more effective farm production and, at the same time, allow the African labourer and his family to enjoy a sense of security which at present he lacks.

69. We also appreciate that it may not suit some farmers to have their key labour living elsewhere than on the farm, but there is no reason why employment contracts freely entered into should not continue to provide for the housing of the employee and his family. When, however, it comes to providing land as an additional source of income for the employee and his family, this should be done under a lease which is not conditional upon the continuing employment of the lessee on a particular farm.

70. The Kenya Land Commission in referring to the squatter problem in paragraph 1976 of its Report said:

'In our view, care should be taken to ensure that the essence of the contract is a labour contract, the employee being allowed, for his greater comfort, to keep the number of cattle which are necessary for his use. But if he is allowed to keep more than that number the character of the contract changes in effect, until it is predominantly a tenancy contract, which, in our opinion, ought to be prevented, as being contrary to the purpose for which the European Highlands have been reserved.'

In our view this overlooks the fact that the tying together of labour and land use in a single contractual arrangement tends to depress both wages and the supplementary income derived from cultivation and stock. This is owing to the labourer's fear that if he attempts to win an increase in one of his sources of income he may lose the other.

71. In addition to giving the rural labourer the opportunity to select his employment, without being tied by the residence of his family to a particular farm, he should in due course be afforded the protection which is given to labour in other industries by means of minimum wage legislation.

72. The provision of land on farms to be leased to African tenants should be dependent upon the following circumstances. First, it should be dependent on the willingness of owners to set aside portions of their farms for this purpose, unless steps are taken by the Government to acquire land in the manner described in chapter 23 of this Report. Secondly, land should not be set aside for this purpose unless it is suitable for farming in the form of

adequate African small-holdings, and unless an economically efficient farming unit remains after the land for tenancies has been set aside. These are matters which should be determined by the territorial Land Development Board, since they form part of the solution of a territory-wide problem. They should not be left to purely local consideration.

73. The tenancies should be subject to the conditions which we have recommended generally in respect of landlord-tenant relationships in chapter 23; they must be of sufficient length to facilitate sound farming practices by the tenant. In general the Land Development Board should not approve or initiate any tenancy scheme unless it is satisfied that it is consistent with sound land use. The tenants would, of course, be subject to the law relating to plant and animal disease control and to any rules which may be considered necessary for maintaining a proper relationship between animals and the carrying capacity of the land.

74. The application of these recommendations would not meet the case of the labourer who has retained no land rights in his reserve, who cannot command a cash wage sufficient to support himself and his family and who finds that he is unable to lease land for his family to cultivate. These persons, together with their families, can only be offered a chance of satisfactory livelihood under the resettlement schemes initiated under the Land Development Board to which we refer in chapter 22.

RESIDENT LABOUR IN THE FOREST ESTATE

75. In the past the forest estate in Kenya has been operated productively by the grant of concessions to commercial saw-millers to fell areas of indigenous timbers, and by the Forestry Department which plants up the cleared areas, mainly with exotic softwoods. Into this form of development the resident labourer has been closely integrated. The clear-felling of the indigenous timber is followed by a year of fallow which in turn is followed by a year in which resident labourers and their families are allowed to plant the cleared area with maize, potatoes, beans or peas. In the third year trees are planted and food crops are again cultivated without interfering with the growth of the trees and, in fact, assisting it. In the fourth year crops are planted once more and the labourer starts to prepare the next piece of clear-felled ground for planting with crops. Thereafter the process is repeated. This system has the advantage of giving the young trees a good start at a low planting cost, of protecting them against the depredations of big game and of providing the resident labourers with a substantial part of their income from the crops grown.

76. To-day there are approximately 120,000 acres of plantation timber in Kenya but it has been estimated that out of the total of three and three-quarter million acres of reserved forest in the Colony at least a million acres are suitable for plantation development. Thus, if capital is available and plantation timber production continues to be profitable, the possibilities of expansion and of providing increasing numbers of Africans with income-earning opportunities within the forest estate are considerable. In 1946 it was estimated that resident labourers and their families living in the forest areas numbered about 37,000. Rather more than half were employed by the Forestry Department and the remainder by commercial saw-millers. From the reports of the Forestry Department this number appears to have risen to something like 45,000 by 1950.

77. The resident labourers in the forest areas are subject to the law regulating resident labourers generally in so far as they are required to

enter into contracts with their employers—the Forestry Department or the saw-millers—and they are allowed to reside in the forest under permits issued by the district council within whose area the forest lies.

78. The position of the forest labourer in the forests is similar to that of his counterpart on the farms in that they both derive only a small part of their income from cash wages, the balance being obtained from the land. There is, however, one fundamental difference in that the use of farm land by the 'squatter' frequently is in direct conflict with any more productive alternative use of the land, whereas cultivation by the forest squatter is complementary to the use of the land for the growing of trees. Furthermore the shifting cultivation demanded by the forest rotation suits the African, and the high yields from virgin forest soil afford him some compensation for the restriction on the keeping of livestock necessitated by the interests of forestry.

79. It is not possible within the forest estate to bring about the precise conditions of security of residence combined with a free choice in the selection of employment which we have recommended for farm labour, because the choice of an employer is necessarily limited.

80. We recommend that labour policy within forest areas should be directed to the following ends:

(a) The payment of wages which are in line with those paid for work of a comparable nature outside the forest estate. Wages should not take into account that forest labour has other income-earning opportunities.

(b) Leases for periods to fit in with the rotation should be offered in respect of land to be cleared and stumped and planted with crops and later with trees. Rent should be required for these leases and the conditions should embody the particular functions to be performed by the lessee on the holding in question. Failure to carry out the conditions should entail cancellation of the lease.

(c) Specific areas should be permanently demarcated within the forest estate for the establishment of villages comprised of residential and commercial plots. These village sites should be properly laid out and should provide residential plots and land for small allotments for at least the number of persons who are likely to be employed in the particular rotating forest block within which the village is situated. The conditions of the lease should offer security as long as certain minimum health and building standards are maintained. The garden allotments to be made available on lease should be only of sufficient size to give the families of those labourers who do not take leases of forest holdings some employment and household vegetables. They should not be of a size which will support a family.

(d) Forest working plans should be prepared in line with the dual policy of a sustained maximum forestry yield and the maintenance of a permanent force of forest labourers together with their families. It may be that the attainment of the second objective will necessitate some modification of the first; for example, the most economic reforestation methods may be achieved by natural regeneration, whereas the provision of land for leasing by labour at the end of a rotation may necessitate the more expensive afforestation method of stumping and replanting.

(e) Agents of the Provincial Administration should be established for the administration of Africans living within the forest estate. Among their functions they should ensure that African labour obtains the full protection of the leases which they have taken up, and they should be responsible for forest villages and for the social and welfare services connected with them.

The officer in charge of the forests' administrative division should not be under the Conservator of Forests although he would have to work in the closest association with that officer. Matters of policy concerning the administration of persons resident within the forest estate should be the joint responsibility of the Minister for African Affairs and the Minister for Agriculture and Natural Resources, and the present responsibility of district councils should cease to extend to forest areas.

81. As a result of these recommendations Africans living within the forest estate would be able to obtain security of residence for themselves and their families, and should also be able to earn income as wage earners, or from leased forest holdings, or from both. Those who are solely wage earners or pensioners would have also an opportunity of taking leases of garden allotments. We appreciate that the establishment of village sites and of allotments will take up considerable quantities of valuable forest land, but we consider that the advantages to be gained from establishing a permanent and contented African community within the forests far outweighs this loss.

C. Other Methods for Promoting the Stabilization of Labour

82. It has been represented to us that the creation of conditions favourable to the growth of settled, as distinct from migrant, labour might be facilitated by the introduction of certain other inducements. These include better housing conditions for urban workers, priority of access to educational facilities for the children of Africans living in towns and settled areas, and the extension of provident fund schemes and the introduction of old age pensions. The problems of African education and African housing are discussed in chapters 16 and 19 of this Report, and in Kenya a special Social Security Committee is now examining the desirability and practicability of providing by legislation for the social security of employees in their old age. The same Committee is also considering the problem of housing retired workers in urban areas.

83. We understand that the Kenya Government has accepted the recommendations of the majority of the Carpenter Committee (a) that, as far as possible, housing schemes should embody the concept of the 'neighbourhood unit', with provision for schools, health centres, shops, recreational and other amenities, and security services; and (b) that adequate provision should be made for tenant-purchase and builder-owner schemes, and that the recommendations are being implemented by Government and local authorities. Our views on these two questions are to be found in chapter 19.

84. We understand also that the Kenya Government has accepted two further recommendations of the majority of the same Committee: that in the towns and settled areas priority for education should be given to the children of Africans living and working in these areas; and that English should be taught at the lowest possible educational level and that the possibility of teaching English through a system of adult education should be explored. We welcome these decisions and hope that a similar line of policy will be adopted by the Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika, modified where necessary in the light of local circumstances.

85. We have not been able to examine in detail the possibility of extending the scope of provident fund schemes or of introducing a state scheme of old age pensions. At present, in Kenya, some 37,000 African workers are eligible for some form of retirement benefit under their terms of employment. Of this number about 90 per cent are employed in the service of the Kenya Government or of the East Africa High Commission. In addition an unknown, but not inconsiderable, number of Africans receive *ex gratia* pensions or gratuities upon retirement. It is clear that, as an inducement to labour to become settled, a retirement pension or gratuity which does not form part of the recognized terms of employment is not likely to have much effect. It is also clear that if industry generally wishes to encourage the growth of a settled labour force it must do more than it has done to organize regular pension funds for its employees. We are informed, moreover, that in agricultural employment provident fund schemes have not yet been introduced.

86. Schemes operated by a small number of firms, however excellent they may be in themselves, cannot make much contribution to the stabilization of labour. Labour which is 'stabilized', in the sense in which that term is used, is not labour which has been rendered immobile. It should always be possible for a workman to move from the service of one employer to another without jeopardizing the rights to which he is entitled under his conditions of employment. It is for that reason, among others, that there is a balance of advantage in provident fund schemes or retirement pension schemes which are operated by the state. In principle we think that the governments of the three territories should consider the possibility of organizing such schemes, and that they should examine the experience of similar schemes in India and Malaya, having regard both to the cost of these schemes and the difficulties of administration.

87. But while we commend these devices, as well as the other changes which have the same objective of promoting more settled labour conditions, we do not suppose that their beneficial effects will be felt quickly. To large numbers of Africans they will still appear novel and there will be an apparent uncertainty about their operation. It is essential that these measures should form part of a larger and more comprehensive policy for expanding the income of the territories and that they should not be regarded as adequate by themselves. It is also important that this larger policy should be pursued with such a degree of continuity that results which may not be conspicuous in the short period may accrue over the longer period.

CHAPTER 16

Health and Education

1. By the terms of our Commission we were told to hold ourselves free to examine, and where necessary to comment upon, policy in such related fields as, for example, education and public health, which appeared to have a bearing on the problems with which we are primarily concerned, and in particular the extent to which existing technical training facilities are adequate to meet the requirements of extensive industrial development.

A. Public Health

2. In the course of our enquiries, we have been made aware that many urgent problems of public health remain to be solved, and medical witnesses have stressed the necessity for an early expert examination of these. We may instance control measures for endemic and epidemic diseases appropriate to widely differing physical conditions the relative importance to be attached to preventive and curative medicine, medical education and problems of nutrition. All these problems, and the list is not exclusive, have an obvious bearing on the improvement of African standards of living, but we are not competent to suggest solutions. We are, however, sufficiently impressed with their importance to give strong support to the suggestion that a high-level expert body should be appointed at an early date to examine and report on the whole matter.

B. Education

3. The pioneers of education work in East Africa have been missionaries, and until the last thirty years they had a practical monopoly. Missions of various kinds and denominations, sometimes disguised in official publications under the name of 'voluntary agencies', still control about three quarters of the schools, but there has been a gradual expansion of financial help, direction and control by government who have also schools of their own. Indeed, it may be said that during the last thirty years there is no department of government activity which has been more constantly under expert examination and review than that of education. In Uganda, from the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1924 to the de Bunsen Committee of 1952, the educational set-up has been examined and reported on by no less than twelve special committees or eminent individuals. Similarly in the other two territories, the subject of education has been under constant review by those who have greater knowledge and experience than we can claim in this field. Education in Tanganyika was the subject of a detailed enquiry some years ago and this resulted in the Ten Year Plan of 1947. In Kenya, there has been a comprehensive overhaul by a strong committee under Dr. Beecher, now Bishop of Mombasa, whose report was described to us as the educational bible of Kenya, and the whole of the law relating to education in Kenya has been revised in the light of the Beecher report by an Ordinance which came into effect on 1st January, 1953. The Ordinance provides at the same time for a greater degree of control of schools by the Government, and for some decentralization of their administration, and in particular provides (on the lines of legislation already in force in Northern Nigeria) for control over the independent schools, to which we refer later. We regard better and more wide-spread education as a necessary element and, indeed, a prerequisite of a higher standard of living, and this is generally accepted by the East African governments. We do not, therefore, propose to do more than emphasize the aspects of educational policy to which particular attention should be directed if steady progress in raising the general standard of living is to be made. Our recommendations should provoke little controversy, but we hope that they may give further encouragement and stimulation to policies which are for the most part already being pursued.

4. A former Secretary of State for the Colonies* has very recently given his opinion that 'the supreme task of Government in Africa today is the spreading of education', and taking education in its broadest sense this is an opinion which we heartily endorse. East Africa is ready for a great step forward in this direction; there is none of the apathy or reluctance to be overcome which so often is a feature of backward communities. The desire for more and better education is very strong, and large numbers of the African public bodies and individuals whom we examined placed this high in their list of demands. What is particularly striking is the extent to which even the poorest Africans not only desire education for their children, but are willing to make pecuniary sacrifices to secure it, sacrifices which are large relative to their income, although they may be small in relation to the actual cost of providing the education. We regard it as one of the most pitiful features of East Africa today that at every stage of the educational ladder large numbers of children who are capable of, and desirous of, climbing higher are forced off it, and we trace to this cause much of the frustration which embitters their general outlook later in life. Means must be found to satisfy this demand, and to ensure that at least an elementary education, carried to a stage at which it will be of permanent benefit to the growing child, shall in the shortest possible time be available to all those who are able to profit by it.

5. In view of the keen desire for education and of the considerable shortage of those who have sufficient education to fill even the lower clerical posts in commerce, industry and government service at present, it is not surprising that there is a demand for free universal education. That this is a desirable long-term objective is beyond dispute, but to adopt it now as a principle of policy in East Africa would do violence to the realities of the situation. As we show in previous chapters the incomes of the people of the three territories are at present so low that it is clearly impossible for them as yet to support the expenditure which a programme of free universal education, including secondary education, will involve. As we show later it is in any case impossible at present to find sufficient teachers for such a programme of universal education. This places the authorities in a serious predicament because as long as education is free it becomes necessary to debar many children from continuing their education, not on the grounds of their inability to profit by it, but because the facilities cannot be provided by the community for all of them. It therefore becomes necessary to ration education on governmentally fixed arbitrary conditions, with the result that a good pupil may find himself debarred from further education even when his parents are quite prepared to pay for it. This results in considerable frustration.

6. We believe the position would be eased if education were to be provided for all, to the intermediate stage, at fees which will not exclude any pupil, as soon as financial resources permit, and for reasons which we state below, in the towns to the end of the intermediate stage. Secondary education should not be free beyond this stage, but should be obtainable by those prepared to pay for it and should be supported by the inauguration of a wide and liberal system of bursaries for those showing clear promise and ability. There should also be facilities for private schools, in part subsidized by government, for all those who have not been accommodated in free schools and who are willing to pay for further education.

7. We wish to emphasize that we have chosen the alternative of rationing through the willingness to pay for more advanced education (tempered

* The Rt. Hon. L. C. Amery, *My Political Life*, Vol II, p. 3:0.

by the availability of considerable facilities for bursaries) because we think it is, in the last resort, the lesser of two evils. It at least provides a route of escape for pupils who might otherwise be debarred (and many will, in fact, be debarred) from further education altogether in view of the limited financial resources available to government.

8. We are not impressed with the criticism that education, as it is pursued in East Africa at present, is in danger of turning out more candidates for 'white-collar jobs' who become unwilling, or unfitted, to engage in manual labour. All clerical work requires a modicum of education, whereas many other avocations can at present be pursued, however inefficiently, without it. As long as even an elementary education has a scarcity value, it will command higher remuneration and the prospect of a higher standard of living. The unwillingness of the educated to work in occupations where his education, so far as money-making opportunities are concerned, is of no apparent benefit to him, is a phase which all backward peoples must go through in their progress to a better way of life. The remedy is to move forward as quickly as practicable towards universal primary education. When that goal is within sight of being reached, it will be found that the manual labourer has attained an increased efficiency which will justify and secure for him a standard of living comparable with that at present only obtained by the educated minority who go into clerical occupations. The assumption that universal education would overload the market with clerks and lead to a scarcity of other labour was a stock argument with those who resisted the introduction of compulsory primary education into England in 1870, but there is nothing in England's current experience to support the contention that the black-coated worker has any longer an advantage over the manual worker in maintaining and improving his standard of living.

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

9. We have pointed out above that the great majority of the schools are run by Christian missions, and there is no practical alternative to continuing to use the missions' agency if rapid progress in education is to be made, or even if a set-back is not to be suffered. Most of the mission schools are uni-denominational. With the growth of government's direct interest in education, and perhaps stimulated by growing racial consciousness, the part played by the missions has come under a good deal of criticism. There are those who, without thinking that education should be wholly secular, think it adequate that schools should give opportunities for religious instruction to those children whose parents wish it to be given. Others feel that the education given in mission schools is too closely associated with European ways of life, and is therefore likely to become less acceptable to the more politically-minded African. As against this view, we have had evidence that the missions have, in many places, been so long established and have so identified themselves with African interests, that they are regarded almost as indigenous African institutions. It is the lack of sufficient schools, leading to political impatience, rather than discontent with the existing schools that has given impetus to the growth of the independent schools, and there is also some demand from the Muslim community for purely Muslim schools.

10. Training in conduct and morals is so important that nothing should be done to discourage the mission schools. Throughout East Africa there is a progressive dissolution of tribal society and it will have been gathered from the general tenor of this Report that we regard this as an inevitable

and beneficial process in the African's progress from a subsistence economy to integration into the modern world. But it has involved also a breakdown of tribal discipline, and if in this process the Christian missions have been one of the principal solvents, they may also claim credit for the substitution of something better in its place. As the restraints of African tribal society disappear, they must be replaced by others, and in the mission schools these are provided not only by religious instruction, but by the visible example of practical Christian living. The main aim of the Christian churches is to convert Africans to Christianity, and to this end their work in educating the young is subordinate. Without this end in view the missions, with less assistance from those on whom they rely for financial support, would perhaps have little opportunity for educational work. But their schools are a specialized activity and generally are not deliberately propagandist. A large proportion of the children come from Christian homes, and where this is not so, parents seldom have any strong objection if their children, as a result of their education, abandon a moribund paganism and become Christians. And although with African Moslems there is a demand, or at least a preference, for Muslim schools, where numbers make this practicable, there is no strong feeling against sending Muslim children to mission schools where no others are convenient.

11. At the same time, we agree with the Binns Committee that the missions should not be encouraged to increase their responsibilities in education beyond what is required for school government and religious education, and we think that the professional supervision of all teaching, except that of religious education, should be in the hands of qualified officers appointed and employed by government. In the exercise of these powers government will doubtless make increasing use of the agency of local authorities. The rate of progress will vary in different areas, but the ultimate aim should be local control by school managers working under an education committee of the district local authority, the committee being re-inforced by the appointment, in addition to members of the local authority, of persons with special knowledge of, or interest in, educational work, and including representatives of the missions.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

12. The line between primary and secondary education is drawn differently in the three territories. It is, however, a common feature of all three territories that the educational course up to school leaving standard covers twelve years, and for our purposes we shall use the term 'primary' to denote the first four years: this is the actual classification now followed in Kenya and Tanganyika. We shall use the word 'intermediate' for the middle four years of the course, and 'secondary' to denote the final four years.

WASTAGE

13. Perhaps the most important of all educational problems for the East African governments to tackle is the elimination of wastage. The grading of classes and schools proceeds on the assumption that, of the pupils who enter the primary schools at an average age of about seven years, half will, for one reason or another, have dropped out by the time the end of the primary course is reached. Four-fifths of those who remain will then be eliminated by examination, and only for the remainder will places be found in intermediate schools. Of these, a further 80 per cent will either leave during the intermediate course or be eliminated at the end of it. In other words, out of every hundred children entering primary schools, only

ten will be able to find places in intermediate schools. And of those who go through the secondary schools, only a small proportion are at the end of it able to pass the school leaving certificate examination: the Director of Education, Uganda, put this number at 200 out of every 200,000 entering the primary school. This involves a shocking waste of money and of effort and is responsible for the creation of difficult social problems. Of children who start primary education at the age of about six or seven years a very large proportion does not even complete the primary course; for the most part they slip back into sheer illiteracy, and the money spent on them has been wasted. It was even asserted by one African witness that the real object of the Beecher report was to maintain the supply of unskilled labour in the interests of the planter community. The great majority of the witnesses before the Binns Committee were of opinion that at least four years were necessary for an African child to retain any degree of literacy, and that 'if a child does not get literacy he gets nothing.' On this the Committee remarked: 'The money spent on attempts to educate a child who does not stay four years at school is wasted as completely as if it were burned.'

14. We would support the proposals made by the Binns Committee that the ages of children entering school, and the age-range per class, should be controlled so as to ensure a reasonable chance that pupils will complete the course, and that an experiment should be made of returning a proportion of the fees to parents whose children successfully pass through the complete course. Different areas will doubtless require different techniques, but at the present time it is in most areas less important to increase the number of children entering in the lowest class than to ensure that those who enter the primary schools should remain to complete the four years' course. The following table, compiled from the annual reports of the education departments of each territory, shows vividly how great has been the wastage among children who entered the primary schools in 1949 and should have reached the fourth class in 1952:

				CHILDREN IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS			
				1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class
				1949	1950	1951	1952
Kenya	...	...	...	121,829	70,413	52,876	42,826
Uganda	...	...	...	79,112	59,016	32,659	28,058
Tanganyika	...	...	...	53,563	40,201	35,788	32,983

The figures for 1952 are the latest figures which we have been able to obtain to illustrate this point. The very great falling off in Kenya between the first class in 1949 and the second class in 1950 is possibly explained to some extent by transfers to the 'independent' schools, which have since been closed. Tanganyika makes the best showing, and it is difficult to understand why a greater rate of wastage should be contemplated in future years. For the Ten-Year Plan which was started in 1946-47 and which was revised in 1950, contemplates that by 1956 there should be the following number of children enrolled in each class of the primary course:*

Primary Class I	123,000	Primary Class III	60,000			
"	"	II	...	80,000	"	"	IV	47,000

The corresponding actuals for 1950 were:

Primary Class I	58,144	Primary Class III	30,464			
"	"	II	...	40,201	"	"	IV	23,142

* *African Education*, Crown Agents, 1953, p. 77.

We consider it unsatisfactory that the target for 1956 should contemplate that the number of children in the fourth class relative to the number in the first class should be proportionately less than it was six years before, and we recommend a further revision of the plan to correct this. We observe that Mr. Binns, reporting as chairman of the East and West Africa Study Group, laid stress on the elimination of this wastage as an important point of educational policy.

15. By way of contrast, but of course with a realization that such high standards cannot be expected in poor and backward countries, we give figures which show the more even flow between classes of children of approximately the same age as those of East Africa in the primary schools of England and Wales (January, 1953)*.

Aged 7	584,000	} Figures to the nearest thousand
" 8	...	...	...	644,000
" 9	...	...	...	584,000
" 10	...	...	...	550,000

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION

16. As already explained, we use this term to denote the four-year period between the end of the primary course and the beginning of secondary education. We have reached the conclusion, for which we found much support in the evidence of educational officers, that there should be greater concentration on the expansion of intermediate education, preferably as an adjunct to existing primary schools, even if this means, temporarily, some slowing down in the pace of direct progress with primary education. Our main reason for this conclusion is that the rapid expansion of primary education demands a quick increase in the numbers of teachers, and therefore in the number of teachers' training colleges. At the end of the four-year primary course, children are not fit to enter the training colleges, and the existing intermediate and secondary schools do not supply candidates in sufficient numbers. The remedy is, therefore, to get more children into the intermediate classes.

17. An increase in the number of intermediate schools is also urgent for other reasons. The social evils which arise from large numbers of children being deprived of opportunities for further education after their fourth year at school are very great, and are most serious in the towns. In the rural districts children can be absorbed into agricultural and pastoral pursuits, and the worst effect is their relapse into complete illiteracy. But in the towns the release of these children, at the age of eleven or twelve years, when they can be usefully employed neither in their homes nor in industry, is giving rise to serious problems of juvenile delinquency. For this reason if for no other, an expansion of the facilities for intermediate education is an imperative necessity, and we certainly consider that compulsory education in the larger towns up to the end of the intermediate stage should be introduced for African children as early as possible. Education is broadly compulsory for Asian boys in Kenya in the towns of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu, and for European boys and girls throughout the territory, and the aim should be to extend this to children of all races as soon as the financial and administrative difficulties can be overcome.

18. We were informed by the Director of Education in Kenya that in Nairobi this would mean the absorption of 10,000 more children in the next five years, of whom 4,000 could be absorbed by the expansion of schools already existing. For the remaining 6,000 some 15 schools would require to be built each

* *Report of Ministry of Education*, Cmd. 9155, p. 76.
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providing for 400 children. The main difficulty is the lack of suitable buildings, and the situation with regard to residential housing is also so serious that the Government must regulate the pace of new school buildings with some regard to the competing claims of housing within the limits of the finance available. We think, however, that school building should be given a high priority, and that the programme should not be slowed down by insistence on too high a standard of construction. The introduction of compulsory education up to the end of the intermediate standard should be adopted as a definite aim to be achieved as early as possible. We are glad to record our satisfaction that the Government of Kenya has, since this Report was in draft, announced its intention of carrying out this policy as part of its rehabilitation programme in connexion with the present emergency.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

19. The expansion of intermediate education on which we have laid stress will inevitably result in pressure for more secondary schools, which should be planned in advance. The Lidbury Report* has drawn attention to the fact that the output of pupils with full secondary education is at present very far from meeting the needs of the East African territories as a whole, and the same point was put to us very forcibly by Sir Philip Mitchell. The Lidbury Report also gave figures for the three territories of the number of Europeans employed in the public services. In the administrative and professional grades they are as follow :

Kenya	...	...	...	...	2,040
Tanganyika	...	...	...	...	1,100
Uganda	...	...	...	...	600

These represent respectively 28·26 per cent, 18·34 per cent and 16·21 per cent of the total number in the administrative and professional grades in the public services. We certainly found no such difference in standards of administration as would justify this much greater preponderance of Europeans in the higher branches of the service in Kenya and we are not surprised that the Lidbury Commission were struck by the number of European clerks who were drawing relatively high salaries but performing minor duties.

20. This means, of course, that there is far less chance for the African in the public service to rise to the higher appointments in Kenya than in the other two territories, a state of affairs which would only be justifiable if African education there were most backward. We think that the public services in Kenya do not make the best use of the African talent that they obtain, and that Europeans, because they are more easily available in large numbers than in the other territories, get higher paid appointments without due consideration of the paramount need of making increased provision for the promotion of Africans. In practice, officers are graded by race rather than by responsibility. Merely on financial grounds—and there are others even more important—Kenya cannot afford this and we are glad that the governments have adopted the recommendation of the Lidbury Commission that grading by race should disappear.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

21. Opportunities for technical education are insufficient throughout East Africa, and there is a very great demand for skilled workers in all trades, especially builders, carpenters, mechanics and electricians. Such opportunities for training as exist are readily availed of, and we have found no reluctance on the part of candidates to come forward for training in industry.

* *Report of the Commission on the Civil Services of the East African Territories and the East Africa High Commission, 1953-54.* Crown Agents, 1954.

22. There is some controversy as to which is the greater need of Africa at the present time: an improvement in craftsmanship at the lower levels in such trades as carpentry and building and motor mechanics, or the production of a greater number of skilled technicians who will be capable eventually of taking their place as leaders in industrial development. Both are very much needed, but the funds that can be made available are limited, and one practical issue on which this controversy has a bearing is the age at which technical education can profitably be begun. A modicum of general education must form a basis, and we think that, if the higher standard of training is to be aimed at, this can hardly be established under eight years. We visited the trade school at Ifunda in Tanganyika, where a change had just been made from taking boys at the end of the sixth standard. Raising the standard of entry to the eighth year was perhaps introduced too suddenly with the immediate result of a large reduction in the number of pupils which the school was capable of accommodating. But in spite of the Principal's opinion that sixth standard boys were capable of taking adequate advantage of the course, we were convinced by the arguments of the Superintendent of Technical Education in Tanganyika, which we found to be supported by enlightened African opinion, that the change was in the best interests of the Territory. There are at present in the towns large numbers of untrained or half-trained craftsmen whose general low level of capacity and intelligence is a serious hindrance to industrial development but who are quite capable of performing those industrial avocations which the villages are at present handicapped by having to go without. It seems better that government technical schools should aim at replacing these in the towns by more skilled workers, and many of them will then take their proper place as village handymen.

23. Uganda at present has a technical school at Kampala for 200 boys, and plans to increase it so as to accommodate 500. There are also five junior technical schools in the territory. There is a scheme to spend a further £2,000,000 on technical education, and it is hoped to get boys from the Kampala school up to a stage when they will be fit to go on to the new Royal Technical College which is now being built in Nairobi to serve the needs of all three territories.

24. Kenya has three technical and trade schools. The largest of these is at Kabete near Nairobi, where over 500 boys are being given training, more than half of them as carpenters or masons. At the smaller institutions at Thika and Sigulalala (which in 1952 had 227 and 87 boys respectively) all except 4 were being trained as carpenters or masons. At Kabete the remaining boys were fairly evenly divided between the trades of house decoration, sheet metal work, electric wiring, plumbing, fitting and turning, shoemaking, tailoring and farm mechanics. In Kenya boys are taken into the trade schools at the end of form 2 intermediate, that is at the end of the sixth year of schooling, and the tendency is for the age of entry to fall rapidly.

25. There is no doubt that more African carpenters and builders are necessary, but we consider that the greater need is not for more African artisans, but, in the words of the Harlow Report, for 'men with a higher degree of skill in their trade and with a better sense of responsibility.' It is desirable that Kenya should produce a steady flow of candidates fit to enter the new Royal Technical College now under construction, and they must have a satisfactory general education and be literate in English. We think that future expansion at Kabete should, without raising the present standard of entry for those boys who do not aspire to be more than competent mechanics or craftsmen, provide for the admission of boys at the end of the fourth year of intermediate education, with a view to bringing them up to the standard of entry for the Royal Technical College.

26. In addition to the scholars receiving training in technical and trade schools, there are inter-territorial institutions which give training specifically for government technical services. There are some 500 students, including some from Aden, at the training school for the East African Posts and Telegraphs; there are schools at Nairobi and Tabora for station-masters, railway clerks and telegraphists; and we were very favourably impressed with the Railway Workshops at Nairobi, where European, Asian and African apprentices are given practical training side by side.

APPRENTICESHIP

27. A few words are necessary on the subject of further training after leaving the trade school. Tanganyika is working on a five year apprenticeship system. After three years in the trade school the boys are put out for two years training with an employer. Many difficulties have to be overcome. With eight years basic school education the average boy is 15 or 16 years old when he enters the trade school, and at the end of his three years training is anxious to exploit his earning capacity as early as possible. Too often the employer with whom he is placed is more anxious to get the full market value out of his apprentice's existing skills than to spend time in teaching him new ones, with the result that the boy finds his routine dull and is tempted to abandon his apprenticeship by the lure of higher wages elsewhere.

28. This two years' apprenticeship under private employers is a critical period, on which depends whether the apprentice will be made for life as a skilled and competent craftsman. The present standard of craftsmanship in East Africa is deplorably low, and small employers will be tempted to keep their apprentices earning rather than learning, and to use them as supervisors rather than teaching them additional skills. We think it should be possible in each of the larger centres to have a small committee of business men attached to the technical school, who will make it their business to keep in touch with the apprentices during their two years' training.

29. In Uganda some progress has been made with both trade testing and apprenticeship schemes. The kind of difficulties that are met with are well brought out in the annual report of the Labour Department for 1953. Of 247 persons who applied for trade testing, 187 were called up, of whom 48 failed to appear and 121 passed their tests. Most of the candidates were already employed in the Public Works Department. It appears that many are deterred by the fear of exposure of their lack of ability, or that failure to pass may result in lack of promotion, though it has been agreed that no artisan in government employment shall be downgraded for failure to pass a trade test. But the principal deterrent is that artisans have no difficulty in obtaining employment however little skill they possess, and it is reported that of the candidates who appear most show a lack of fundamental knowledge of their trades. Those who pass are graded in six classes from Artisan Class III up to Master Craftsman.

30. There have also been apprenticeship-master schemes organized since 1952, the success of which cannot yet be appraised. The object is to train a group of about 20 apprentices to work as a unit under a supervisor known as an apprentice master, carrying out work under industrial conditions on various building projects; one of the advantages sought is to isolate the trainees from direct contact with the low standards and output of existing artisans. They are paid wages ranging from Shs.50/- per month in the first year to Shs.160/- in the fifth year. The main difficulty is in finding suitable men to serve as apprentice masters.

31. To 343 pupils who were due to complete their three-year courses in government and mission technical schools at the end of 1953, the Public Works Department offered 220 vacancies as apprentices; only 106 applications were received, of which 82 were accepted.

32. It has to be borne in mind that opportunities for the employment of skilled African workmen, in the absence of any rapid and considerable expansion of industrial output, can only be increased in present circumstances at the expense of the immigrant communities, European and Asian, who now have a virtual monopoly of skilled mechanical work. The loss of this predominance is a particularly serious matter for the Asians, who have few other outlets for their skill, and whose co-operation in training Africans to take their place cannot, therefore, reasonably be relied on. And since the expense of European supervisory staff is very great, the training of skilled Africans becomes a heavy burden which very few European firms can face even if they realize that they will be the ultimate beneficiaries. This re-inforces our conclusion that government policy should concentrate on the training of those African craftsmen and technicians who will be capable of a high degree of skill, leaving to industry in general the responsibility of training the semi-skilled.

EDUCATION OF GIRLS

33. An important part of education is that which takes place, not in the schools, but in the homes, but throughout East Africa the average home does nothing to supplement, and much to neutralize, the education given in the schools. We regard it as essential that more attention should be paid to the education of girls. There are many obstacles to be overcome. The supply of women teachers is particularly difficult because of early marriages, and parents are generally reluctant to send their elder girls to be taught in mixed classes or by male teachers. Where this latter difficulty has been overcome, we have been informed that there is a tendency on the part of teachers to devote the greater part of their attention to the boys rather than to the girls. Also the fees payable by parents are high enough to be a matter of consideration, and parents of large families think it more necessary to spend their money on the boys. The predominant part played by women in the work of agriculture is also a hindrance. We were told that part of the slowness in girls' education is due to the fact that they are dead tired before they begin school in the morning. There is little doubt, too, that some men are hostile to the education of girls because they think it will make them less willing to undergo the heavy labour in the fields combined with domestic drudgery which is their normal lot in life. Through much of East Africa peasant agriculture depends on the wife doing most of the work with the hoe. There was justification for this in the days when life was organized on a purely tribal basis, and when the woman's work in the fields was fairly balanced by the husband's responsibility for defence and for hunting. Modern conditions have relieved the husband of both these duties and a redistribution of work seems necessary, particularly as the education of the men leads them to make greater demands on the domestic side of the wife's duties. We are convinced that unless the African male can be induced to bear a greater share of the burden, peasant agriculture will be found incapable of sustaining the standard of living which he hopes to attain. It is not without significance that the most distressful part of East Africa at present should be Kikuyuland, where the most burdensome tasks are laid on women and the education of girls is almost entirely neglected. Dr. Carothers in his recent report has found the gross disparity between the educational advance of Kikuyu men and Kikuyu women to be one of the principal underlying causes of the present outbreak.

34. In spite of the obstacles we have mentioned above, there is a growing demand among African men that their women shall be educated, and we have found that it is mainly financial considerations which lead the African parent to pay more attention to the education of his sons than of his daughters. The Ganda are, on an average, the most prosperous tribe in East Africa, and in Buganda there are mixed schools where the girls outnumber the boys. We think that the education of girls is sufficiently important throughout East Africa to justify the remission, or partial remission, of their school fees.

35. We also think that some training in domestic science should find a place in the curriculum of all girls' schools. Many missionary societies have on their own initiative instituted marriage training courses and also domestic science courses for the less educated women, and something is being done by European women through such societies as the Women's Service League and the Tanganyika Council of Women. The Assistant Director of Women's and Girls' Education in Kenya informed us that on her visits to villages it was very easy to pick out those homes in which the women had received some training in domestic science. It is desirable that governments should give all possible encouragement to adult education of African women. We have mentioned the high rate of wastage among women teachers owing to marriage, and we consider that an organized attempt should be made to induce these women ex-teachers to help in adult education, whether this remains, as at present, under a department of social welfare, or whether it is taken over, as seems preferable, by the department of education.

LANGUAGE

36. The most widely spoken vernaculars are Swahili in Tanganyika and the coast districts of Kenya, and Luganda in Buganda, and both of these have some claims to be regarded as a lingua franca in neighbouring districts. In addition there is a very large number of languages spoken by the various tribes, the men of which often have some facility in Swahili or Luganda, while the women seldom know anything but their own vernacular. As a medium of instruction, neither Swahili nor Luganda is useful beyond an elementary standard, and the only possible alternative is English. We regard the teaching of Swahili as a second language to children whose early education has been in other vernaculars as a complete waste of time and effort. The African is very keen on learning English, which is his gate of entry to a new world, and we think that the teaching of English should begin in as low a class as possible, and should become the medium of instruction as early as it can be followed by the pupils. It is unfortunate that this will mean, in the early stages, an increase in the cost of teaching staff, but this should be more than recouped as larger numbers of English-speaking Africans become available as teachers.

37. This is perhaps a suitable place to refer to the curious anomaly that African policemen in Uganda draw a special allowance if they are literate in Swahili, and that Swahili is the language of instruction in the only two government-owned primary schools, which are reserved for the children of police and prison warders. This is explainable by historical causes, but can be justified by no reasons whatsoever. Swahili has no claims to be regarded as a lingua franca in Uganda, and in other primary schools the language of instruction passes directly from the local vernacular to English, without the interposition of Swahili. The last thing that is desirable is a police force using a language different from the people among whom it works. We think that the language of instruction in the police schools

should be assimilated to that taught in other schools, and that for the future the Swahili allowance should be replaced by one for literacy in a local vernacular or in English.

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

38. The insufficiency in the number of government or government-aided schools, coupled with the general keenness for education, has led to the growth of a large number of independent schools. These are run for profit and the fees charged are normally higher than those charged in other schools. The evidence we have taken shows that teachers are usually untrained and the standard of education lower. The emergency in Kenya has shown only too clearly the moral and political virus with which these schools, which have been subject to little government inspection or control, may infect their pupils. But undoubtedly these schools make a strong appeal, and not only to those parents whose political leanings make them distrustful of any government agency. In the first place there is the large number of children who, at the end of the primary and intermediate courses, are shut out from further education by the lack of accommodation in the ordinary schools. A further attraction in the independent schools is the earlier stage at which English is taught.

39. The independent schools should not be hampered or discouraged, but they must be brought under proper inspection and control, and the Education Department concerned should realize that this is an extremely important part of its responsibilities. We think it essential that all independent schools should be registered by the Government, or by local authorities in accordance with rules formed by the Government, and that no new school should be opened without the consent of such authority. It is also necessary that the Director of Education should be empowered to close any such school which, in the opinion of the local education authority, is redundant, or (in the words used in the African Education Ordinance of Northern Rhodesia) 'is being conducted in a manner detrimental to the interests of peace and good government or the physical, mental and moral welfare of the pupils.' We note that as a result of the present emergency legislation on these lines has been passed in Kenya to come into effect in the current year, and we think that similar action should be taken in the other territories.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

40. There is at present in East Africa only one university college, that at Makerere in Uganda, which serves all three territories. East Africa certainly needs far more persons of high educational attainments than this university college is at present supplying, and there is a dearth in consequence of Africans capable of rising to the highest positions in the public service and in commerce and industry. But the expansion of university education in Africa involves difficult technical questions which we have not been able to examine. These are under the constant surveillance of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas. We therefore make no recommendations.

CHAPTER 17

Statistics

1. Throughout our deliberations we have been made conscious of the difficulty in obtaining reliable factual information on many of the matters with which we have been concerned. We have thought it desirable, therefore, to consider if it is possible to effect improvements which would be of value both to the public and to those who have the responsibility for the framing and the execution of public policy. In the initial stages of colonial administration the absence of reliable statistical data presents no particular difficulty. The problems with which the administration has to deal have a simplicity and a directness which make it possible to take action on the basis of personal knowledge supplemented, perhaps, by whatever information can be acquired from the individual experiences of officers in the field. There is little need to co-ordinate this knowledge in a systematic manner. In East Africa this stage in political and administrative evolution has now passed. The problems which confront the several administrations, like the problems which we have been called upon to examine, have a complexity which demands a high degree of reliability in the information which is available if proper judgments and decisions are to be taken. Moreover, some of the problems have now become so urgent that policies formulated on the basis of inaccurate data or on the general impressions of observers with different standards of reliability may, at the best, be ineffective and, at the worst, be dangerous.

2. The regular collection and publication of statistical data is one means by which these dangers may be reduced or avoided. The prosecution of research based either upon these regularly published statistical series or upon specially conducted investigations is another. In developed countries many agencies, both governmental and non-governmental, exist to provide these services. In East Africa, as in other undeveloped areas, the resources and the agencies which can exist are few. We have observed that at present in East Africa research is proceeding on some scale in almost every scientific subject except in the sphere of economics, despite the fact that economic, as distinct from technical, problems are forcing themselves with increasing insistence upon the attention of the governments of the region. In developed countries, too, the multiplicity of recording and analysing agencies provides some check against the use of unreliable data and against the misinterpretation of reliable data. But East Africa cannot yet enjoy this statistical luxury. As in other things, it is of the utmost importance that its exceedingly limited resources should be employed in the most effective manner.

3. Originally statistics were collected not in response to any strong local demand which recognised their value but in order to provide material for the Colonial Bluebook or for departmental annual reports, and they were prepared in accordance with a pattern laid down, as a rule, by the Colonial Office. It is very doubtful whether much real interest was taken in their preparation or whether much concern was felt when obvious errors became apparent. On occasion there might be some local improvement when an individual officer took a particular interest in the statistical aspect of his work but the practice of transferring officers from one station to another had the inevitable result that good statistical series were not necessarily maintained for more than a few years. In many cases the collection of data

would be relegated to a junior clerk who had little sense of their importance, or little understanding of their purpose. Returns required for an annual report were often prepared hastily near the time when the report was due and resort to guesswork was by no means unusual.

4. A marked improvement followed the creation of the East African Statistical Department, though the defects of the old system have by no means been completely removed. This Department is one of the scheduled services of the East Africa High Commission and is responsible for the collection of statistics in the three territories under the Statistics Act, 1949. In this Act the duties of the Department are fully set out and include the taking of any census in the territories, the collection, compilation and analysis, together with the publishing of statistical information relating to the commercial, industrial, agricultural, mining, social and general activities and conditions of the people of the territories. In addition it is responsible for organizing a co-ordinated scheme of social and economic statistics relating to the territories.

5. The Department has a fully qualified Director and nine qualified statisticians. It provides a basic service common to the three territories, which contribute to its cost in shares which at present are equal, as well as certain special services the costs of which are in each case met by the territory for which the services are performed. In 1953 the expenditure of the three territorial governments on the Department amounted to £77,000.

6. Individual administrative departments may collect statistical material as a by-product of the administration but, apart from the statistics of the Registrar General who is responsible for the registration of births and deaths and the compilation of series relating to the non-African population, the statistics collected by these departments are not collected by qualified statisticians.

7. The East African Statistical Department works in close conjunction with the Statistical Department of the Colonial Office and with the Central Statistical Office of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Technical assistance may be given by these departments but it is often difficult for them to give advice on matters connected with undeveloped territories where the statistical problems which arise are sometimes different from those which occur in developed countries. Special knowledge and experience are therefore essential if the statistical service in the undeveloped countries is to be properly effective. We are satisfied that the work of the East African Statistical Department is efficiently conducted within the limits of its resources and having regard to the nature of much of the material. But we also think that its resources in finance and qualified personnel are insufficient for the tasks which it should fulfil, and that the effects of this limitation are intensified by the unsatisfactory and uncertain relationship which exists between it and the territorial governments, many of whose departments attempt to collect their own statistical records.

8. The various statistical records which are maintained are of unequal quality. In general, those records which relate to the public finances, to the railways and to the external trade of the territories are the most reliable. But the statistics relating to agriculture are not of a high standard. The figures which appear in the annual reports are not always consistent from one year to another. Statistics of export crops are better than those for local markets and those relating to subsistence production are necessarily calculated on an arbitrary basis. There is little reliable information available about the size of holdings, production and crop yields in the principal

African areas. The statistics relating to labour, employment and earnings are not of a high standard, and the same is true of social and educational statistics. Among the records maintained by the East African Statistical Department there are defects which could be remedied if its resources were more adequate and if it possessed greater freedom to pursue a more regular policy. The population statistics were reasonably accurate at the time of the 1948 census but there are still important gaps in the available knowledge relating to trends, owing to the refusal of the territorial governments to approve the taking of sample censuses. There are no accurate estimates of urban population. The figures of capital formation, including those of building construction, are satisfactory for the main municipalities but not for the non-municipal areas. There are no statistics of industrial production.

9. We consider that the relationship between the East African Statistical Department and the territorial governments requires clearer definition. The collection of statistics by the Department depends upon the prior approval of the territorial governments. Moreover, territorial departments may collect their own statistical material and since it is understood that there shall be no duplication of effort, the effect is often to prevent the East African Statistical Department from collecting information of general value. When departments collect returns in an unskilled manner, and on different bases, it becomes impossible to make inter-territorial comparisons which might have some value. The East African Statistical Department cannot give advice to territorial departments unless that advice is sought and, since the territorial departments are not generally equipped with qualified personnel, the frequent failure to seek advice where this could be supplied results in numerous avoidable errors.

10. The methods by which the territorial governments can obtain the services of the East African Statistical Department are cumbrous and insufficiently flexible. Thus when a government requires the collection of statistical information, it approaches the Administrator of the High Commission who, in turn, ascertains from the Director the cost of the proposal and whether it can be fitted in with other commitments. If the work can be undertaken the government is informed and a plan for the work is prepared, but if any new finance is involved no action can be taken until the expenditure has been approved by the Standing Finance Committee of the High Commission. Since this body meets only at infrequent intervals, urgent work may be held up for months. Similarly, if a government should wish to revise the priorities in the work which is undertaken on its behalf it cannot secure this revision by means of a direct approach to the Department.

11. It is anomalous that the East African Statistical Department, which is the most technically qualified official agency in the field of statistics in East Africa, should be so restricted in its ability to improve the statistical services in the region, and that the initiative for any improvement should have to come from the territorial governments. In these circumstances it becomes impossible to organize the statistical services in an effective manner. Some re-examination of the position by the three governments and by the High Commission is desirable and we recommend that this should be done.

12. It may be thought, and indeed it has been suggested, that, as an alternative to an increased allocation of resources to the East African Statistical Department, each of the three territorial governments should be encouraged to build up its own statistical service. The apparent advantage

of this proposal would be that the statistical service in each territory would be under the direct control of the territorial government and that its activities could be related more closely to the requirements of that government.

13. We have little doubt that a development along these lines would undermine the work of the East African Statistical Department and that the territorial governments would be even more reluctant than they now are to increase the funds at the disposal of that Department. It might be suggested that in these circumstances the East African Statistical Department could only be maintained on a tolerable basis if it were supported by direct grants from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Such an arrangement, however, would not in itself define the relationship between the East African Statistical Department and the territorial departments, and it is that relationship which requires clarification.

14. It would be unfortunate if the experience already accumulated by the East African Statistical Department should be lost through a reduction in the scope of its activities. To illustrate our point: the experience gained in estimating the geographical income of one territory is invaluable in preparing and interpreting similar estimates for the other territories, and this would not be equalled if the estimates were made by each of three territorial statistical departments, even with some mutual exchange of views on matters of procedure, or if any of the territorial governments employed an outside agency for the purpose. Moreover, much of the statistical data now collected is not suitable for publication but can be used to supplement information obtained from other sources. The cost of three separate departments in relation to the work done would exceed the cost of the existing East African Statistical Department and the benefits to be derived would be greater if any additional expenditure were devoted to this Department rather than spread over three territorial departments. Finally, the value of the research work, which could be done by three separate departments with the resources of finance and personnel which would be likely to be at their disposal, would not equal that which could be achieved by the existing Department with some modest addition to its resources.

15. The advantages which it is sometimes thought would follow the creation of separate territorial statistical departments can be obtained under the existing arrangement provided there is a determination to obtain them. The Act of 1949 requires the Director of the East African Statistical Department, *inter alia* 'to collaborate with the services of the High Commission and with departments of the Governments of the Territories in the collection, compilation, analysis and publication of statistical records of administration.' [Section 4 (1) (c).] But this collaboration presupposes that it has been requested; and there is no statutory obligation on territorial departments to collaborate with the East African Statistical Department. We recognize that the fact that the headquarters of the East African Statistical Department are situated in Nairobi makes it easier for collaboration to be effective with the Government of Kenya than with the governments of the other territories, but even in the case of Kenya there can be no collaboration unless the Government of Kenya should desire it.

16. But while a balance of advantage lies with the continuation of the existing arrangement, subject to certain modifications, we consider that the resources at the disposal of the East African Statistical Department are inadequate for the proper discharge of the duties and responsibilities assigned to it. There is a case for approaching the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for a grant to enable the East African Statistical Department to develop its statistical and research work, but only as an

addition, and not as an alternative, to the financial support provided by the territorial governments. Furthermore, since the present method of financing the Department makes it impossible to plan its activities in a proper manner, we recommend that in addition to the provision of larger financial resources the three territorial governments should provide funds in accordance with a scheme which would cover a number of years at a time, and that the grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, if it should be made, should be provided on a similar basis.

17. We understand that the Association of Chambers of Commerce of East Africa proposed some time ago that there should be set up an Advisory Board to assist the development of the East African Statistical Department and that the proposal was not accepted on the grounds that the Advisory Board could not help on the technical side, and that it would usurp government functions in respect of finance and priorities. The proposal of the Association of Chambers of Commerce was an indication that the value of an efficient statistical service was appreciated by the responsible leaders of trade and industry and that is still the position. It will be unfortunate if a statistical service is regarded merely as a convenience or necessity to government, and we recommend that the proposal to set up an Advisory Board should be re-examined.

18. The difficult problem is one of authority. The territorial governments are reluctant to accept any assignment which would appear to limit their respective sovereignties. It is this fear, we suspect, which influences their attitude to the East African Statistical Department and which, as a result, weakens it. It is our view that the position of the Department should be strengthened and not weakened. The territorial governments should consult with the East African Statistical Department in the maintenance and collection of their own statistical records; these records should be at the disposal of that Department; and, wherever possible, the collection of territorial departmental statistics should be done through, or with the advice of, the East African Statistical Department. If this greater use of the Department were to be made it would be possible to have attached to each territorial government a representative of the High Commission Statistical Service. These representatives could provide the technical assistance which the territorial governments lack at present and at the same time provide a more effective means of ensuring collaboration between the territorial services and the service which is provided under the auspices of the High Commission.

CHAPTER 18

Social and Economic Co-operation

FEARS AND MISCONCEPTIONS

1. The history of East Africa is a record of both the clash and the co-operation between numerically small numbers of immigrant people and a greatly preponderant indigenous population with a relatively undeveloped social, economic and political organization. There is no reason to suppose that the numerical proportions of the different races in East Africa will be altered significantly in the future, in so far as can now be foreseen, by an increase in the population of the non-indigenous people.

2. This situation implies that economic and social policies must be based on the realization that the development of East Africa basically depends on the extent to which the indigenous population can, with the help of necessarily small numbers of immigrant peoples, be integrated into the world economy and can draw from it the capital and complementary resources of skill and enterprise to make this possible. It implies further that the well-being and security of immigrant peoples is, in the long run, dependent on the success with which they can further this development and fulfil their special functions in it, just as the development of the indigenous population depends on the clear realization that their own well-being and security depends on the success with which they can attract those who can bring to them the scarce economic factors—capital, skill and enterprise—which they so sorely lack.

3. It is natural that in such a situation the real and alleged factors making for a conflict of interests between the races, tribes and nationalities, should be at all times more apparent than the co-operant achievements which they so easily tend to obscure. Throughout our enquiry we were made painfully aware, particularly against the background of the emergency in Kenya, of the extreme tensions which have resulted from doubts based on racial and political fears, misconceptions and vested interests.

4. Throughout the three territories there is a tendency, much stronger in some than in others, and, fortunately, least pronounced in Tanganyika, to see the inevitable clash of progress and security, the clash of the forces making for modern as against those which entrench outworn methods of social and economic organization, solely as a clash between colour, tribe or race. The African who receives a lower wage or occupies a position of lesser responsibility than the Indian, immediately ascribes this fact to his being an African and is oblivious to such factors as efficiency and skill which may account for the position the Indian occupies and the wage he receives. The Indian and African both in turn tend to view every position of superiority occupied by a European as due to the fact that he is white and they are not. Those who are landless readily believe that their predicament is due solely to the fact that others of a different tribe or race have access to land which is denied to them.

5. The theme that those who possess an advantage have attained it merely because they belong to a more favoured racial community runs like a pathological obsession throughout the daily life and work of the community. This gives rise, in the last resort, to the belief that all would be well if, by a stroke of the pen or of the sword, the African could be rid of the presence of the non-African, or could obtain complete political domination over him. Conversely the non-African population seek their security in measures which would prevent such an occurrence, and often seek that security in the political domination of the African. Thus tensions to which we have referred are simplified in terms of political power; and it is concluded that the problems of East Africa are merely political problems which can be settled, and that they can only be settled, by the edicts of political authority or changes in political and administrative machinery.

6. It would go beyond our terms of reference if we were to enter into the prevalent political controversies. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to certain aspects of the tensions which so severely undermine the potential well-being of East Africa at the present time in order to illustrate the considerations which should determine co-operation in the three territories.

HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

7. The East Africa of today has developed as a result of the co-operant efforts of Africans, Arabs, Indians, Goans and Europeans, through the establishment of modern peaceful administration as a basis for the emergence of exchange economy linked to world markets. It is not possible to conceive that the African population would have been able to grow to its present numbers without the economic, distributive, and administrative framework which the non-African inhabitants have provided and still mainly provide. For the essential fact is that the indigenous peoples at no time formed one, or even several, large African states in East Africa, or in any of what are now the territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. On the contrary, East Africa contained numerous extremely diverse and previously warring tribes and peoples who were, and still are, untutored in, and unaccustomed to, the complex economic and administrative problems of modern government, particularly of government extending over a large state consisting of diverse peoples.

8. The general position in East Africa until the beginning of the century was indeed not unlike that of Hellas as described by Thucydides in the first chapter of 'The Peloponnesian War', from which we quote the following passage.*

' . . . The country now called Hellas had no settled population in ancient times; instead there was a series of migrations, as the various tribes, being under the constant pressure of invaders who were stronger than they were, were always prepared to abandon their own territory. There was no commerce, and no safe communication either by land or sea; the use they made of their land was limited to the production of necessities; they had no surplus left over for capital, and no regular system of agriculture, since they lacked the protection of fortifications and at any moment an invader might appear and take their land away from them. Thus, in the belief that the day to day necessities of life could be secured just as well in one place as in another, they showed no reluctance in moving from their homes, and therefore built no cities of any size or strength, nor acquired any important resources. Where the soil was most fertile there were the most frequent changes of population. . . . For in these fertile districts it was easier for individuals to secure greater powers than their neighbours: this led to disunity, which often caused the collapse of these states, which in any case were more likely than others to attract the attention of foreign invaders.'

Whatever the political arrangements in East Africa may come to be in the future there is no evidence at present to suggest that any appreciable modern economic advance can be achieved without the help, efforts and presence of non-Africans.

9. From an economic point of view it is remarkable that so much has been achieved under the leadership and stimulus of so few in so short a time. If one bears in mind the retarding effect of two world wars which, although they stimulated certain activities, on the whole withheld from East Africa the new capital investment and migration which might otherwise have occurred, then the progress from the very primitive economic, social and administrative conditions which characterized East Africa at the beginning of this century is a very remarkable achievement. But remarkable as it is in itself it is well to view it also in proper perspective, and to measure it, not only in terms of what was, but of what might have been achieved. If this is done the picture which emerges is not so satisfactory. For when all is said East Africa

* Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*. A new translation by Rex Warner. The Penguin Classics, 1954.

is still a region which resembles a series of small islands of modern production in a sea of relatively stagnant subsistence economy and unexplored or undeveloped natural resources. The islands of activity are broadly speaking strung out like beads along the main railways, or other lines of modern communication, but there are large areas into which modern communications and enterprise have not penetrated at all. As compared with other parts of Africa, as we have shown elsewhere, East African development is retarded. That retardation is, apart from the difficulties of the natural environment to which we have also previously referred, due in no small measure to the inability of East Africa to come to terms with the inescapable conditions of future advance. It is surely not without significance that such large areas of East Africa have remained closed to modern development and unaffected by modern means of production, although the intention behind the measures which caused their isolation may have been well meant. Elsewhere, for example in the Highlands of Kenya, much enterprise has been inhibited by similar racial restrictions resting in the last resort on fear.

10. The fact is that the tribal and racial barriers which characterize East Africa have prevented the migration of skill, enterprise and capital, have prevented large-scale exploration and experimentation to discover, or develop, new natural resources such as mineral wealth and agricultural products, have retarded the development of communications, have inhibited the growth of towns and improvements in the system of distribution, and have restricted markets both for local industrial and for specialized agricultural and export products. The question, therefore, is whether, in a society such as that of East Africa, racial fears can only be assuaged on the basis of measures which, particularly in the face of the present rate of population growth, threaten the viability of the whole society by condemning it to a dangerously slow rate of economic advance or even to economic stagnation.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS

11. The answer to that question must be sought in a clear distinction between the sociological and economic factors and the psychological stresses to which they, often wrongly, give rise. The responsibility for the tensions to which we have referred must be sought in fundamental social and economic factors. A significant example of tensions whose origin has been misinterpreted is to be found in the question of land settlement by non-Africans. Indeed this question has affected, and still affects, not only the whole problem of increased agricultural productivity but has subtly influenced policy in every field of economic development, including the policy of regulating immigration from abroad.

12. We have shown elsewhere that the greatest fear of the indigenous peoples has always been that of losing their land on which alone their security under the conditions of subsistence economy previously depended. Historically also access to relatively large areas of land appeared to the European settler from abroad to be the *sine qua non* of economic success. This, however, was an oversimplification of the real situation, for land as such was of little value to the immigrant settler unless relatively cheap labour was available for its cultivation. At the time of the building of the Kenya and Uganda Railway it soon became apparent that African labour would not be available; for the most part Indians had to be recruited and the difficulty of recruiting African labour was only later slowly overcome. This example is significant as illustrating the fundamental problem in Kenya, which is the terms and conditions on which immigrant enterprise and local labour can be associated.

13. To the pioneer immigrant settler time was of the essence. Lack of suitable labour involved the risk of total loss in the face of the innumerable difficulties and uncertainties of previously untried agricultural production. To the African a wage-labour contract, or indeed any type of modern economic contract, was only an addition, with which he could relatively easily dispense, to his normal way of life, and he was not interested in it for more than short irregular periods of time.

14. How very recent the origin of the economic relationships between indigenous and immigrant enterprise in East Africa has been is too readily overlooked. There has been no time, and little economic opportunity, for the emergence of more stable and more functionally suitable economic arrangements. It is not an unwarranted generalization to say that on the whole the European settler has tended to live and work in isolation from the indigenous economy, immersed in his own problems of production and having contact with the African worker merely as a temporary sojourner on his farm. He tended to regard the European economy as independent of the indigenous areas, and was concerned above all to protect his own standard of living and of production. It is for this reason, and because so much of the skilled work and commercial distribution was done by Indians, that it was for long assumed that European immigrants should generally be persons with sufficient capital to set themselves up as employers of labour, preferably as settlers on the land.

15. There has thus grown up an idealized but unrealistic picture of the position which the European should occupy (and could permanently maintain) in East Africa. He tends to regard his opportunities and functions in terms of land ownership, and in terms of relatively large-scale farming, or large-scale commerce and industry, basically divorced from the life and work of the indigenous peoples except in the rôle of an employer of labour. It was indeed implicitly assumed, and at times implicitly stated, that the European must regard himself as the mainstay of agricultural production in order to provide the necessary supplies of food for Africans in times of scarcity. It was alleged, particularly in Kenya, that African land units could not be relied upon to do even that, and it was taken for granted that the African areas could not be regarded as an appreciable source of export income for the Colony.

16. Recently it has been realized that the African must be given much greater opportunities and assistance in developing the indigenous areas. But more than this is needed. It has to be understood that the isolation of the races in East Africa must be overcome, and that without the close economic integration of all their efforts the poverty of East Africa will continue. This implies that the pattern of economic relationships, at present confined mainly to an association of interests between the races on the fringes of activity, typified by the European employers on one side and the African labourer on the other, and by the purely transient contacts provided by commerce, must be replaced by a common objective in which the members of every race clearly understand that they have common interests and common rights which rest on the fulfilment of definite obligations. Only thus can the economic and political dangers which threaten East Africa be avoided.

17. In East Africa those dangers are not hypothetical. Without the development of African productive capacity the relatively isolated modern exchange economy of Europeans and Asians cannot be permanently viable. It is equally true that the indigenous peoples cannot do without the co-operation of the non-African elements. East Africa must increase its productive

capacity and in particular its export income, in order to provide the basis for modern standards of health and nutrition, education, and at least moderate standards of general consumption.

COMMON OBJECTIVES

18. Is it possible to discern common objectives of social and economic policy in East Africa? The answer to that question is fundamentally not as complex as is usually assumed. Where a change from primitive subsistence economy is taking place it expresses itself, as we have already shown, in the desire of the African people to obtain the economic benefits and security which only the modern economy can provide. The individual African who wishes to improve his condition looks for security of tenure or ownership of his land, and of his home and of his business, and if he is a wage earner or professional worker, for free opportunity for himself and his children, for training and education and for security and recognized status in those employments and occupations of which they are capable.

19. What he wants is to be freed from all artificial or legal barriers which block his legitimate aspirations. These aspirations he holds in common with the non-indigenous peoples in East Africa. But to recognize these common aspirations is not enough. They can only be realized by patient mutual effort of both the numerically preponderant African and the small non-indigenous communities; it must be recognized that this conclusion is not only inescapable but presents East Africa with new opportunities for the advancement of all its inhabitants.

20. In practice this implies the most diverse experimentation for the discovery of new functional methods and institutional devices to further co-operant activity. It implies the determination to abolish all barriers to co-operation which inhibit the full support of every section of the community. This experimentation is, in our opinion, absolutely vital because of the paucity of persons with the knowledge, experience and aptitudes required for modern administration, modern enterprise and modern techniques. Advance must take place on as broad a front as possible by the use of every device and form of organization which is economic and which will contribute to social harmony, increased productivity and social improvement.

21. From the development of co-operation for the production, processing and marketing of agricultural products to the establishment of companies with both private and government capital for the planning and execution of particular agricultural projects on the basis of new systems of land tenure associating the tenant or owner of the land, with the enterprise under controlled conditions of production, there is a large variety of private and communal forms of enterprise capable of application in accordance with the wishes, aptitudes and the social conditions of the people. There is scope in East Africa for private companies financed from abroad which are prepared to inaugurate enterprise on a basis which will clearly associate Africans and non-Africans in all their activities in accordance with their abilities irrespective of race, and which will make it a definite object of their policy to train Africans for the responsibilities involved. There is great need and scope for the development also of extension services to be staffed both by Africans and non-Africans working as members of a recognized commercial organization with its own *esprit de corps*. A service of this kind would open up new careers for Africans and members of other races and give scope for those prepared to undergo the necessary technical, commercial and agricultural training for employment in a position of recognized national importance.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

22. All such institutional evolution must rest on the clear appreciation of two fundamental principles. The first is that it will involve laws which will abolish privileges which are not consistent with those obligations which persons or communities must fulfil in the interests of the well-being of the society as a whole.

23. East Africa cannot afford to permit that the customs or vested interests of the past should continue to lead to the waste of resources through ill-used land or useless cattle, through conspicuous consumption based on privilege or status, through ill-trained and badly-directed labour, through restrictions on employment of members of particular races, through agricultural production protected by anti-social devices, or through outworn restrictions on the use of land for agricultural and urban purposes.

24. In considering these obstacles to increased productivity it is well to remember that privileges often continue to be demanded in East Africa on the grounds of race or colour which are no longer tolerated in other countries because they have been recognized as anti-social in their effects. Thus, for example, laws or customs which depress the bargaining power of particular types of labour, or allow particular employers to obtain labour which would otherwise not be forthcoming at the wage offered, must be clearly seen for what they are : practices which entrench the few at the expense of the many. In East Africa such anti-social practices tend to be camouflaged as matters of racial, tribal, or political principle. We wish to emphasize that it must be clearly and unequivocally recognized that race or colour cannot be regarded as a ground for any discrimination or restriction which the community is not prepared to accept on other grounds. For example, no immigrant to East Africa should be led to expect, or be given, privileges on the ground of his race or origin which conflict with the harmonious social and economic development of the country of his adoption, nor should he be denied opportunities to assist in and benefit from, that development on the grounds of his race or origin.

25. The second principle which must underlie institutional evolution in East Africa is that although every member of the community has a right to expect the growth of institutions which will further equality of opportunity, no member has a right to expect to be guaranteed equality of attainment in experience, efficiency, status or reward. All attempts to impose artificial equalities where they do not exist, ultimately result in increasing the poverty of the poor rather than of reducing it. They thus run counter to what should be the first aim of those who are concerned with equality : the reduction of obstacles to the increase of the national income, and its better distribution. The mass of the people are not assisted by measures designed to favour the few who are politically powerful or vocal enough to demand privileges in employment or income unrelated to their productive efficiency, and this is true whether they be privileged Africans, Europeans or Indians.

26. Throughout the Report we have had occasion to refer frequently to the need for new institutional growth to cope with the tasks facing the peoples of East Africa. But it is necessary to realize that the administrative machinery is in itself not enough. What matters is not the form, but the underlying impulse and goal of social action. The goal of social action in East Africa should be based on the realization that this relatively extremely underdeveloped region of Africa has so far failed to grasp its undoubted opportunities, and that it has been restrictive in major policies, ranging from its unwillingness to share its potential wealth with newcomers able to assist

in its development to its unwillingness to join in co-operant effort even between the tribes and races of which its peoples are now composed. The penalty of an unwillingness to move forward with the times is not merely stagnation but economic and political weakness and disruption in the face of a world which may not always be friendly.

SAFEGUARDS

27. It has now to be considered whether safeguards must be applied in East Africa to protect the weak from the strong in the difficult and dangerous transition to which the impact of modern economic and social forces exposes an ever growing number of the inhabitants because of the disintegration of old institutions and the time lag in the development of new ones. In any discussion of this question it is essential to avoid regarding it as a racial rather than a sociological problem. For, in fact, it is a problem which African communities share in varying degree with all societies now subject to the impact of rapid economic and social change. It is no exaggeration to say that this problem of social adjustment to rapidly changing circumstances is one of the major problems of the modern world. To realize this is important, for thus it is possible to avoid examining the issues involved as if they were merely the result of particular misconceptions, short-comings or lack of political good-will in East Africa itself. It is fundamental in dealing with the issues involved to realize that they are long-term problems requiring the evolution of new institutions and of social experimentation. It follows that in the meantime one must adopt measures which will enable social evolution to take place and cushion the impact of its effects to protect those who will suffer unduly from it.

28. This view has two further important implications: (a) that economic efficiency cannot be the only criteria of change but that its social effects must be taken into account; and (b) that adverse social effects cannot be compensated merely by the increased individual incomes which greater economic efficiency may bring about. Because of these implications we are recommending that there should be no transfers of the ownership of land between persons belonging to different races and that measures should be taken to mitigate the adverse consequences of an unduly rapid transition to the conditions of modern exchange economy. Such controls we have stressed, however, must be devised to give real scope for modern enterprise to stimulate the development of the indigenous areas. But more than this is required.

OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

29. It is essential in the East African territories for economic policy to be based on the over-all assessment of economic potentialities in the three territories and in East Africa as a whole. What this implies can but be illustrated by an example. It has been suggested by Mr. Troup that a total investment of some £50,000,000 will be required for certain agricultural development in the Highlands. We are not concerned with the accuracy of this estimate but with the fact that it was made (and under the terms of reference of Mr. Troup's enquiry had to be so made) without taking into account the development requirements of agriculture in the rest of Kenya. Indeed Mr. Troup was asked to deal only with one sector even of European agriculture in Kenya. Such a piece-meal approach is uneconomic and can only have the most deleterious effects. In each territory it is vital that overall economic policy should be based on an assessment of the available resources of capital, labour, land and enterprise in regard to the potentialities of the whole territory. If, for example, it is more economic to use government

resources for investment to improve agriculture in Nyanza, or in some other indigenous area, rather than in the Highlands this should be done on its merits. For only thus can the full potential development of the economy as a whole be brought about. We would go further and point out that it is equally important not to impede the development of East Africa as a whole by adopting policies of economic self-sufficiency for the separate three territories. If some foodstuffs can be more economically produced in Uganda the other two territories should welcome this specialization and purchase the cheaper product from it. East Africa cannot afford the luxury of national or sectional self-sufficiency, any more than it can afford to formulate investment or development policies which leave better economic opportunities unutilized in one region in order to further much less valuable potentialities in another. Only by policies which will apply public investment in railways, roads, water supplies and agricultural and industrial development in accordance with the highest economic return to the community as a whole can the scarce resources of East Africa be utilized effectively in the interest of all its inhabitants.

PART IV

Conditions for Urban Development

CHAPTER 19

*Conditions for Urban Development**A. The Development of Towns in East Africa*

INTRODUCTION

1. In our terms of reference we are asked to consider conditions of employment 'with special reference to the social conditions and the growth of large urban populations.' We have been led by what we have seen during our tours of East Africa and by the evidence submitted to us to emphasize the importance of finding an answer to the problems which have been created by the rapidity with which urban areas have developed. We consider that in the past too little attention has been paid by the East African Governments to the problems which arise from this development although we are conscious that a definite change of attitude is now apparent.

THE ORIGIN OF TOWNS

2. Except on the coast there were few towns in East Africa prior to the establishment of European administration. Many of the coastal ports have a long history and were described as important centres of population by such early travellers as Ibn Batuta and Vasco da Gama. Away from the coast there were a number of organized concentrations of huts which surrounded the headquarters of hereditary chiefs north and west of Lake Victoria, but these were temporary growths which bore no resemblance to the permanent urban centre as we know it today. During the nineteenth century, a number of trading centres were set up inland by the Arabs. Towns developed along the routes which were opened up into the interior by European enterprise from the beginning of the present century, especially as a result of the building of railways. A number grew up round the lake ports. As new areas were brought under European administration, headquarters were set up which were the origin of many of the larger towns in East Africa today.

3. The European population in many towns is still composed for the most part of government officials. In some of the larger centres such as Mombasa, Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam and Kampala, there are also considerable European trading communities. But in addition there is the Indian community, generally of much larger size. Indians had been established on the East African coast for many centuries and by the nineteenth century held most of the trade of that area in their hands. Later, as East Africa came to be opened up as a result of European enterprise, Indian traders penetrated into the remoter areas and some of the early records describe how they were to be found in places where no settled administration had been established.

4. The traditional social organization and economic activities of the inhabitants of East Africa did not lead to the growth of towns, which have grown up mainly as a result of non-African enterprise. For many years Africans were regarded as temporary inhabitants of the towns, in which they worked as unskilled labourers. They lived in traditional huts either inside or outside the township boundaries, and when urban authorities found it necessary to provide them with accommodation, it was on the assumption that they would work for short periods in the towns, unaccompanied by their

families, and would then return to their areas of origin. The part played by Africans in the life of the towns is now more important and they themselves have become increasingly dependent on wage-earning employment. They are still, however, regarded socially and financially as liabilities for whose housing and welfare the urban authorities are responsible. The problem is to make it possible for them to become an element in town life which shares responsibility with the other communities for the development of the towns and which also contributes to urban revenues. But the growth of the African element in urban centres has led to the continuous extension of the urbanized area beyond the official town boundaries. It is essential, therefore, to consider the urban problem in terms which include these peripheral areas of urbanized settlement.

THE PATTERN OF URBAN GROWTH

5. When European administration was established early in the present century, the East African territories were unhealthy for Europeans. Centres had to be established where they could live free from the dangers of tropical diseases and from which the surrounding countryside could be administered. The theory of indirect rule as well as the personal inclinations of many administrators led to a concentration on the development of rural tribal societies rather than the training of an educated urban *élite*, and also to the view that the town was not a suitable habitat for a permanent African society: there has, indeed, been a tendency to look on the westernized African with suspicion. The towns have, therefore, been regarded rather as bases for administrative and commercial activities than as centres of civilizing influence, still less of permanent African population. This attitude has had two important results. The first is the contrast between conditions in the non-African and African areas in the towns. The central parts of the towns are, as a rule, well laid out with wide roads and open spaces. The standards of building and of services are similar to those to be found in towns in Europe. In these central parts the inhabitants are mostly non-African. Outside these areas, with the exception of government-owned housing estates, standards of building and of hygiene are often as primitive as in the tribal areas. The second result is that those Africans, who have abandoned their customary way of life, find themselves excluded from the social and cultural life to which they aspire. There is a need, therefore, to create the conditions in which all races can settle in the towns on an equal footing and with equal opportunities for taking part in the life of the urban community.

6. Thus there have been two main aims underlying the urban policies of the East African Governments: (a) to develop centres in which non-Africans could live in healthy surroundings, and (b) to limit the trading activities of non-Africans in order to protect the way of life, land and trade of the indigenous peoples. With the exception of rural areas specified for non-African settlement, legislation in all three territories has restricted non-African habitation and commercial enterprise to gazetted townships under the Townships Ordinance of each territory. In the early years of European administration, non-Africans established trading posts which were later declared to be townships and trading centres. The majority of the towns were gazetted during the first quarter of the present century. In Kenya, for example, one third of the total number of townships listed in 1948 had been declared by 1914. As a result of this policy of restriction very few townships have been established in recent years throughout East Africa.

7. These restrictions on the enterprise of non-African retailers have had an adverse effect on the economic development of the East African territories, because they are at present the only agents capable of bringing goods and

services to areas where they are not yet available. In some areas which we visited, for example the Lake George area of south-western Uganda, these restrictions had prevented urban growth from accompanying industrial development. The non-African trader is also deterred by the fact that, as he can only establish himself on leasehold plots on which high-standard buildings must be constructed, his overhead expenses are too great to enable him to take the risk of pioneering trade in new areas.

8. African traders, on the other hand, although there are no legal barriers to their doing so, have no incentive to establish themselves in the townships as it is much cheaper for them to trade and live outside them. They can put up their shops on any land which they can obtain outside the towns without acquiring a lease and they set their own standards of construction and hygiene. As a result of the legal barriers to non-African trade outside gazetted townships the smaller gazetted townships are inhabited almost entirely by Asians. The hostility to the existence of these centres which several African witnesses expressed when giving evidence before us is partly due to this fact. The expansion of non-African trading activities into areas from which they are at present barred would not be harmful to African interests. In the areas where African traders have learnt to compete with Asian traders, as in the Chagga country of Tanganyika, the latter have tended to withdraw to the larger towns. Where, on the other hand, there are no African traders of sufficient knowledge and ability to provide goods and other trading facilities, the presence of non-African traders may stimulate the economic activity of the local people and aid their transition from a traditional to a modern economy. At the same time African traders should be encouraged to settle in gazetted trading centres with traders of other races, not only because this would help to break down the isolation of these centres from the surrounding countryside but also because it would enable Africans to learn from the entrepreneurial skills of more experienced traders. The system on which such centres are administered which is at present different from that of the surrounding areas, should be revised in order to further these aims.

9. Because the growth of urban centres open to members of all races has been deliberately restricted, the development of African urban centres has had an added importance. In Kenya and Tanganyika there are regulations which enable African local authorities to establish markets and trading centres, and a number are in existence. In Uganda, however, although there are African urban growths ranging from Katwe in Toro District with over one thousand houses to a collection of huts at a cross-roads, no special provision has been made for the establishment of a system of administration which would provide the services and controls needed in urban conditions, although we understand that the problem of these growths has been discussed in the past. There is clearly a need to establish an adequate administration in these areas. In Tanganyika there are minor settlements, which range in size from Ujiji with 10,000 inhabitants to others with populations of a few hundred people. Although the majority of inhabitants in many of these centres are African, they include members of all races. They are administered under the Minor Settlements Ordinance, which provides for the enforcement of simple building and sanitary regulations. Under the Ordinance multi-racial authorities may be set up. The administrative arrangements for these settlements, which provide for the maintenance of reasonable standards within the reach of Africans who wish to trade or settle in them and also for multi-racial representation on their administering authorities, deserve to be studied when the administration of similar centres is considered elsewhere.

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS

10. We have included this brief summary in order to pose the questions which must be answered when urban development is considered.

(a) What are the factors which restrict urban development and how can they be removed?

(b) What has been the cause of the unsatisfactory conditions which exist in many of the towns and what can be done to remedy them?

(c) How are all sections of the community to be enabled to play the fullest possible part in the economic and cultural life of the towns?

11. Although the growth of towns presents special problems, they must be considered within the context of the development of East Africa as a whole. The extent to which Africans will settle in the towns and relinquish their holdings in their tribal areas, which at present they maintain as a form of security, will depend largely on how all sectors of the economy develop. Although we are mainly concerned in this chapter with the improvement of material conditions in the towns, we realize that the growth of healthy and stable urban communities depends on human factors which are beyond the power of governments to control. Towns are of recent origin in East Africa and the effects of administrative measures will appear, not among the first generation, but among the second or third generation of settled town dwellers.

B. Population

THE EXTENT OF URBANIZATION

12. As the economy of East Africa is predominantly rural the percentage of the whole population which lives in towns is small. In Tanganyika, for example, in 1948 only 2 per cent of the total population were living in urban areas. When the non-African population alone is considered the picture is entirely different. As is pointed out in chapter 3, 50 per cent of the Europeans and 70 per cent of the Indians live in eighteen of the largest towns and, of the remainder, the majority live in some kind of urban centre. The non-African populations of the three territories, therefore, are not only highly urbanized but are mainly concentrated in a few large towns.

13. In the following paragraphs we find it necessary, owing to the arrangement of the available statistical material, to consider each of the main racial groups in turn. It has also been convenient for statistical reasons to consider the Indians (including Pakistanis) alone out of the Asian group, although we recognize the importance of the part played by Goans and Arabs in urban life. Here, as elsewhere in the Report, we have used our statistical material only as a guide to our consideration of the demographic problem, and are fully aware that more reliable statistical information about the populations of the towns is urgently needed.

14. The European populations vary in size in each territory according to climatic, economic and political circumstances. There are fewer Europeans in the towns of Uganda, which is not a country of white settlement, than in those of Kenya. Throughout East Africa the rate of growth of the European populations in the towns was extremely slow in the early years of the century and thereafter was only marked in the largest towns. The most rapid development has taken place since the last war. Kampala, for

instance, had a European population of only 149 in 1919, which was twelve years after it had been gazetted as a township. Between 1919 and 1930 the number increased more rapidly to 430 Europeans. By 1948 it had risen to 1,039, while between 1948 and 1952 their number was more than trebled.

15. Although the total number of Europeans has increased, they tend to be a transitory element in the population of the towns. Only in Kenya has an appreciable number of Europeans, resident in the towns, been born there. The majority of Europeans do not intend to make their homes in Uganda and Tanganyika and, even in Kenya, many government servants and business men leave the country on retirement.

16. Europeans form less than 5 per cent of the total urban population in the majority of larger towns. Nairobi and Kampala are exceptions, with 9·3 per cent and 11·1 per cent of the total, according to the most recent population estimates; in Kampala this is partly because a large African urban population lives just outside the gazetted municipal boundary. Europeans in East Africa make a contribution to town life in the fields of administration, of commerce and of the professions which is out of all proportion to their numbers. But the fact that many of them are not permanent residents tends to prevent the growth of a civic consciousness among them.

THE INDIAN POPULATION

17. A large proportion of the urban populations is Indian. According to the latest estimates they are 33 per cent of the total population of Nairobi, 45 per cent of the total population of Kampala and 29 per cent of that of Dar-es-Salaam. We have mentioned above the part which they played in the early development of towns, and the entrepreneurs and artisans of East Africa are still mainly Indians, although African craftsmen are beginning to emerge. In 1948, according to the Non-Native Census figures, 82·2 per cent of the Indians in Kenya were employed in private industry or trade, of whom approximately half were in the wholesale and retail trades, 10·9 per cent were employed by government (including local government) and 6·9 per cent were employed in public transport services. Unlike the European population the majority of the Indian population is permanently settled in East Africa, where a considerable percentage has been born. Although many preserve their ties with India, few intend to establish their homes there. They are the most stable element in the towns and the increase in their numbers is creating problems, both of shortage of living space and of opportunities for earning a living, which are the result of the restrictive policies which have been mentioned.

THE AFRICAN POPULATION

18. The number of Africans in the towns has grown very rapidly from a few unskilled labourers and domestic servants until it now forms a considerable proportion of the total urban populations, which is, for example, 57 per cent in Nairobi and 66 per cent in Dar-es-Salaam. This includes not only large unskilled labour forces, but clerks, foremen and artisans. There is now also a small number of African professional and business men, such as doctors, barristers and builders. There is much evidence of the transitory nature of the African urban population. One manifestation of this is the presence in East African towns of Africans from a large number of tribes, who have not yet begun to merge into a homogeneous urban society: members of tribes who live at a distance from the towns very often retain their landholdings in their areas of origin, where their wives and children remain in order to cultivate them. Another is the preponderance in the number of men over women in most of the towns. The proportion varies

and in Dar-es-Salaam, for example, there are as many as 72 women to every 100 men. It does not follow, however, that where the ratio between the sexes is approximately equal there are large numbers of stable marriages. A desire for economic and social freedom, which they may be unwilling to sacrifice by establishing new marital ties, may bring both men and women to the towns. There are also large numbers of Africans who live in the towns with no recognizable means of support.

19. A Tanganyika Report to the United Nations Organization says:—

'There is a perceptible drift of Africans from the country districts to the towns, in many cases the numbers involved bearing no relation to the industrial or commercial opportunities offered by the town.*

A witness who has worked for some years among the African population of Nairobi told us that an increasing number of Kikuyu had been living there without employment, maintaining themselves by petty trading, borrowing and stealing. The witness said that the provision of more housing or higher wages did not improve the living standards of the wage-earner but only tended to increase the size of the African population. A realization that piecemeal measures, such as the provision of a limited amount of good housing, not only fail to solve the problem of improving conditions but may even make it more difficult by encouraging the urban population to increase, is vital to the understanding of the whole urban problem.

20. Evidence was given, both in Kenya and in Tanganyika, that there are numbers of Africans who regard the towns as their home. Sir Philip Mitchell writes of the 'steady, reasonably well-paid, self-respecting urban African population' which has grown up in all the towns.† The assumption that the majority of African workers spend one or two short periods in employment in the towns and then return to their tribal areas for the remainder of their lives does not appear to be true. It has been estimated, for example, that 40 per cent of the African population of Nairobi before the declaration of the emergency had been resident there for five years or more. There is evidence that the majority of Africans who stay the whole of their first year in a town, during which period many give up their employment and go home, tend to spend most of their working lives in urban employment. But these African populations are not stable in the sense that they are wholly dependent on the town for their livelihood: as shown in paragraph 18 above, the majority retain their landholdings in their areas of origin. They have not established in the town homes in which they live with their families, nor do they share in the life of the urban community. But there is a degree of stability in that many of them remain in urban employment for long periods and some are beginning to regard themselves as townspeople.

21. So far we have spoken of urban populations who live within the gazetted boundaries of the towns. But a much larger urban population, mainly African, lives outside the boundaries of nearly all the larger towns. 'Urban' in this sense is taken to mean those who depend mainly on the town for their livelihood and who live in conditions which are urban in character, although in practice any delimitation must be artificial as town gradually merges into country. The figures for Kampala may serve as an example to clarify this point. In 1952 the estimated African population living within Kampala Municipality was 16,800, whereas the number in employment was 30,000. The total population of the seven gombololas (sub-counties) which surround the Municipality according to the 1948 Census was 129,000, of

* Report by Her Majesty's Government to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika, 1951, Colonial No. 287, H.M.S.O., 1952, paragraph 678.

† Sir Philip Mitchell, *African Afterthoughts*, Hutchinson and Co, 1954, p. 236.

whom 18,700 were immigrant non-Ganda Africans. A large percentage of this population comes within our definition of 'urban'. It is important therefore to take the whole urbanized population into account when urban problems are considered.

C. Conditions in the Towns

22. One of the main factors which preserves the isolation of the different groups in the towns is the difference in living standards between members of the different races. The Europeans in East Africa nearly all maintain a high standard of living and individual cases of poverty are rare. Except for a temporary housing shortage as a result of the war which has not yet been entirely overcome, their housing is not a problem. There is, indeed, the problem of the extremely high cost to local authorities of providing services because these building plots in urban areas are large and often dispersed.

ASIAN CONDITIONS

23. The conditions in which the Asians live are less satisfactory. In many towns they suffer from a shortage of land which is caused by the restrictions which prevent them from acquiring it outside the towns and by the administrative failure to make more land available inside them. Owing to the high land values which are a result of land shortage and to the costly standards of construction which are required by township regulations, only the richer Asians can afford to engage in building, and rents are high compared with the incomes of the poorer Asians. Although rent restriction ordinances are in operation in all three territories, it is doubtful whether their operation is beneficial because they lead to demands for key-money and because they tend to discourage both new building and the repair of older dwellings. As a result, many Asians live in overcrowded and insanitary conditions. The Medical Officer of Health of Kampala Municipality wrote in his annual report for 1949, p. 52:

'Overcrowding is the main housing bugbear at present. It is estimated that at least 400 lower class Indian dwellings are required. No progress has been made in this respect to alleviate conditions during 1949. The Indian dwellings that have been built have housed the upper and middle-class Indian families. The artisan still lives in cellars and "boys" rooms, ill-lit and ill-ventilated. Conditions in this respect are, in my opinion, nothing less than disgraceful.'

In 1952 he said that 600 Asian houses were needed. Similar conditions prevail in many other towns in East Africa. In 1950 the Commissioner for Local Government says of Eldoret that:

'the Asian housing position is very bad indeed . . . In the Asian area overcrowding has reached high proportions when as many as ten families are to be found living in the crowded quarters of business-cum-residential plots of 50 x 100 feet. All the attendant evils of overcrowding are present, including a filthy and overloaded sanitary system.'

He also mentions the 'overcrowded and insanitary Asian housing'* of Kisumu.

In 1950 the Municipal Housing Committee of Dar-es-Salaam submitted to the Member for Local Government that there was an urgent need for the immediate development of large-scale Asian housing schemes in Dar-es-Salaam in view of overcrowding and insanitary conditions in the Asian area.

* Kenya, *The Report of the Commissioner for Local Government, for the Years 1948, 1949, 1950*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1951, pp. 28 and 25.

24. Although the Asian population is divided into a number of different religious communities its members have retained their traditions and customs which they brought from Asia, and there is a strong feeling of social cohesion within each group. The forces which make for cohesion tend to isolate them from the other races, but at the same time make for co-operation and mutual aid within the group itself and enable it to tackle its own problems. The problem as far as the Asians are concerned is to enable them to acquire sufficient land for their rapidly increasing numbers and to build houses at a price within the reach of the lower income groups.

AFRICAN CONDITIONS

25. The conditions of the Africans in the towns are even less satisfactory. In Uganda nearly all the Africans who lived in the towns before the war occupied holdings which provided them with the bulk of their food. Since the war, with the large increase in the non-African population, most of these Africans have been evicted from the towns and have settled on the periphery. Those who remain are house-boys and others who live within their employers' compounds or are the occupants of government housing estates. The problem in Uganda is a peri-urban one.

26. In Kenya, a large number of Africans live within the towns. Some still live in their own houses, for example, in Pumwani in Nairobi or in part of the location in Nakuru. The remainder live in estates built by the Government or by employers. It is clear that in Nairobi and Mombasa conditions have been deteriorating for a long time. The report of the commission of enquiry showed that the Mombasa riots in 1939 were mainly caused by bad housing. The Nairobi Council first found it necessary to build dormitories for Africans in 1923 in an attempt to get rid of the insanitary settlements which had sprung up. In 1941 the Nairobi School Area Committee in a resolution described the overcrowding which then existed and its attendant evils. Conditions had become worse in Nairobi by 1948 when it was reported that:

'It was disheartening to see legitimately employed Africans sleeping under the verandahs in River Road, in noisome and dangerous shacks in the swamp, in buses parked by the roadside and fourteen to the room in Pumwani, two to a bed and the rest on the floor.*'

27. Conditions in Tanganyika do not appear to be so unsatisfactory as in the other territories. As mentioned in section A Africans have lived in towns since the nineteenth century and many of them have adapted themselves to urban life. The policy of the Tanganyika Government of allowing Africans to build their own houses on demarcated plots without laying down standards of construction has enabled large numbers to settle in the towns under some measure of control. But there is an influx into the towns, and Tanganyika is faced, equally with the other territories, with the problem of establishing reasonable conditions of life for its urban populations.

28. Settlements of closely-packed African huts are to be seen on the fringes of all the larger towns in East Africa. These have grown up as a result of lack of space in the towns. The annual report of the Uganda Labour Department for 1951 says of Jinja that:

'Overcrowded insanitary and uncontrolled settlements on the township boundary will inevitably continue until the supply of houses of a decent standard approaches the demand for accommodation.'

The African rural authorities are unfitted to administer these areas and as a result they are 'a menace to public health . . . because there appears to be no set policy or design and no adequate disposal of night soil or refuse'. As

* *Report of the Municipal African Affairs Officer, Nairobi, 1948, p. 11 (unpublished).*

long as there is a flow of people from the countryside to the towns these settlements will continue to grow in extent. When they are cleared away, as a result of an extension of the areas of a town, they inevitably reappear at a point outside the new boundary.

29. These areas, as well as receiving the overflow from the towns, are important as centres of African trade. As the cost of acquiring premises in the main commercial areas is prohibitive, only a few Africans can find an outlet for their trading activities in the towns by renting either one of the few shops in a housing estate or a stand in an overcrowded market. The practice of municipal trading by some urban authorities only adds fuel to the resentment which the exclusion of African traders arouses. They therefore establish themselves on the outskirts of the towns where they are free from all controls. Their activities are on a very small scale and, lacking security of tenure, they have no incentive to improve their premises. Yet to clear these areas of their inhabitants would be to destroy what, in some urban areas, constitutes the only development of African commercial enterprise.

30. Overcrowded and insanitary conditions are a direct cause of ill-health, helping to spread tuberculosis and giving rise to such diseases as dysentery and malaria. Although its extent is still the subject of research, there is evidence that malnutrition exists among all but the richest sections of the African population of the towns. Workers who come from a distance with the object of earning a sum of money tend to spend as little as possible on food to the detriment of health. Some foods may be unsuitable under urban conditions: the plantain, for example, which is the staple diet of the Ganda, is extremely expensive to transport and is also lacking in nutrient value.

31. Only a minority of Africans bring their families to the towns. The remainder either leave their families on their holdings in their tribal areas or are unmarried. The evils associated with the absence of family life—drunkenness, prostitution and venereal disease—are rife in the towns with large African populations. A large proportion of the women who come to the towns to escape from customary marriages, earn their living by prostitution or enter into irregular unions. There is as yet little opportunity for women to find employment outside domestic service, although a few firms have begun to employ women with success in spite of strong opposition from the traditional elements in tribal society. The lack of family life means that the majority of children in the towns grow up with little parental control. In 1941 it was reported that:

'Juvenile delinquency in Nairobi today is in no small degree due to the evil home life which the child sees. . . . It is known that there are eight men to one woman, that most unions are temporary and sordid verging on prostitution, and that the proportion of native women who are known prostitutes is alarmingly high.*'

32. Where conditions of poverty and social instability exist, the incidence of crime is likely to be high. In the multi-tribal societies of the towns the restraints imposed by tribal codes do not operate. In many of the larger towns robbery with violence is carried out by organized gangs, and is of frequent occurrence. Africans suffer equally with members of other races, but they usually fail actively to support the police, whom they regard with distrust. As the Chief Secretary of Uganda said in a speech regarding the increase in crime:

'The police record is very good, but often there is little evidence and sometimes they get little, if any support from the general public.'

* *On the Housing of Africans in Nairobi*, Report by Medical Officer of Health and Municipal African Affairs Officer, 1941, paragraph 3.

The maintenance of order depends in the last resort on the active support of public opinion, which hardly exists where the majority of the population consists of rootless and irresponsible individuals, who have neither family responsibilities nor property to give them an interest in supporting the authorities.

THE CAUSES OF UNSATISFACTORY CONDITIONS IN THE TOWNS

33. A study of official reports and the evidence of witnesses with knowledge of urban matters convinces us that conditions of life for the poorer Asian and the majority of the Africans in the towns have been deteriorating over a considerable period. The unsatisfactory nature of these conditions is indeed well known. Moreover their deterioration has not yet been arrested. An attempt must therefore be made to ascertain the precise nature of the causes which underlie them.

34. Whilst, as the foregoing discussion clearly indicates, many of the problems are due to poverty and bad housing, physical conditions are not the only cause. In healthy societies, and especially in those in which strong religious sanctions operate, poverty and overcrowding do not necessarily lead to loss of self-respect and the breakdown of morality among their members. The fundamental cause, which is discussed in chapter 5, is the immense change which has been wrought in African society by the impact of western culture and of new economic forces. It is the problem of the African who, emancipated from the confines of customary society by economic forces and by new conceptions of man as an individual, sees in the town a means of escape and also an outlet for his energy and ambition. But when he reaches the town he finds himself bereft of the support which membership of a group gave him, while the door to the wealth and standing which he expects the town to unlock for him is closed. It is the isolation and frustration of African town-dwellers, who feel that they cannot by their own efforts raise themselves above the squalid conditions in which they live and that they are denied the rights and advantages which members of the other races enjoy, which are the major causes of the crime, immorality and drunkenness which are rife in many East African towns.

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

35. In the early years of the present century the majority of Africans who worked in the towns lived permanently in the immediate neighbourhood, and a large number still do so today. They had, therefore, no need to hire accommodation or to buy food, and their wages served to pay their taxes and to buy additional articles such as clothes. As the economy of the territories developed African members of tribes who lived a long way from the towns came to work for short periods and then returned home. Their wages were calculated on the needs of a single man, and this has remained the basis on which wages are paid until the present day. Today, as mentioned in paragraph 20, large numbers of Africans are spending long periods in the towns. Their wages are insufficient, not only to feed, house and clothe their families, but even for their own needs. The Committee on African Wages in Kenya came to the conclusion that 'approximately one half of the urban workers in Private Industry, and approximately one quarter of those in the Public Services are in receipt of wages insufficient to provide for their basic, essential needs' of health, decency and working efficiency.*

36. The wages of the majority of African workers are too low to enable them to obtain accommodation which is adequate by any standard. According

* Kenya, *Report of the Committee on African Wages*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1954 paragraph 94.

to the report of the Committee on African Wages, in Nairobi 22 per cent of those employed in private industry and 6 per cent of those employed on public services earned under Shs. 65/- a month; and 50 per cent in private industry and 44 per cent in public services earned between Shs. 65/- and Shs. 100/- a month. The average rent charged to an African for a bedspace (i.e. a place to sleep in a room shared with others) in a municipal estate is approximately Shs. 8/- a month. In the Bahati estate the rent charged for a single room is Shs. 21/- a month. An experienced welfare officer estimated that a family of five living in Nairobi needed an income of Shs. 200/- a month to live in decency. Only 5 per cent of African workers in Nairobi receive this amount in wages, although a few Africans who receive less may have additional sources of income. The position is similar in the areas surrounding the towns. According to Dr. A. W. Southall of the East African Institute of Social Research, who carried out a survey of a densely populated area just outside the boundary of Kampala Municipality, some 42 per cent of the inhabitants earned less than Shs. 50/- a month. He concluded that:

'those whose total earnings are less than Shs. 50/- must be living very near to the subsistence minimum. Very few rooms in Kisenyi, even in the worst hovels, can be rented for less than Shs. 10/- a month, and it is difficult for a bachelor to keep his expenses on food, light and fuel below Shs. 40/- a month, even if nothing is allowed for other contingencies and recurrent necessities such as clothing.*'

In government housing estates in Uganda the rent for a bedspace is Shs. 5/75 a month, for a single room Shs. 13/- a month and for a two-roomed quarter Shs. 27/- a month. The majority of unskilled workers prefer to go outside the town to share a grass hut with other members of the same tribe at an average cost of Shs. 2/- a month. There is a considerable demand for single rooms by clerks and also people of some standing, but little demand for two-roomed quarters.

37. These figures are sufficient to indicate that the cost of accommodation of any kind is a heavy burden to the lowest-paid African worker. The high cost of accommodation relative to wages is, in itself, a cause of overcrowding, because accommodation is shared in order to lighten the cost. This, together with the high cost of food in towns, makes family life impossible for the majority. The wife in the country, who often grows enough food for herself and her family and who is sometimes able to earn an income by growing cash crops, is an economic asset. In the town she becomes a liability and has to be housed, fed and clothed. As noted, very few African women have found employment in the towns. For many wives the most lucrative source of income is the brewing of beer. From this it follows that even if the amount of accommodation were adequate, the majority of Africans in employment could not, at present wage rates, afford to settle in the towns with their families, although as wages rise, the numbers of those who are able to do so are likely to increase. The majority of unskilled workers, however, will continue to retain a holding in the rural areas as a source of economic security for many years to come.

THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING

38. Many towns are seriously overcrowded. Evidence was given that in Nairobi 3,000 men, women and children were occupying accommodation in one estate designed to house 1,200 people. In Mombasa 'in the course of a recent police investigation at night no fewer than 60 persons were found

* Preliminary Study of Mengo, Kisenyi, by Dr. A. W. Southall: p. 33 (unpublished).

sleeping in one temporary single-storeyed house'.* In Dar-es-Salaam it has been calculated that the average number of persons living in a room 16 ft. x 20 ft. is eight and that in some rooms it is as much as twelve. No evidence is available but there are indications that the extent of overcrowding in the areas surrounding the towns is considerable.

39. It is difficult to define the meaning of overcrowding with any precision. The medical authorities lay down as a standard the number of cubic feet of breathing space which each inhabitant of a house should enjoy. Their standards are of necessity arbitrary and it is not clear that a smaller amount of space is necessarily harmful to health in African conditions. Overcrowding from a social point of view needs a different interpretation, and the definition of privacy varies according to the outlook of a particular community. There is, therefore, no criterion by which the extent of overcrowding can be usefully assessed, and in East Africa there is also a lack of reliable statistics. Estimates of overcrowding and the amount of accommodation have normally been calculated on the purely arbitrary basis of the number of workers who need bedspaces. The figures which are given below are estimates of the shortage of bedspaces, and, although they are of little value in assessing the real extent of the shortage, they serve to show how far the provision of accommodation has fallen behind the demand.

40. In Nairobi, for example, the race between the increase in the population and the provision of housing since the war can be followed from published reports. In 1947 the African population was estimated to be 77,032 and the difference between the figures of population and the capacity of the housing available for Africans in November, 1947, was approximately 26,000. In 1949 it was estimated that 400 municipal employes were without houses and those housed were in very crowded conditions. In all, 10,000 people were estimated to need housing. The building schemes then under construction provided 4,500 bedspaces, but a further 2,500 people also required accommodation, as a result of slum clearances, which left 8,000 people uncatered for. In that year only 450 people were housed. In 1951 it was estimated that 10,000 bedspaces were needed. Two new schemes to house 2,000 people were begun but no new housing was completed during the year. By August, 1953, it was estimated that 20,000 Africans needed housing in Nairobi. Estimates of the same kind have been made for many other towns. It is said that there is a need of housing in Mombasa for 27,000 people; and for 10,000 people throughout the whole of Tanganyika.

41. If Africans are to settle down in the towns they must be able to establish their homes there. At present they are mainly living in housing estates or in temporary huts, neither of which constitutes a home in African eyes. In some tribes unless a suitable house is built, to which ancestral spirits can be transferred, no bride would consider setting up house in it. Various other taboos influence the design of houses. It is unlikely that in present circumstances many Africans are prepared to settle permanently in rented accommodation. It is often argued that, as the cost of housing is very high compared with the capacity of the majority of Africans to pay for it, they must be prepared to reduce their families to the size which is normal in England, i.e. to consist only of parents and children. But in some countries, for example, Italy and America, members of a much larger family group often live together in one dwelling. The claims of members of the same family and clan are strong in African society, and they fall particularly heavily on those who live in the towns. Africans will not be able for many years to discard

* *Report of the Municipal African Affairs Officer, Mombasa, 1953, p. 21 (unpublished).*

these obligations. It is often forgotten, when it is argued that Africans will be compelled by economic pressures to limit the size of their households in the towns, that for many years to come they will have the alternative of maintaining a holding and a home in their areas of origin.

42. Houses must meet the social needs of Africans if they are to regard them as their homes. They should be (a) sufficient in number to overcome the problem of overcrowding, (b) large enough to meet the African's ideas of decency and (c) of a design which, although inevitably modified by urban conditions, does not conflict too radically with the demands of custom. There is, therefore, a strong argument in favour of home ownership, which not only gives the African a stake in the town but allows a tradition of house design to evolve which is suited to local conditions. We recommend that wherever possible Africans should be encouraged to own their own houses. There will continue, however, to be a need for the provision of some houses by urban authorities, and these should be designed only after African opinion has been fully consulted.

43. There is a great shortage of housing in the towns throughout East Africa even when considered in terms of bedspaces alone. Governments have so far only touched the fringe of the problem by providing a limited amount of high quality housing, while the majority of the population have been left to house themselves. Owing to their impermanence which, as is indicated in section D, is largely due to the lack of security of tenure, neither governments nor the owners themselves have sought to improve the standards of these African-built houses. A policy is therefore needed which aims at the steady improvement of all the housing in the urban areas, and at the same time enables those Africans who are able and willing to settle permanently in the town to find accommodation in which to do so. We discuss this policy in section E.

THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

44. In the past the fundamental material and emotional needs of Africans could be satisfied within the framework of tribal society, but many of the rewards, such as the prestige won by valour in youth and conferred by status and wealth in old age, have disappeared, and rural life tends to be monotonous and stagnant. Although the whole economic and social basis of African life is changing, life in a traditional agricultural society still largely conforms to a pattern of rights and duties. Many activities are still undertaken in common according to the rhythm imposed by the seasons. But in the towns the African becomes an individual among strangers and must create for himself unassisted a new way of life. The African newly arrived in the town inevitably associates with those whose language and customs are similar to his own, and in the past some urban authorities have tried to re-establish in the towns the authority of the tribe. But the aim must be to develop among Africans an entirely new kind of society which embraces not only members of other tribes but also of the other races who live in the towns. The problem is to foster the development of a community of outlook and interest among groups which are at present isolated from each other by differences of language, customs and wealth.

45. To those whose minds are imbued with western ideas of order and cleanliness the untidy conglomeration of buildings to be seen in the African areas of the towns is merely a slum whose early removal is desirable. It cannot be said that a clear policy of urban development has been pursued in any of the territories but to a limited extent the aim has been the same throughout East Africa : to remove all traditional and temporary buildings

from inside the town boundaries and re-develop the cleared areas. For this re-development the standards of building construction and services are similar to those which are enforced in an English town. This policy of re-development has only been fitfully applied to the African areas according to the circumstances which have existed in each territory and town, and according to the extent to which resources have been made available.

46. The provision of African housing has normally taken the form of housing estates planned as neighbourhood units. The Committee on African Wages in Kenya endorses the view that:

'as far as possible housing schemes should embody the concept of the "neighbourhood unit" with provision for schools, health centres, shops, recreational and other amenities and security services.*'

Apart, however, from the failure to provide these services and amenities, in many estates they are too rigidly planned and leave no room for organic growth. The techniques which have been evolved in Europe to answer problems which have arisen after centuries of intense urban growth, are more likely to stifle than to stimulate the beginnings of a similar growth in East Africa. The densely populated African areas, although unhygienic and uncontrolled, are in many respects suited to African needs. In hot climates narrow streets and the close siting of houses provide some protection against the sun. The fact that people live very close together may in itself breed a sense of community. Africans, moreover, have little sense of tidiness and do not feel at home in the midst of too great regularity. An example can be given of vigorous and enterprising African development in areas where conditions are favourable. Katwe is a suburb of Kampala which lies outside the municipal boundary in which land is owned by the Africans themselves. Although overcrowded and insanitary, it has become a centre which provides many of the goods and services which are needed by Africans. These include, for example, food shops, the principle wholesale and retail market for plantains in Kampala, a 'Moss Bros.', bicycle repairers, printing presses, restaurants and dance halls. African professional and business men, such as doctors and architects, are established there. Mud and wattle buildings are being replaced by their owners by modern buildings in permanent materials. This is a desirable development, but a system of administration is needed which is capable of imposing controls in the interest of health and good order, and of providing essential services. It is the absence of similar opportunities for African enterprise either inside or outside the majority of towns which has given rise to the widespread feeling of frustration among African town dwellers.

47. As townsmen, Africans develop new social wants and aspirations beyond the basic need of food and shelter. These include market facilities, social services and similar amenities. In many towns these requirements are lacking. The markets are often inadequate and too far away. Schools, clinics and other social services are insufficient to meet the needs of the majority of the population. Drinking is often the only form of recreation available. But unless the Africans in the towns can find greater satisfaction for their different needs, material, mental and spiritual, they will not form a contented community. Where serious attempts have been made to cater for these needs, their morale is noticeably high as, for example, at Nakuru. The Nakuru Council has not only built a large community centre, but also tries to organize some activity in it for every day in the year. There are clinics and maternity services. Special attention is paid to the social education of women by

* Kenya, *Report of the Committee on African Wages*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1954, paragraph 393 (a).

organizing women's clubs, by providing services in housewifery etc., and even by organizing mixed hockey. The efforts to make African representation on the council effective are described in paragraph 119. Social contacts between the races are encouraged through team games and the British Legion. As a result the population appears cheerful and contented. It is an indication of the success of this policy and of strict administration that the part of the location which contains large numbers of closely-packed African huts is by no means a slum and has a clean and well-kept appearance.

48. It is necessary, however, to recognize the limits of what can be achieved by government action. Although services and amenities should be provided by central and local governments as aids to social development, it must be realized that only the members of a society themselves can create a community. This will only come about when people have been drawn together into social groups by a common level of education or wealth, irrespective of divisions of tribe or race, and when urban society is composed of innumerable small spontaneous associations. Although associations which provide artificial links between the different elements in the population by promoting leisure activities have a value, the stability of a community depends on the awareness of a genuine identity of interests among its members. Furthermore, none of these things is possible unless all have equality of status as citizens. Much depends on the emergence of a responsible African middle class who can meet members of other races on equal terms. The appearance of an indigenous literature, which is at present virtually non-existent in East Africa, may serve to heighten the consciousness of identity of interest among the most advanced groups by discussing the problems and ideas which they share. The first duty of governments is to create the conditions which make development of a community of this kind possible.

49. The first step in the formation of a healthy urban society is the growth of a settled urban population whose loyalties are directed towards their town rather than to their areas of origin. As we say in chapter 5, this process, which means that Africans must abandon the security of their holdings in the countryside, depends on the expansion of both the agricultural and the industrial sectors of the economy of the territory. Only as a result of such an expansion can wages begin to rise towards a level which will support family life in the towns. The process will, therefore, be a gradual one and it cannot be expected that any 'stabilization' of members of the lowest income groups can be brought about in a short space of time. Every effort must, on the other hand, be made to create conditions which are favourable to it, and in the ensuing sections of this chapter measures regarding land tenure, housing and administration are discussed with this end in view. When these measures have been taken, much will depend on whether the Africans themselves join with the other races to develop new urban communities by their joint efforts, or whether they will continue to look backward to the customary societies from which they have come.

D. Land

TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES

50. The boundaries of most towns were declared in the early years of this century. They were determined largely on an arbitrary basis. The area so declared was always much greater than the extent of the towns as they then existed in order to allow for future expansion. Many of the boundaries were

the circumference of a circle with the administrative office as the centre. Mbale in the Eastern Province of Uganda, for example, was gazetted with a boundary of a radius of two miles. Where land held in private title would have come within such a radius, as at Lushoto, the boundary was fixed to coincide with the estate boundary. Regulations normally make all occupation of land in townships subject to express permit in the form of lease or licence. Hence the customary rights of Africans, which in rural areas are left undisturbed, become extinguished in townships when the latter are gazetted. Those who stay behind thus either become squatters or obtain temporary occupation licences.

URBAN LAND TENURE

51. The systems of tenure within the towns differ in each territory and they are, therefore, considered separately. In Uganda the greater part of the land inside the towns is Crown land, although there is a small amount of land held in private title, including an area of land in African ownership within Kampala Municipality. Crown land is treated administratively in two different ways although there is no difference in the legal status of the lands concerned. First, Crown land within the townships is administered by the Land Officer and can be leased to members of any race, although in practice such leases are normally taken up by non-Africans. Secondly, nearly all Crown land outside the towns, except in Buganda, is administered *de facto* by the African local governments. Under the Crown Lands Ordinance Africans are permitted to occupy Crown land as of right until arrangements have been made for their removal to other areas equally suitable for their occupation, or for the payment to them of compensation. No one, of any race, who is not in possession of a valid licence or lease may occupy Crown land within a township and no non-African may occupy Crown land outside a township without a licence or lease. These, under declared policy, may only be granted for the benefit of the African peoples, which does not embrace the normal residential or commercial requirements of non-Africans, who are therefore mainly restricted to living within the towns. Thus, with the exception of towns in Buganda and in the Agreement Districts of the Western Province* and of Mbale township, where the land adjoining the township boundaries may be African freehold land, the towns in Uganda are surrounded by Crown land in customary African occupation.

52. In Tanganyika much of the land in the towns is Public land administered by the Land Office although there is a limited amount of freehold. On the coast there is 'Arab freehold' both inside and outside the towns. The East African Court of Appeal has recently given judgment that this land can only be registered as freehold if it had already been registered under the Germans. The unsatisfactory consequences which arise from uncertainty about the legal position of this form of tenure are obvious. The land surrounding the towns in most parts of Tanganyika is Public land in African occupation, but in areas of non-African settlement a certain amount of alienated land may adjoin the towns.

53. In Kenya the land within the towns is either Crown land or freehold. The towns are surrounded by native land units or by Crown land or by land governed by the Highlands Order-in-Council which may be either alienated or Crown land. Kisumu, for example, is surrounded by the Kavirondo Land Unit, and Mombasa Mainland adjoins part of the Coast Land Unit. Nairobi is surrounded by native land units and by Crown and

* There are three districts, Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole, with whose rulers formal agreements have been concluded.

alienated land. No non-African can occupy land in a native land unit unless it has been set apart in the manner prescribed by the Native Lands Trust Ordinance. In the Highlands, Africans, unless they live on their employer's land or are otherwise permitted under the Resident Labourers Ordinance, may not reside on the alienated estates and are therefore in practice restricted to living in the towns.

54. In spite of local variations, it can be seen from the foregoing paragraphs that the position of urban land is similar in each of the East African territories. The land in the towns may be held by members of all races, but only holders of land in private title or of leases or licences have a secure tenure and these are nearly all non-Africans. Hence in practice these alone have a secure tenure of their land. Outside the towns, with the exceptions mentioned above, land is in customary occupation of Africans, in which they are protected either by legislation or by administrative policy. Such land can only be acquired for urban expansion or industrial development after the rights of the African occupants have been extinguished. The policy in all three territories is to allow such land to be acquired in exceptional circumstances only, although the rigour with which it is administered varies in each territory: it is easier, for example, for a non-African to acquire land in African occupation for commercial purposes in Tanganyika than in Uganda, where it is virtually impossible, except for government-sponsored large-scale enterprises.

55. The three main consequences which derive from this situation lie at the root of the whole urban problem. The first is that all urban expansion is at the expense of those Africans who have settled either inside or on the edge of the towns, and who may, because replanning with high-grade and costly development is inseparable from such enlargement, consequently be evicted when land inside the towns is developed or when township boundaries are enlarged. Although they are legally entitled to acquire leasehold plots inside the towns, few have the resources to do so and the majority live in the towns without security of tenure. The effect of the extensions of township boundaries has in general been to drive back the African population to form congested African settlements outside the new perimeter. The second, which is discussed in paragraph 5, is that non-Africans cannot open up markets and stimulate the economy of areas which have not come under the impact of modern economic forces, and where African skill and interest in commerce is lacking. The third is the difficulty of obtaining sufficient land outside the present boundaries for urban development owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the tenure, which prevents Africans fully developing their land themselves, and which prevents others from doing so by legal restrictions on transfer.

NON-AFRICAN EXPANSION AND THE PROVISION OF PLOTS

56. Throughout East Africa, members of all races are now entitled to acquire land in the towns on equal terms. An earlier policy of racial segregation must, however, be mentioned because of the serious effect it had on urban development. In the early years of the century no permanent African settlement in the towns appears to have been envisaged, but legislation was passed to provide for the residential and commercial segregation of Europeans and Asians. In Uganda, for example, an area within the township of Entebbe was restricted in 1907 to 'persons of European origin or extraction'. In 1913 Professor W. T. Simpson, in his Report on Sanitary Matters in the East African Protectorate, Uganda and Zanzibar, recommended segregation on health grounds. In his Statement on Indian Policy in 1920 Lord Milner said:

' . . . as long as Indians are fairly dealt with in the matter of sites, the principle that . . . separate areas should be allotted to different races

is not only from the sanitary point of view, but also on grounds of social convenience, the right principle'.*

The policy was finally abandoned as a result of the White Paper which was issued in 1923.† Little attempt had been made to give effect to the policy of segregation in Uganda. The enterprise of Indian traders in establishing themselves in the interior in the early years of European administration has been mentioned. Insanitary Indian bazaars sprang up. The majority of Indians lived on their premises as they do today, and there were frequent outbreaks of plague. The policy of segregation, because of a failure to 'deal fairly' with the Indians and to provide them with sufficient living space, merely aggravated the problem. Owing to the shortage of land, land values rose and a large proportion of the Asian housing areas came under the control of the few rich men who could afford to develop them. The abandonment of the policy did not radically improve the situation because there was a continued failure to make enough land available. As a matter of 'social convenience' and for economic reasons, therefore, the majority continued to live among their own kind, and only the wealthiest built houses for themselves in predominantly European areas. The effects, an acute housing shortage and overcrowding, are discussed in paragraph 23.

57. There is evidence that the authorities responsible have failed to ensure that plots needed for industrial and residential development of all kinds are made available. Residential plots could not be obtained in Kisumu, for example, because they had not been surveyed. A delay of two years occurred in Jinja in the provision of go-down sites because of the failure of the Land Office to advertise them. It is essential that land needed for development should be made available when it is wanted and that one officer, whose functions we discuss in paragraph 126, should watch the position and should see that this is done. The present system of allocation through tender boards is little removed from their arbitrary allocation by government. It is preferable that all urban plots should be disposed of by public auction.

58. In consequence of the rapid growth of the Indian population and the considerable increase in the European population since the war, which is discussed in section C, government land in the towns has been divided up into leasehold plots to meet this expansion, although, as indicated in the previous paragraph, the provision of plots has failed to keep pace with the demand. Owing to the differences in the systems of land tenure inside and outside the township boundaries, which are discussed above, the land available for non-African development is limited, and many towns in East Africa are beginning to suffer from a shortage of land, and others are likely to do so in the near future. The official view is that the land in Nairobi, for example, will be sufficient to meet the needs of development for 25 years. This assumes the correctness of the estimates of future population increases which were made in the Nairobi master plan‡ which, in view of the unpredictable nature of urban population growth, may prove far from accurate. In nearly every town where there is a land shortage, although there are rare exceptions such as Mombasa, the shortage is artificially created by the legal restrictions on land use outside the town boundaries.

59. The population densities in the East African towns are not, it is true, very high. The Nairobi overall density in 1948 was 4.8 persons to the acre. This can be compared, for example, with the overall density of Birmingham

* Despatch of 21st May, 1920, printed in Kenya Government Notice 281/20, paragraph 7.

† *Indians in Kenya*—Command Paper 1922/1923.

‡ *Nairobi Master Plan for a Colonial Capital*, London, H.M.S.O., 1948.

in 1941 which was approximately 20 persons to the acre. There are, however, considerable economic difficulties which stand in the way of more intensive use of the land within town boundaries, which is often put forward as a solution to the problems of urban expansion. Land values have already risen considerably. The lease of a plot of approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ acre in the centre of Kampala which expires in the year 2011, for example, was sold in 1951 for £25,000. An economic return from high-cost land can only be achieved by high density development, i.e. by building upwards, which in turn necessitates such services as waterborne sanitation. Such development may be desirable in certain areas, but it cannot alone provide an answer to the need for housing of those who cannot afford to pay for such expensive accommodation.

LAND OCCUPIED BY AFRICANS IN THE TOWNS

60. In section C it is said that the majority of Africans who live in the towns have not established their home there. The main reason is that they are only able to obtain plots of land without security of tenure and at a very high cost, and they are therefore unwilling to invest their money in building houses from which they are liable to be evicted. Very few Africans own or rent plots on long leases in the towns, except in some towns in Tanganyika where by the end of the nineteenth century a number of Africans had settled in the towns established by the Arabs, and a number of Africans became permanent town-dwellers. In Tabora, for example, approximately three quarters of the African residential area is freehold land owned by Africans. This natural development was possible because there was no insistence on high standards of building. In most towns, although they are entitled to obtain plots on an equal footing with non-Africans, the rents and plot premia are too high and the cost of building at the required standards too great to be within the means of the majority of Africans. Although some of the richer Africans can afford to acquire, and build on, urban plots, they prefer to build outside the towns where they are free from the township building and health regulations. It is important that the rival attractions of the areas outside the town should be remembered when the conditions under which Africans should be allowed to settle in the towns are considered.

61. Although few hold urban plots in private title, a considerable proportion of the urban populations are Africans. They can be divided into three main groups:

- (a) those who live in government or private employers' housing estates: these are discussed in section E;
- (b) those who hold licences to occupy plots for short periods; and
- (c) squatters.

The actual terms of the licences held by group (b) vary in each territory but they all share the same characteristics. Many of those who were settled in the urban areas when the boundaries were gazetted were issued with licences which were valid for short periods, usually for a year. When the term of the licence expired, or after a short period of notice, holders were liable to eviction. In Uganda the holders of Temporary Occupation Licences lived on undemarcated plots in a customary manner. It is now intended that the areas under African occupation shall gradually be cleared and redeveloped. Compensation is only payable for buildings and permanent crops in existence on 1st January, 1949, and no fee is charged for a Temporary Occupation Licence. In Tanganyika a policy was pursued of granting Rights

of Occupancy to demarcated plots on which Africans could build their houses, for which no building standards were enforced. Much resentment was caused later when Africans who had occupied plots for a very long time were evicted on payment of compensation which they considered inadequate. The amount of compensation payable has been increased and more attention is now being paid to their resettlement. The rents paid for their plots are sub-economic and until recently Africans were not allowed to sell their rights in such plots to non-Africans. This has now, under African pressure, been allowed. Neither Africans nor non-Africans can acquire long-term Rights of Occupancy unless they are prepared (a) to build permanent buildings and (b) to pay an economic rent. In Kenya both Africans and non-Africans complained, when giving evidence, that the short-term leases for plots in trading centres are unsatisfactory. The Kenya Government is planning to give plot-holders greater security of tenure.

62. The process of removing Africans who lived within the town boundaries was a gradual one until the rapid increase in the numbers of non-Africans after the war led to its acceleration. In Jinja, for example, 'between 1st January, 1949, and 12th July, 1949, 919 African households, involving an estimated total of 3,500 persons, lost their traditional and often inherited rights over plots and their access to private sources of food supply.'* Although large numbers were evicted, the fact that they were people who had adapted themselves to modern urban life is more important than their numbers. Many played an important part in urban social life by taking in lodgers, by selling food and beer and by performing such services as bicycle repairs and tailoring.

63. The failure to provide enough houses to keep pace with the demand for them is discussed in section C. Only a few of those evicted from the towns have been provided with alternative accommodation. The compensation paid in most areas has been, in general, only for the value of the buildings and standing crops. This has given rise to discontent because of the difficulties and expenses in which Africans are involved who try to re-settle themselves in the neighbourhood of towns.

64. As it becomes increasingly difficult for Africans to obtain plots in the towns, they either try to settle outside the boundaries or become squatters.

'Squatting is the appropriation of another's land for one's own use without title or right . . . Squatting may take the form of open or furtive mass movements, or of individual operation. It is the illicit consequence of the struggle for shelter, the trespass of desperation; sometimes it is denounced, sometimes disesteemed; often it is tolerated for want of a practical alternative.'†

The failure to develop an area which has been cleared of its African population has often encouraged others to occupy it as squatters. In Tanganyika the policy of allowing Africans to build their own free-style houses was abandoned after the war in order that the areas concerned should be properly planned. As a result, according to an official memorandum 'unauthorised building began to take place on public land and unregulated building on freehold plots.' In Nairobi, to give a further example, 'a significant feature of the year [1951] was the springing up of shanty towns on the boundaries of the City and near the African locations.'‡ Those who squat on land within the towns gain by living close to their work and to the amenities which the

* C. Sofer, *Some Aspects of Race Relations in an East African Township*. (An unpublished Ph. D. thesis, 1952.)

† C. Abrams, *Urban Land Tenure, Problems and Policies*, U.N.O. Housing and Town Planning Bulletin, No. 7, p. 12.

‡ *Report of the Municipal African Affairs Officer for 1951*, p. 6 (unpublished).

towns provide. They pay no rent and if they are removed lose only their labour in erecting primitive shelters for themselves. In East Africa urban squatting has, in fact, been 'tolerated for want of a practical alternative'. It gives rise, however, to unsatisfactory conditions which are discussed in section E.

AFRICAN SETTLEMENT OUTSIDE TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES

65. Africans who have been evicted from their holdings in the towns and who cannot find somewhere else to live within the township boundary can either go back to a rural life or settle again within easy reach of town. At the same time those who come to seek employment may prefer to live outside the town boundary where control is less strict. As is said in paragraph 54 the land surrounding the majority of towns in East Africa is in customary African occupation, and African rights in that land are protected by legislation. The original right holder benefits from the incursion of newcomers. He may, for instance, add rooms to his own house or build other quarters which he lets out for rent. More frequently he allows the newcomer to build a hut on his holding on payment of a ground rent. In this way the land is covered with the huts, usually of a primitive standard, which can be seen surrounding most East African towns: the value of the land is enhanced, holdings are bought and sold, and the customary system of tenure breaks down. The holder of such land, however, does not enjoy the security which a modern form of tenure provides. He has no title to the land, and therefore cannot raise a mortgage on any buildings he may put up. He is subject to all the uncertainties of judgments in native courts regarding his possession of the land. Finally, he can be evicted should an expansion of the town take place.

66. The basis on which compensation is paid to those who are evicted from their land outside the towns varies in each territory. In Kenya compensation is paid for disturbance and also for the individual rights in the land which are extinguished. In Tanganyika compensation is paid for loss of rights in the land, buildings and standing crops with a small additional sum for disturbance. Until recently in Uganda compensation for eviction was paid for the value of the buildings and crops only. An administrative instruction has now laid down that it should also be paid for the value of the land, and for a disturbance element which is fixed at 15 per cent of the total amount of compensation payable. None of these methods of assessing compensation takes into account the real nature of the loss which is sustained on eviction, although that recently adopted by the Uganda Government comes nearest to doing so. The occupier may have paid a considerable sum for his land. He may not be able to find alternative accommodation sufficiently close to his work. The occupation of a particular site may also make it possible for him to earn a living by taking in lodgers, by running a shop or by practising a craft. These evictions, together with the failure to pay adequate compensation, have not only given rise to suspicions of the sincerity of government's land policy but also caused a feeling of fear and dislike of the towns. Equally with the removal of Africans from inside the towns, they have contributed to the general instability of the African populations and prevented them from developing as a settled class with an economic stake in the development of the towns.

67. Where Africans have security of tenure and own the land, as they do in the areas surrounding Kampala, the position is different. Various kinds of tenant are to be found on 'mailo'* land: (a) the 'kibanja' holders, who

* The origin of 'mailo' tenure is described in chapter 2, paragraph 34. It is further discussed in chapter 23, paragraph 39 et seq.

have rights of permanent occupancy subject to their fulfilling certain conditions: they cannot develop their plots, nor even build permanent houses, without coming to an agreement with the landowners; (b) those who hold plots by agreement with the landowner which they normally exploit by building a number of rooms for renting; and (c) those who pay a monthly sum a head to the landowner for a space on which to build temporary huts and who can be evicted at will.

68. Although the position of his tenants may be unsatisfactory, the owner of 'mailo' land has complete security of tenure and can therefore develop his land to the full. As they receive a relatively small return from their customary African tenants, the majority of landowners prefer either to develop the land themselves, by building a modern house and letting it to non-Africans (who alone can afford to pay the rents), or to lease the land to them. Under the laws governing 'mailo' land, it cannot be leased or sold to a non-African without the consent of the Buganda Lukiko and the Governor. The Buganda Lukiko withheld their approval from the grant of such leases in the Kibuga* until 1952 when there was a change of policy. Since then a very large number of leases has been granted, mainly to Indians, some of whom have acquired large blocks of land on which they intend to build Asian housing. This development is important not only for the relief of Asian congestion in Kampala but as an indication that where Africans have a secure title to their land they are prepared to lease it to non-Africans if they can gainfully do so.

69. As paragraph 58 shows, the land at present available in many towns will be insufficient in the near future to meet the needs both of housing plots for an expanding non-African population and for industrial and commercial sites; more actual space is needed for urban expansion. Urban expansion is of two kinds: the first is real expansion, that is the taking in of new land for town extension and planning; and the second is the purely administrative extension of town boundaries to take in and administer urbanized areas on its borders. In East Africa the first of these kinds of expansion has always been combined with the second. In the first place the restrictions placed on the acquisition of land by non-Africans outside the boundaries of the majority of East African towns mean that additional space for their expansion can only be obtained by extending the boundaries and taking new areas into the towns. But in many towns practically the whole perimeter is surrounded by urbanized growths; expansion, therefore, must always be into these areas. As they are without an effective administration and the occupiers of land have no security of tenure, the undesirable conditions which are described in section C arise in them. A further reason for extending the boundaries, therefore, is that in these areas the organization and provision of proper services can only be introduced by bringing them into the urban administration.

70. Thus it comes about that urban expansion in East Africa means the taking in of these urbanized peripheral areas, and the eviction and compensation of the African occupiers of land in them becomes an inevitable part of the process. This may be contrasted with the position in the United Kingdom, where expansion would be mainly an administrative change not involving wholesale extinction of the land rights of the inhabitants, and where an urban council requiring land for a specific purpose such as rehousing would normally try to obtain undeveloped land for it. This expropriatory type of expansion would not be necessary if the peripheral areas were properly

* In this connexion the Kibuga is taken to mean the administrative sub-unit adjoining Kampala Municipality in which is situated the headquarters of the Kabaka and of the Buganda Government.

organized and had a system of land tenure which gave clear and secure titles to the holders of plots. Such a system would not only provide a just basis for compensation where expropriation is necessary, but would also facilitate the free play of economic forces, leading to the sale and letting of land and thus making possible the spontaneous and natural expansion of the urban areas.

71. Under the existing system the organic growth of towns is impossible. Whereas urban growth in the United Kingdom and elsewhere has been on the whole a spontaneous process whereby the administrative area of the town has been enlarged after a new area has become urbanized, in East Africa it has been a process of rolling back the African population in the interests of urban communities which have been until now predominantly non-African. This, more than any other single factor, has retarded the growth of a settled African urban population able to regard the towns with pride as places to which they belong. Instead, they look upon them with jealousy as non-African centres from which they are excluded. Moreover, the limitation on the occupation of land outside the towns by non-Africans and their consequent confinement inside them has equally serious effects. These non-African communities suffer from lack of space and consequently build as far upwards as their means allow, which in turn leads to costly standards of building and sanitation, and causes resistance to any lowering of standards which would make it easier for Africans to obtain plots. Thus the restrictions which prevent non-Africans from obtaining land outside the towns at the same time intensify the exclusion of Africans from within them.

72. Land tenure is thus the key to much of the urban problem and it must therefore be put on a basis which will give members of all races equal opportunities and equal and adequate security of tenure, and also allow for the organic growth of the towns. As far as the land inside towns is concerned, no great change is needed, except the provision of security of tenure for all holders of urban land and revision of the procedure for allocating plots. But a system must be devised which gives Africans a legal recognition of their title to the land outside the towns, so that when town expansion into urbanized peripheral areas occurs and they are brought within the urban boundaries, the Africans who hold land in them may not lose their titles or security of tenure. They would then be able to develop their plots with the knowledge that if expropriation became necessary they would receive full compensation.

73. The question of the sort of African title to be granted or recognized in the urbanized areas surrounding the towns is an important one. As stated in paragraph 65, the plots of these African occupiers in the peripheral areas are already freely bought and sold and their titles approximate to freehold. The supreme incentive which this full title would give to their full and proper development of the land for urban purposes (houses, shops, etc.), and the fact that they are unlikely to consent to hold their land on a lease from any government agency, outweighs arguments against admitting freehold titles in town lands and against allowing the owners to acquire the incremental value of their land. The African who owns his land has an asset which he can develop, and experience elsewhere in Africa suggests that private ownership of land in the towns makes possible large-scale indigenous development in the form of well equipped factories, workshops and stores. Africans should be granted individual freehold titles in their land where, after due enquiry, it is clear that their rights already approximate to freehold. As in other

territories where a similar process has been carried out, it should be accompanied by the adjustment of plot boundaries in order to make possible the orderly development of the area. Such recognition of African titles would also facilitate the acquisition of land in these urbanized areas when it is necessary for new layouts, roads, open spaces by providing a proper basis for fair and equitable compensation at the market value.

74. The willingness of Africans who are secure in the possession of their land to lease to non-Africans is noted in paragraph 68. It is probable that opinion at first will favour only the leasing of such land rather than its outright sale, and leasing should therefore be encouraged as a first step. Eventually land owners may be given an unrestricted right of disposal of their land.

E. Housing

THE HOUSING POLICIES OF THE EAST AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS

75. Two interacting ideas have governed policies regarding the housing of Africans. The first is that all housing within the towns should conform to building and health rules under the municipal and township ordinances in each territory. The main reason for this is the desire to safeguard a standard of hygiene which has already been established for the non-African communities. The second idea, which is described in section A, is that, because the African populations of the towns are not regarded as a permanent element in the urban community, the urban authorities have a special responsibility for providing them with housing and other facilities. The authorities have assumed this responsibility of providing houses for Africans, although, as indicated in section C, the majority of Africans in urban areas still live in houses built and owned by Africans.

76. In Kenya, where large numbers of Africans have worked in the bigger towns for many years, emphasis has always been placed on building houses in permanent materials for renting. A very great effort is now being made to provide housing, and large sums are being allocated for this purpose. There is now a new emphasis on house-ownership by Africans, and schemes have been adopted in many towns to make this possible. The experiment is also being tried of allowing Africans to build their own houses in temporary or semi-permanent materials.

77. The provision of housing has only become a problem in Uganda since the war. The Uganda Government has limited its aims to discharging its obligations as an employer of labour and to making as large a contribution as possible to general housing, as it has found it impossible, as a recent policy statement says, 'to house the whole of the urban population now or in the future'.* The results of the experiments of the recently formed Housing Department are awaited before a final policy is decided, but 'it is not the intention of Government to relax general standards which are required by the existing Public Health Building Rules'.†

78. The problem is clearly understood in Tanganyika where it is admitted that a general and effective solution has not yet been found. It is realized that for permanent housing 'with present high building costs and the existing wage economy, the monthly rental is too high for the income group which it

* Uganda, *Statement of Policy on African Urban Housing*, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1954. paragraph 30.

† Ibid. paragraph 59.

is primarily desired to assist, namely the poorer classes of workman.' Efforts have been concentrated on discovering a way to cheapen the building of permanent houses so that they can be let at an economic rent. It is only as a relief measure that Africans have again been allowed to build their own houses, and in 1950 it was reported that 'some three thousand plots on approved layouts, designed by the Chief Planning Officer, have been made available and most of them are already occupied'.*

79. In view of the serious shortage of housing in nearly all East African towns for both Asians and Africans, a policy is needed which will both remove congestion and at the same time raise the housing standards progressively for the whole of the urban populations, while also taking into account the rapidity with which they are likely to increase. It must also try to ensure that suitable housing becomes available for persons settling permanently in the towns in future. Four possible methods have been suggested which would achieve this:

- (a) the continuance of the present policy of insisting on high standards of construction by providing large subsidies ;
- (b) changing the structure of wages ;
- (c) placing a large share of the responsibility on employers ; and
- (d) allowing those who need houses to build them to whatever standard their resources permit.

80. There are three main groups of people whose housing must be considered. First there are those of all races who can afford to acquire houses of the required standard of construction. They do not present a problem, but ways of increasing their number by making the capital available for them to do so are discussed in paragraph 87. Secondly there are those who at present live with their families inside, or on the periphery of, the towns, and who as yet cannot afford regulation standard accommodation. These include a considerable number of Asians. They also include nearly all Africans who live in areas inside the boundaries which have not been re-developed and the majority of those who live outside. Many of the latter, especially those who live outside the town boundaries, still grow some of their own food. Their houses, although of traditional construction, are often spacious and well suited to their needs. The main deficiency is lack of services, such as roads, drainage, water supplies and refuse disposal. The problem, which is the result of clearing away these houses and either not replacing them or replacing them with accommodation which is much smaller because of the high cost involved, is not always understood. Those who lose their homes are forced either to submit to overcrowded conditions, or to reduce the numbers of their dependants, or to find a new place in which to rebuild their houses. Many thousands of Africans have been faced with this dilemma since the war and the majority have chosen the third course. Thirdly there are the African workers without their families who work for varying periods in the towns. At present some of them are living in housing estates provided by the urban authorities or by employers, but a large number live in huts outside the town boundaries. In some areas the accommodation which these huts provide is similar to that in which they live in their home areas and, provided it is kept clean, is satisfactory. The remainder are overcrowded and squalid.

HOUSING COSTS AND SUBSIDIES

81. It is not possible to give an accurate picture of housing costs because the basis on which they are calculated varies considerably. The estimated costs of

* Report by Her Majesty's Government . . . to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika, 1950. H.M.S.O. paragraph 648.

buildings carried out by government agencies do not usually include such overheads as supervision or transport. According to figures submitted by the Tanganyika Government, the average cost of building European quarters under contract was approximately Shs.20/- a square foot; of Asian quarters Shs.18/- a square foot; and of African quarters Shs.12/50 a square foot. A witness said that in Kenya immediately prior to the declaration of the emergency the cost had risen to between Shs.60/- and Shs.70/- a square foot owing to the boom in construction work of all kinds. The high cost of materials is an important factor and the Tanganyika Report to the United Nations for 1952 (paragraph 904) pointed out that all cement, tiles, and steel and nearly all fittings had to be imported. But the most serious problem is the shortage of organizations with adequate supplies of skilled labour to meet the considerable demand for building since the war. Government departments are at a disadvantage in face of a labour shortage because their wages scales are inflexible and they tend to lose their most efficient employees to private concerns.

82. Attempts have been constantly made to find a means of drastically reducing building costs in order to bring them within the reach of the lower income groups. Experiments have been made with various types of construction, new materials have been employed, and efforts have been made to reduce labour costs. However much such measures may succeed in reducing costs, they will not solve the problem, because the disparity between building costs and the rent which the majority of those who need houses can afford to pay will remain too great. They have, however, an important contribution to make both in reducing costs and also in evolving new building techniques and designs which are suited to the climatic conditions and social habits of East Africa.

83. The policy in each territory is to subsidize heavily the rents of housing in estates provided by the authorities. Thus in Uganda 'On rented estates, rents are assessed in relation to the capacity of tenants to pay'* and in Kenya, 'in fixing the rents of their African housing, local authorities have hitherto had regard more to the ability of the African to pay than to the need for obtaining an economic return on financial outlay'.† Although the rents of government housing have accordingly been subsidized, the income of large numbers of Africans is still too low to enable them to rent accommodation in such estates. Owing to the lack of accurate estimates of costs, it is impossible to assess the exact degree of subsidization. According to reliable witnesses, current rent of a bedspace in a municipal housing estate in Kenya is subsidized by Shs.7/- a month and a two-roomed house by Shs.36/- a month. The vast sums which would be needed to solve the housing problem by the provision of government housing for renting are demonstrated by the following example. If it is accepted that the average subsidy on a bedspace is Shs.7/- a month and that the shortage is of 20,000 bedspaces, the annual cost of the subsidies which would be required to make up the shortages in Nairobi alone would be £84,000. If it is assumed that the shortage of bedspaces for the whole of Kenya is 70,000 (although as said in section C estimates of shortages in these towns are not meaningful and are certainly underestimates of the real shortages) the cost would be £294,000 a year. If translated into terms of two-roomed houses, it would be over £1,500,000 a year. As said in section C, a two-roomed house is inadequate for the needs of an African family. The figures do not in any case take into account future

* Uganda, *Statement of Policy on African Urban Housing*, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1954. paragraph 68.

† Kenya, *Report of Committee on African Wages*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1954. paragraph 162.

population increases. That no solution can be found through these means is in fact appreciated. In a statement regarding the housing policy of the Nairobi City Council, the Kenya Central Housing Board said:

'The Council's programme, together with the programmes of Government, Railway and High Commission, will constitute a very radical attack on the shortage. The problem will not be solved at the end of the period. As overcrowding lessens, more and more families from the reserves will be attracted to the town, and further efforts will be needed to bring the housing in the City up to family standards.'

84. Even if a solution could be found by these means, such a large expenditure on the subsidization of housing is not justified in the light of the resources which are at present available.

'It would seem desirable, therefore, to accord a fairly low priority, at the present stage of economic development, to permanent housing for workers, except where improved housing would have a direct effect on the productivity of the worker, and where the substitution of housing built with unskilled labour and little-processed materials is not practicable.*'

It should rather be devoted to increasing the capital resources of the territory concerned.

TENANT PURCHASE SCHEMES AND LOANS FOR HOUSING

85. Since the continued building of houses in permanent material by public authorities for renting to Africans is likely both to prove a heavy drain on the finances of the territories and to fail to overcome the housing shortage, other solutions to the problem have been sought which do not involve the relaxation of standards of construction. In each territory schemes have been adopted to enable the tenants of houses built by public authorities to purchase them over a period of years. In Nakuru, for example, houses are being built at a cost of £360. They can be bought by tenants who pay a deposit of £60 and the balance in monthly instalments of Shs.42/- (which include interest and administration charges).

86. The majority of Africans who are in need of housing have not saved sufficient money to put down deposits, even if they were considerably less than £60. A comparison with the present wage scales shows that tenant purchase schemes are beyond the resources of all except members of the highest income groups. Even so, the houses provided are too small to provide sufficient accommodation for the majority of African families. In Uganda a three-roomed house can be bought for a deposit of 5 per cent of the cost and the payment of instalments of Shs.53/57 monthly over 30 years, but Africans can obtain more suitable houses outside the towns for a much smaller outlay.

87. The suggestion that the provision of credit on reasonable terms by government-sponsored credit banks or by building societies for the building of houses would help to solve the housing problem meets with the same objection that only very few Africans would be able to take advantage of it. The question of credit for Africans is dealt with fully in chapter 9. If, however, credit on strictly commercial terms could be made available to members of all races, it might be of considerable benefit to Asians in the lower-income groups and to members of the emergent African professional and commercial classes. The whole question, however, of making it possible for Africans to borrow money for building houses from government agencies, whether loans are made on a purely commercial basis or whether interest rates are subsidized, must be approached with caution. Experience in Uganda, where loans are made to private individuals through a government agency, suggests that

* *Workers' Housing Problems in Asian Countries*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1953, p. 175.

if large sums of money are put into the hands of people who have neither experience of handling them nor knowledge of building techniques, they may succeed neither in completing the building nor in repaying the principal and interest on the loan. The failure to do so and the consequent foreclosures on the loan leads to an irrational feeling of resentment against government. The difficulties are increased by the lack of competent and trustworthy building contractors. The only practical ways of overcoming these difficulties are (a) for the lending agencies to pay the contractors on completion of the work ; or (b) for instalments of the loan to be paid only after each stage of construction has been successfully completed and approved, for example, when the foundations are completed, or when wall plate level is reached. Unless the expenditure of the loan can be controlled in this way, it is not advisable for governments to lend money for this purpose. This only applies, however, to lending by government. The development of building societies is desirable, although they will take time to win sufficient confidence in their stability to attract the savings of the small investor.

A CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURE OF WAGES

88. The gap between the capacity of the poorer members of the population to pay and the cost of building houses in permanent materials cannot be sufficiently narrowed by reducing building costs. The alternative method of closing the gap by raising wages to the level at which members of the lower income groups can afford to pay economic rents or to acquire their houses through tenant-purchase schemes must be considered. In Chapter 15, the conclusion is reached that wages cannot quickly be raised to the level which is recommended, for example, by the Kenya Committee on African Wages, without serious injury to the economy of the East African territories. Equally with the subsidization of housing, the raising of wages to this level by legislative action would divert the restricted resources available from measures which would lead to increased production. As the national product of the territories becomes larger, wages will rise and workers will be able to spend proportionately larger amounts on their accommodation. The process must be a gradual one, and, although it will make its own contribution to the improvement of housing conditions, the increase will be insufficient for many years to make it possible for the majority of workers to afford houses of the standard at present aimed at.

89. In connexion with wages the suggestion must be discussed that the answer to the housing problem lies in transporting workers to their places of employment daily from either the rural areas or from satellite towns. Many workers at present travel considerable distances to and from their homes by foot or on bicycles. The cost of travel by any form of mechanized transport is far too high at present to be within the means of the majority of workers. To travel by bus daily to and from Kampala, for example, to a point four miles outside would cost more than the total monthly wages of many unskilled workers. With the improvement of old roads and the making of new roads in the suburban areas and the extension of bus services, the number of Africans who will be able to travel by such means will gradually increase.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPLOYERS REGARDING THE HOUSING OF THEIR EMPLOYEES

90. Under the Employment Ordinances of each territory employers are obliged to assume certain responsibilities for the housing of their employees. In Kenya they must either provide housing for those of their employees whose earnings do not exceed Shs.100/- a month, or pay them a cash allowance in lieu. It is usual in the towns to pay the cash allowance rather than to

provide housing. In Tanganyika and Uganda employers are required to provide housing for those of their employees who earn less than a certain amount and who live too far from their homes to return to them daily. In the towns in these territories there has been a general failure to carry out these provisions: in 1950 it was found necessary, for example, to exempt employers in Kampala, Entebbe and Jinja from the obligation to provide housing because the prescribed standards were beyond their capacity and because the Government, as the largest employer, was itself unable to fulfil its obligations. In each territory employers are reluctant to spend large sums on expensive and unproductive housing:

'It is important, too, to remember that in African housing the employer has an asset of doubtful value, particularly in township areas. He is compelled to build upon land which can be used for no other purpose than the residence of Africans, a restrictive factor should he at any time be compelled to realize his investment.*'

If employers are obliged to shoulder too heavy a burden those with capital and skill may be discouraged from starting new industrial and commercial enterprises in East Africa and prefer to go elsewhere. The suggestion has been made that employers should be made to pay a cess for each employee to the local housing authority on the Southern Rhodesian model. This might be equitable where the majority of African workers live in housing provided by a government agency. Where, as in East Africa, this is not so, the employees who lived in government housing would receive an addition to their wages which those who lived in houses privately owned would not receive. Such a cess, moreover, would be an undesirable form of indirect taxation which would fall on one section of the community only.

91. Thus no solution to the housing problem is to be found in increasing the obligation of the employer regarding housing. Hitherto employers' contributions towards housing their employees have been limited either to building quarters for their labour or to including a rent-element in wages. There are, however, a number of other ways in which employers can help their labour to build their own houses: (a) by making loans to them of not more, for example, than the value of 18 months' basic wages; (b) by helping in the construction of their houses by building plinths, by providing skilled help such as carpenters, etc., and by transporting materials; (c) by providing materials; and (d) by granting their employees paid leave to build houses. But we gained the impression that few employers are sufficiently interested in the lives of their workers outside working hours to study the conditions in which they live. To make such measures effective the employers must have a thorough knowledge of the way of life and problems of their work people and we recommend that the larger employers should set up housing committees to help their employees to obtain better houses or to improve the houses in which they are living at present.

ASIAN HOUSING

92. Hitherto the discussion has been limited to the problem of housing Africans, but the less wealthy Asians are equally incapable of paying for adequate accommodation built to the standard of construction which is at present imposed. The attempts which have so far been made to overcome the shortage of accommodation for Asians have failed. The Committee on Asian Overcrowding in Kampala, for example, said that 'the crux of the problem of providing housing for lower-class Asians is to arrive at an economic rent which the average member of that community can afford'†

* E. A. Vasey, *Report on African Housing in Townships and Trading Centres in Kenya, 1950*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1953; paragraph 7 (unpublished).

† *Report of the Committee on Asian Overcrowding in Kampala*, paragraph 7 (unpublished).

and considered that Shs.90/- a month was the maximum which Asians in the lowest income groups could be expected to pay. When however, the proposals of the Committee were discussed they were ultimately rejected by Government because it was found that the economic rents would be in the neighbourhood of Shs.150/- a month and Government considered that the Municipality should not subsidize housing. The experience of the Dar-es-Salaam Municipal Council was similar. In a memorandum the Council stated their conclusion that 'housing schemes to cater for the artisan, clerk or shop assistant classes of the Asian population were, in the long run, economically unsound, as the economic rent for the new houses would be beyond the means of the persons for whom such schemes were intended.'

93. The Asians have resources and a social cohesion which the Africans who live in the towns lack, and have made some efforts to deal with their own problem. The efforts, for example, of the Ismaili Community in building flats in Mombasa are to be commended and governments should give every encouragement to enterprises of this kind. When sufficient land has been made readily available to Asians, the problem will become easier. But the fact remains that no solution is possible until standards of building construction are relaxed.

MEANS OF RAISING THE GENERAL LEVEL OF HOUSING

94. Different methods of closing the gap between wages and the cost of building high standard housing have been considered in turn. Yet, whether the greater part of the cost was borne by public authorities through the payment of subsidies or whether a large share was met by contributions of the employers, the economy of the territories would not be able to support the expenditure which would be necessary. This has been recognized by Mr. Vasey:

'In my opinion, neither the finances of the Colony nor those of the local government authorities will permit of even a major portion of African housing being provided on a sub-economic basis.*'

This would be equally true if wages were forced up to a level which would enable the wage earners to pay economic rents. It is not therefore possible to solve the problem, which, as has been emphasized throughout this discussion, is that of providing tolerable housing conditions for the whole of the urban population, by attempting to provide housing in permanent materials for all. This does not mean that all housing of this kind is unnecessary. In areas of high population density, in which high quality housing is necessary, it may be essential for special reasons to provide housing which must therefore be subsidized, and urban authorities and employers may find it desirable to build high grade houses for their senior employees. As the economies of the territories expand, wages are likely to rise and the number of those who can afford to pay economic rents will increase. Still less does it mean that the effort to improve the housing position should be relaxed. The main solution, however, must be sought through other means.

95. Once the impossibility of providing the whole urbanized African population with houses built to the standards imposed by township regulations is accepted, the problem takes on a new aspect. The aim is no longer to build as many houses as possible of an equally high standard, but to raise the level of all housing by using all available resources. The need to enable Africans to settle down in the towns is emphasized throughout this chapter and the granting to Africans of clear and negotiable titles to their land will be the most important factor in helping to bring this about. House

* E. A. Vasey, *op. cit.* paragraph 5.

ownership is another important factor in encouraging stability, and the efforts of governments should be concentrated on helping houseowners to build or to improve their own houses.

96. As indicated above, large numbers of Africans in the urban areas live in houses built by themselves. Where they enjoy security of tenure, as in Buganda, a number of well-built houses appear, but in all areas a great variety of buildings are to be seen, from modern houses to beehive huts. The materials used in these constructions are equally varied: in some areas, for example, in Nairobi stone is available; in some, as on the coast, cob is employed; and in others sun-dried bricks and mud and wattle are the materials most frequently used. Traditionally, the building of a house was the co-operative endeavour of a man and his neighbours. Today, according to the standard of building, unskilled labourers, craftsmen or, in a few cases, contractors are employed to assist the houseowner. Houses are often gradually improved over a long period as funds become available; a grass roof is replaced by one of corrugated iron, windows are added, and later mud walls may be changed for brick walls. It is this sort of process which should be encouraged.

HOUSING STANDARDS

97. Owing to the insistence on rigid building standards, a procrustean attitude has been adopted to the social needs of Africans as far as housing is concerned. In section F the establishment of a system of zoning in which building standards are laid down for each zone is recommended, the method of construction in the lowest zone being virtually unregulated. As seen in section C, the need for a home is not met by a two-roomed rented house, however well built. No house is satisfactory if it fails to provide for the social requirements of those who live in it. These requirements are:

- (a) sufficient accommodation to enable a family to live in conditions of decency;
- (b) privacy which entails each household having its own enclosed plot;
- (c) simple but strictly controlled sanitation, which includes a latrine and other sanitary arrangements for disposal of waste water and refuse; and
- (d) essential services, such as roads and paths, storm water drainage and a good water supply.

It can be seen that none of these requirements is concerned with the standard of building. They apply equally to a brick-built house and to a mud hut. But the objections must be met of those who consider that it is essential to build houses in permanent materials. These are principally that lower-standard housing (a) is dangerous to the health of the community; (b) is uneconomic; (c) involves a wasteful use of land; and (d) encourages the houseowner to take in lodgers or rent his house to tenants.

98. The main answer to the argument that houses which are built below the present building standards are a danger to health lies in the fact that no satisfactory alternative to permitting the building of houses at reduced standards is possible. The present situation, where a limited number of high standard houses have been provided for a minority of the population while the remainder live in uncontrolled and insanitary urban growths on the outskirts of the towns, is in itself extremely dangerous to health. Those who come to the towns must find somewhere to live, and the removal of restrictions on building traditional houses in certain urban zones will, once

land tenure has been put on a sound basis, gradually overcome the problem of overcrowding. Once plots are laid out with clearly defined boundaries, the extent to which the plots can be built over can be limited and controls can be imposed in the interest of good sanitation. The sanitary arrangements should be simple; a pit latrine if properly dug and kept clean, is as hygienic in most soils as a water closet. Rubbish may be disposed of by the inhabitants themselves by means of incineration and composting rather than by an elaborate and expensive system of refuse removal. The key to maintaining hygienic conditions in the urban areas is the establishment of a sound system of administration which can provide the essential services and controls, without which the most highly developed areas become slums. The measures for bringing this about are discussed in section F.

99. The objection is also raised that if low standard building is allowed it entails a wasteful use of land which is needed for more intensive development. Since we recommend that the rights over land in African occupation outside the towns should, where adjudication has proved that they approximate to freehold, be confirmed by grants of freehold title as the best means of encouraging the growth of a stable and enterprising African population, only land at the disposal of government is concerned. To a great extent the zoning of these areas will ensure their proper development. But on land leased from government future re-development will be made easier by the existence of temporary housing in zones where short term leases obtain; whereas the clearance of high quality housing which proves itself inadequate on plots held on long leases may be extremely expensive.

100. It is true that government agencies have found the cost of maintaining housing in temporary materials uneconomic. But this is not equally true of houses which are owned by their occupiers, who are normally prepared to look after their houses. Examples can be found of houses built in mud and wattle or sun-dried bricks which have lasted since the early years of the century.

101. There is a general opposition among those concerned with urban matters in East Africa to the taking in of lodgers by African houseowners, or to their letting their houses to others. The conclusion is reached in section C that for a long time to come large numbers of single workers will come to work in towns without intending to establish themselves there and they will therefore need temporary accommodation. As a result of the present housing policies, and the consequent shortage of accommodation in towns, a large proportion of the working population lives in accommodation rented from other Africans, for the most part outside the nominal town boundaries. High rents add to their difficulties, as indicated by the quotation in paragraph 36, and dirty and overcrowded conditions result. The high rents are a result of the general shortage of accommodation which we hope our proposed measures will gradually overcome. Remedies for the squalid conditions in so far as they are due to the lack of administration are proposed in section F. But there are also positive arguments in favour of the practice of taking in lodgers. Residence among their fellows who are settled in the towns is likely to prove a less disturbing and more congenial introduction into town life than residence in estates where they are subject to constant, and to them irritating, supervision.

102. The African houseowner is also enabled by this practice to derive a legitimate income from his own enterprise. If the right conditions are created, Africans themselves will build hotels and lodging houses, but it is essential that their sanitation, cleanliness, and the way in which they are conducted are subject to a strict control. A reference is made in paragraph 96

to the fact that where security of tenure is obtained, Africans are capable of building for themselves good quality houses. A great deal of private African capital was invested, for example, in the Thika scheme, which provided Africans with plots on which to build their own houses. It seems possible that if Africans could everywhere obtain similar facilities for securing sites, they would invest their savings in building houses for letting as well as for their own occupation. The ownership of houses might then become a field for the small private investor.

MEANS BY WHICH GOVERNMENTS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF HOUSING

103. The methods which can be adopted by employers are discussed in paragraph 91. Similar methods are open to governments and the most important are now briefly described.

(a) The first essential is that demarcated and serviced plots should be available. (Proposals are made in section D to give the occupier security of tenure, and the provision of services is discussed in section F).

(b) There is a need for technical assistance. This should take the form of the issue of type-plans and advice regarding construction. More important, a field service should be provided, whose officers give advice on the spot about building problems. It might also provide skilled craftsmen for carrying out certain tasks at a low cost. Plinths might be constructed by the service. Much would depend on the confidence with which members of the service were regarded. A small fee might be charged for their assistance.

(c) Machinery such as block-making machines are too expensive for Africans to buy. These should be made available either free or for a small charge.

(d) There is often a shortage of building materials. Governments should do whatever is possible to relieve this where it becomes serious; governments should, for example, encourage the manufacture of prefabricated doors and windows. Access to government-owned quarries might also be given on payment.

(e) The question of financial assistance is discussed in paragraph 86 but it would not in general cover the kind of housing which is now being considered.

104. Thus, with energy and patience governments can assist in the growth of organic towns suited to the present level of economic and cultural development in East Africa. They will not be impressive modern cities nor will they be picturesque or arresting to the eye. But they can be enhanced by well-planned road layouts and open spaces, by the planting of hedges and trees, and by the embellishment of open spaces with flowers and shrubs.

F. Urban Administration

105. In 1903 Townships Ordinances were passed in both Kenya and Uganda, which laid down the procedure for the establishment of townships, the responsibility for their administration, the levying of rates, and provided for the making of rules. In Tanganyika the first Township Ordinance, under British administration, was passed in 1920. The administration of townships was the responsibility of the district commissioner, assisted in the larger towns by nominated advisory boards. These usually consisted of the district

commissioner as chairman and executive officer, the district medical officer, the local representative of the Public Works Department, and some European and Asian unofficial members.

106. The minor townships (under which heading are included trading centres administered by the central government) have a peculiar importance as centres where people who are changing over from a subsistence to a modern cash economy obtain goods and services and a market for their crops. They have remained under the direct control of the district commissioners, who have neither the time nor the staff to superintend their development, and consequently they suffer from neglect. The isolation of these townships from the surrounding countryside is discussed in section A. We consider that every effort should be made to break down this isolation and that a new system of administration is needed which should be on a multi-racial basis and should be integrated with that of the countryside.

107. The unofficial membership of the boards of larger towns has been gradually increased until to-day some, for example Jinja and Dodoma, have unofficial majorities. Members are normally nominated. The final responsibility for the administration of these towns rests with agents of the central governments, but some of the townships have certain financial responsibilities. In Kenya, for example, the largest townships have township accounts. These are not fully fledged authorities since the township committees are not corporate bodies and their functions are merely to advise the district commissioners. They have, however, a degree of independence, since they have full control over the finances, subject to the approval of their estimates by the Executive Council.

108. The most advanced stage of administrative development is reached when a town becomes a municipality and thereafter enjoys considerable independence in the management of its own affairs. Among the factors which determine whether towns are to be made municipalities are (a) the size of their population, (b) the presence among their inhabitants of a sufficient number of people who are capable and willing to undertake the responsibilities of local government, and (c) the expectation that the municipal council will be able to raise a sufficient proportion of its revenue from local sources. Kampala and Dar-es-Salaam both became municipalities in 1949 and other towns in each territory are moving towards municipal status. There are six municipalities in Kenya. The first town to become a municipality was Nairobi in 1919, although a municipal committee had been in existence since 1901. In Kenya there are two kinds of municipality: those with municipal councils and those with municipal boards. Out of the six municipalities, two are governed by councils and the remainder by boards. The latter, unlike the municipal councils, must submit their estimates to government for approval. The municipalities in Uganda and Tanganyika must also obtain approval for their estimates. Much of the discussion which follows is concerned with the municipalities, especially where the administration of Africans is concerned, because in them the system of administration is more highly developed and the problems are more urgent.

109. The constitution of the municipal councils varies in each territory. In Kenya some of the members are nominated and others are elected on a racial basis. The Kampala Council is entirely nominated. The Dar-es-Salaam Council differs from the other municipal councils in that each racial group has an equal number of nominated representatives.

110. The district commissioner is still the executive officer of the majority of township authorities, but full time officers are often appointed to the largest towns and in Tanganyika, for example, ten towns have their own

executive officers. Officers of the Medical and Public Works Departments are normally responsible for the whole of a district, but separate officers are sometimes appointed to the larger towns. The administrative system of the municipalities is similar to that of urban district councils in England.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AFRICAN AREAS

111. The system of administration outlined above only extends in the majority of towns to the areas which are inhabited by Europeans and Asians. The historical reasons for regarding towns as non-African centres are indicated in paragraphs 4 and 5, and the factors which prevent Africans from settling in or around the towns with security of tenure are discussed in section D. In each territory Africans who live in the towns are administered on a basis which is different from that described in the preceding paragraphs.

112. As already described many Africans either hold temporary occupation licences or are squatters, and live in houses which they build for themselves. The plots are rarely laid out according to a plan although there are exceptions to this, especially in Tanganyika. In these areas there are few roads and no drainage, sanitary control, street lighting or any other of the services which are essential to their proper administration. Provisions for the maintenance of law and order are equally lacking, and there has been a serious increase in the incidence of crime in most of the larger towns. The underlying reason for this absence of services is the policy of re-developing these areas with buildings and services which conform to township regulations, after clearing them of their present inhabitants, and no expenditure on trying to improve them is, therefore, thought to be justified until they have been re-developed. As it has not been possible to carry out this re-development in many thickly populated areas, conditions have steadily deteriorated. There are also African housing estates in the larger towns which are administered either by housing officers employed by the municipality, as in Nairobi, or by agents of the central government. These estates are normally provided with essential services, although the conditions which exist in them are often unsatisfactory.

113. In Kenya the administration of Africans in all towns other than municipalities is the responsibility of the district commissioner. The responsibility for the administration of the Africans who live in a municipality is shared between the municipal authority and the central government, although their spheres are not always clearly defined. As a memorandum submitted to us by a witness concerned with urban administration said,

'the responsibility for urban African administration is defined in Nairobi and Mombasa . . . As far as I am aware there is no clearly defined division elsewhere in the urban areas of the colony. The responsibility of the Central Government can best be summarised by saying that the Central Government is responsible for the administration of the Ordinances, Proclamations, Rules and Regulations of the Colony of Kenya. The Local Authority is responsible for public health, housing, medical treatment (other than that required in a hospital), public works, the development of housing estates, recreation, community development and social welfare.'

114. In Tanganyika the Africans living in the towns are the responsibility of the urban authorities. These, in all towns, are under the control of the district commissioner, with the exception of Dar-es-Salaam Municipality, where the District Commissioner has had to be reappointed to deal with certain aspects of African affairs. Africans are subject to urban African courts and are supervised by either liwalis or town headmen who are appointed by the District Commissioner.

115. In Uganda Africans who live in the towns are still subject to the authority of the African local government of the surrounding district, whose headquarters are often outside the towns. The local government chiefs collect their taxes, and they are under the jurisdiction of the rural native courts. The boundaries of the township of Jinja, for example, are coterminous with a sub-county boundary of the Busoga Local Government. The overlapping of the administrative system is unsatisfactory for two main reasons. The first is that the local governments cannot afford to pay chiefs and other officials for their urban sections sufficiently well to appoint men of the calibre which is needed for urban administration. Secondly, Africans cannot become full members of the urban communities until they direct an undivided loyalty inwards to their towns, instead of looking outwards as at present to their tribal local governments.

116. As has been seen, in Uganda there is no special machinery for the administration of Africans in the towns. The Kampala Municipal Council has no African Affairs Department and Africans are under the jurisdiction of the Buganda Government, aided by the advice of the Resident and his staff. Each municipality in Kenya has an African affairs committee, which normally includes the African members of the municipal council or board. The Nairobi Committee, for example, has twelve members who advise the Council. Under the municipal councils or boards are African affairs departments headed by municipal African affairs officers. In Dar-es-Salaam the African Affairs Committee has been abolished because it was purely advisory, and its functions were covered by committees with executive responsibility on which Africans were represented in equal proportions with other races. It was felt that the African Affairs Committee represented an unnecessary intermediate stage between the raising of any matter by the African population and a decision made by a committee with executive powers.

117. It is significant, however, that District Commissioners have been re-introduced both in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, in spite of the fact that in Dar-es-Salaam Africans had been given equal representation on the Municipal Council with other races. The main reasons for their re-introduction appear to have been, first, that a central government agent was needed and the municipalities were not thought to be the right bodies to represent the central governments; secondly, there were the non-police functions of maintaining law and order to be performed, such as promoting good relations, removing grievances and providing administrative conciliation between Africans and the Municipal Council; and thirdly, it was felt that the Central Government was more likely than the Municipality to promote representative institutions for the African population.

118. Two ways are being tried of increasing the participation of Africans in urban administration. The policy in each territory has been to increase the unofficial membership of all races on the governing bodies of municipalities and townships, whether by election or nomination, and a number of Africans have been included on the boards. There are two African nominated members on the Nairobi and Kampala Municipal Councils. In Dar-es-Salaam there are seven African and Arab members, which gives this group a representation equal to that of each of the other racial groups.

119. One or two nominated African members do not truly represent a diversified African population who may consider them merely as agents of the government. As indicated in section B, only a minority of the Africans who live in the towns are a settled element in the population, and they are divided into a large number of tribal groups. An interesting attempt

has been made at Nakuru to make the African members truly representative by organizing formal elections in which, *inter alia*, the candidates have to put down a deposit on the English system. Yet the African members are often insufficiently educated to comprehend the complexities of urban problems and consequently contribute little to the work of the councils. This is of particular importance in those municipalities where there is a majority of elected non-African members on the council who therefore determine the proportion of the municipal revenue to be spent on African services. The experience of Dar-es-Salaam suggests that an increase in representation alone does not solve the problem of administering Africans who live in the towns. Further measures are needed to establish a satisfactory system of administration for people without experience of town life, whose cultural and economic level is below that of the other races, and who do not recognize among themselves any community of feeling other than that of race.

120. In Kenya and Tanganyika a system of African advisory councils has been set up in some of the larger towns. In Nairobi the Advisory Council includes representatives of location councils and great care has been taken to see that as many interests as possible are represented. In Tanganyika ten townships have advisory councils which are considered to be a temporary means of securing the representation of African views and as a training ground for municipal affairs. The weakness of these councils is that they are purely advisory and there is no certainty that the views of their members will receive consideration. There is, therefore, the danger that, having neither responsibility nor executive functions, the members feel frustrated, which leads to irresponsible criticism of the conduct of affairs. An important administrative development is that a number of townships in Tanganyika have African ward organizations. Each ward has a council which in some towns, for example Tabora and Moshi, recommends members for appointment to the township authority. In Dar-es-Salaam one African ward council is elected by the whole body of its inhabitants and now nominates a member for appointment to the Municipal Council.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AREAS SURROUNDING THE TOWNS

121. The administration of the African areas surrounding the towns is everywhere carried out by the African local authorities. For reasons which are described in section C a large proportion of the Africans who are dependent on a town for their livelihood live in these areas, which become densely populated and tend to degenerate into slums. Examples are the Kikuyu reserve outside the Nairobi City boundary, the settlements outside Jinja and those of the ex-sisal workers around Korogwe. The most elementary services, such as water supplies and refuse collection, are lacking in nearly all these areas. As in England during the early part of the nineteenth century, when the development of an efficient system of administration lagged behind the growth of dense urban populations, the rural system of administration in Africa under a hierarchy of chiefs has not changed quickly enough to keep pace with the overspill of population from the towns, to which is added a constant flow of immigrants from the countryside. The main functions of the chiefs are still to collect taxes, issue beer permits, settle disputes and bring offenders and witnesses to court. The revenue of the African district treasuries is not sufficient to support a modern administration. The African local governments are further handicapped because they receive no guidance regarding the kind of services which are needed in their areas. Their only models are the elaborate services which are provided in the towns: these are expensive to construct and skilled technicians are needed to install and maintain them.

URBAN ADMINISTRATION: THE PROBLEMS

122. While, therefore, the areas of the towns which are mainly occupied by Europeans and Asians are satisfactorily administered, the African areas, whether within or without the nominal boundaries of the towns, are often without an effective administration except in the housing estates. Central government and local authorities share responsibility for the African population, but their spheres are ill-defined and there is uncertainty and overlapping. The areas outside many towns are becoming densely populated, and the African local governments are incapable of providing the controls and essential services which are needed in an urban area. The four main requirements which are needed in the towns are:

(a) an overall policy for urban development which takes all the factors in the urban situation into account;

(b) administrative machinery which is capable of supervising and guiding the carrying out of this overall policy;

(c) an administrative system which is suited to the special requirements of the African population; and

(d) the improvement, as an emergency operation, of the deplorable conditions which exist in many of the towns today.

123. Hitherto, for reasons suggested in paragraph 5, the problem of urban development has been given scant consideration, although studies have been made of particular aspects. But the administrative problems which arise in the towns are of an entirely different nature to those met with in the countryside. When an African goes to work in a town his whole way of life is changed. In his tribal area he grows his own food and he builds his own house with the help of his neighbours. His behaviour is controlled by the sanctions of tribal custom and the authority of his chiefs. In the town he is a wage earner in isolation, who must buy his own food and hire accommodation. In these circumstances he is unlikely to be able to keep his family in the town. He is free not only from the influences which customarily control his behaviour but also from the responsibilities of family life.

124. The urban administrator is, therefore, confronted with a new set of problems. Grass huts, for example, may be well adapted to the needs of rural society. But, if crowded together in a small area in a town without administrative or sanitary controls, they may give rise to undesirable social conditions and be a danger to health. The essential services needed in a town are costly and lead to problems of finance. The lack of social cohesion and self-help leads to a demand for all kinds of social services. Problems arise which are themselves difficult to solve, and are closely interconnected. Conflicts arise between the views of those responsible for different aspects of administration in urban areas. The action, for example, which is considered most desirable by the medical authorities may be vetoed by those responsible for finance. Unless the conflicts between different interests are resolved the result may be that no action is taken at all. It is this fundamental failure in the past to forge a realistic and workable policy which is one of the major causes of the bad conditions which exist in towns today.

125. Although policies have been drawn up for housing, health or for the development of local government, no territorial government has stated its policy for urban development and administration as a whole. We recommend that a policy, based on the recommendations in this Report, should be framed as soon as possible after an appreciation has been made of the situation in the urban areas in each territory. This policy should be realistic

and take all factors, for example availability of land, population growth and financial resources into account. It must embrace the whole of the urbanized areas and not only the areas within township boundaries. Finally, it should clearly state the priority which should be given to the different aspects of the problem.

126. At present urban affairs are the concern of Members or Secretaries whose responsibilities cover other important functions of government as well. There are also heads of departments who are responsible to the Members for some aspects of urban policy. In Kenya, for example, the Member for Health, Lands and Local Government is responsible for urban matters. Under him the Commissioner for Local Government advises on some aspects of urban policy and also has a statutory obligation to supervise some of the activities of local authorities. The problems of urban administration differ in kind from those of the countryside, and, if not solved, may prove a danger to East African society as a whole. An immediate concentration of thought and effort is therefore needed if this danger is to be averted. It is clear from the evidence which we have received that there has been too little attention paid to the special conditions which exist in towns in East Africa. Experts have tended to insist on policies which are suited to the needs of towns in Europe. The acceptance of the views of experts on a particular aspect of urban policy has often, through lack of financial resources, meant that only a small proportion of the town population has benefited. The insistence on costly building standards is an example of this. We do not feel justified in recommending any changes in the ministerial system in order to meet the problems of urban administration, but we recommend that an officer of sufficient standing should be appointed who would be responsible to the minister for urban affairs. His first duty should be to study the different facets of the urban problem, such as land tenure, administrative organization and housing needs, and to assist in the framing of the overall urban policy which we consider necessary. He should thereafter continue to watch over urban development (for example, to see that the best possible use is made of land at the disposal of government) and co-ordinate the views of the different departments concerned with the towns. It may be objected that such an appointment would perpetuate the division between town and country, but while their administrative requirements continue to be at different levels such a distinction is justified.

127. Ordinances in each territory provide for the declaration of planning areas, the drawing up of schemes and the establishment of planning authorities. These authorities, when implementing the planning schemes, have wide powers regulating land use, of laying down building standards and of awarding compensation for damage to property, but not for the loss of profit from potential development. Qualified planning officers have been appointed in each territory since the war and much sound work has been done in laying out new areas and preserving the appearance and amenities of the towns. But the planning of the towns has suffered from certain grave defects. Large areas in African occupation have been cleared without adequate provision having been made for their resettlement. If the planning area has gone beyond the boundaries it has had the same effect as an extension of the boundaries and the African population has been removed. The declaration of a planning area has led to the imposition of building standards under township regulations which are beyond the economic resources of the territories and development has been held up. These standards are applied throughout the planning areas and no system of zoning has been adopted which caters for those who cannot afford these standards.

128. The most serious defect has been, however, that there has been little attempt to grapple with the problem of the whole urban growth, and planning has concentrated on the high-standard development of areas which have usually been within the boundaries of the towns. Although legislation in each territory provides for the control of areas surrounding the towns, it has not been put into effect. This does not apply in Kenya only to the African areas.

As a witness says in a written memorandum :

'the need for some new unit of local government in between a municipality and a district council is becoming evident. One reason is residential settlements round the towns which become more and more common, first because of the highly inflated price of land inside municipal borders and secondly because of high building standards within towns.'

There has been an attempt in Tanganyika to meet this by :

'providing a ring of satellite settlements round Dar-es-Salaam situated on the main radial roads focussing upon the town and in areas where profitable cultivation is possible. The object is to provide attractive halting places for the current drift of populations to the town, to prevent over-centralization, to establish settlements which can produce food for consumption in the town at the centre, and to provide essential services on the perimeter.*'

129. The provision of roads, the ear-marking of land for public purposes and the removal of obstacles to development should precede, rather than follow, new urban growth. To this end the advice of experts is needed in planning road-layouts, the reservation of open spaces and the drawing up of legislation. But questions such as the use of land and of laying down building standards are the concern of the whole community, and should be determined in a way which best serves its present needs rather than an ideal future good, on principles which are clearly stated by government. The purely departmental approach to urban problems is noted in paragraph 124. But there has also been a tendency to establish a separate planning organization with central planning boards and planning committees which are distinct from the local authorities. This dual organization may be suited to the needs of advanced countries, but is unduly cumbersome in East African conditions and tends to deprive the nascent local authorities of their most important functions. In the interests of simplicity we recommend that urban planning, as well as development in general, should be supervised, under the Minister, by the officer who is responsible for urban developments; and that local responsibility should be entrusted to the local authorities rather than to independent planning committees.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AFRICANS INSIDE THE TOWNS

130. The basic theme of this chapter is that conditions should be created which enable all the inhabitants of towns to devote themselves to their economic and social activities to the full extent of their powers without distinction of race, and that restrictions which hinder them from doing so should, as far as possible, be removed. But in considering the problem of administering Africans in the towns two apparently conflicting aims emerge. The first is to further the growth of multi-racial communities, and the second is to provide a simple and personal system of administration which is suited to the needs of people who have had no experience of town life, many of whom are illiterate. At present the African populations of the towns are regarded as a liability, the responsibility for whom is shared between the central governments and urban authorities. There is a need, therefore, for an

* Tanganyika, *Report of the Town Planning Department, 1952*, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, page 12.

administrative system in the predominantly African areas which gives them financial independence of the present urban authorities, but which does not perpetuate the divisions among the different races.

131. The problems of urban development would be much simpler if the numbers of people who live in the towns could be controlled, and the desirability of restricting the influx into the towns from the countryside was often urged by witnesses. But such control is undesirable on economic grounds because it restricts mobility and therefore inhibits the development of the exchange economy, and is impracticable; systems of control, although rigorously enforced have broken down even in territories where the population is sparser and the towns more isolated than in East Africa. The continued growth of the population of the towns at a rate which is unpredictable must be accepted. Since it is impossible to foresee future movements of population, urban policies must be flexible enough to meet all increases in population in the towns however rapid.

132. In order to bring standards of building and sanitation within the reach of the majority of their inhabitants, we recommend that the urban areas should be divided into three or more zones. The constructional standards which are laid down for the first zone should be those which are at present imposed. Those for the second zone should be modified in order to make cheaper building possible. There should be no regulations controlling the structure of buildings in the lowest zones except where it might be necessary to make special regulations, for example prohibiting thatched roofs owing to danger from fire. Regulations which safeguard health should, however, be strictly enforced. It is probable that at first the majority of Europeans and the richer Asians would live in the first zones, that Asians and a number of better-off Africans would live in the second zones, and that the other zones would be predominantly inhabited by Africans, although some members of other races would also settle in them. But we would make it clear that we are not proposing a system of segregation. It would be open to the members of any race to live in any zone, their choice being determined by their own standards of wealth, convenience or social amenities.

133. A system of zones would not in itself provide an answer to the problems of administering Africans who live in the towns. The reintroduction of the District Commissioner in both Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, for reasons which are stated in paragraph 117, demonstrates that the present system of overlapping authorities is extremely unsatisfactory. It is clear that one unitary authority is needed, which could most easily be provided by a separate administrative organization for the predominantly African areas. The objection may be raised that this is likely to intensify racial exclusiveness. But the separation of Africans from non-Africans is at present, as far as residence and social life are concerned, already virtually complete. Our recommendations regarding land tenure are designed to break down this separation by facilitating dealings in land between the races. The inclusion of the areas surrounding the towns which have become urbanized, or are likely to do so, as well as areas within the present town boundaries, involves the removal of areas from the jurisdiction of African district authorities. In view of their fears of government's intentions regarding land and of urban expansion, it is essential that the system of administration should be of a kind which allays that suspicion until the enjoyment of a secure title to their land over a period of years gives them a feeling of security.

134. We recommend, therefore, that separate administrative organizations should be established for the areas now occupied by Africans inside and

immediately surrounding the towns. This does not mean that completely independent African townships need to be established. The component parts of each town should be linked together, although the way in which this is done would vary according to different circumstances. For some towns a two-tier organization with the linking together of the units under the equivalent of a London County Council is a possible solution. For others the units might be virtually independent but might co-operate in the management of certain services. It should be stressed that the system of zoning should apply to all the component units. If members of other races choose to live in a predominantly African area they would be subject to the jurisdiction of the authority of that area. Every opportunity should be taken to encourage co-operation: certain services, for example, water supplies, might be shared; and the aim should be the eventual union of different units under one administration. At the same time care should be taken to avoid their designation as 'African' or 'European' areas: they should always be known by the name of the locality.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROPOSED UNITS

135. The aim is to make possible the organic growth of the predominantly African areas through the enterprise of individual Africans, although the participation of individuals of other races should be encouraged. The building up of responsible local government is an important part of this process and should be begun directly the units are established by the formation of advisory councils and the training of local government officers. But the first need is to tackle the deplorable conditions which exist in many urban areas, and this can only be done by a strong unfettered executive.

'It will be essential in the early stages that by-laws and regulations shall be flexible and that as much as possible is left to the discretion of the housing or other officer responsible. In order that the fullest chance shall be given to African-built and owned housing schemes to play their part in the solution of this problem, many risks will have to be taken and standards of perfection forgotten, at any rate during the first formative years of the scheme'.*

It is recommended that, where possible, officers appointed by the central governments should administer these areas for a limited period, for example five years, assisted by advisory councils. At the end of this period increased responsibility should be given to the councils, which would then take over a going concern. It must be emphasized that there would still be a need for a strong executive after this stage of local government had been reached, but instead of being superior to the council it would pass under its control.

136. The following would be the main features of the administrative system which we recommend:

Land

The prerequisite of effective administration in these units is the grant of an adequately permanent and secure title to the owners or occupants of land in the areas surrounding the towns, preceded by the investigation of claims to rights in the land. While this is being done the opportunity should be taken to adjust plot boundaries in order to give them adequate frontages on a new road-layout. The procedure for registration and transfer, and also for obtaining leases of government land, which would mainly lie inside the present boundaries, should be simple. There should be a large enough survey staff to carry out surveys without delay. The offices of the land administration, on whose efficiency the success of the scheme depends, should be sited if possible inside the unit.

* E. A. Vasey, *op. cit.*, page 13.

Finances

Each unit should have its own budget and from the beginning the advisory councils should have a say in the disposition of the revenue in order to bring home to them the relationship between the contribution of the inhabitants and the provision of services. The question of finance is discussed in section G.

Wards

These units should be divided into administrative areas the boundaries of which are clearly defined, so that the inhabitants may be aware of the ward to which they belong. The system of wards with their own councils which has been adopted in some towns in Tanganyika may serve as a model. A ward headman would superintend and act as chairman of any advisory body that he could collect around himself.

Law and Order

The ward is the unit on which the maintenance of law and order should be based. It is unlikely that a system of registration of persons could be made to work in East Africa for many years. On the other hand, a body of householders, unlike the transient inhabitants of housing estates and labour lines, may serve as an aid to the maintenance of order. The obligation, which is customary in most East African tribes, to report the presence of strangers in the household might be imposed. The establishment of a unit of special constabulary would serve to bring home to the inhabitants their responsibility for aiding the enforcement of the law. Only if justice is done surely and swiftly, and is seen to be done, can the law be enforced effectively. An urban court should be set up within each unit.

By-Laws

These should be as simple as possible and once made they should be rigorously enforced. The most important would be those designed to protect the health of the community and to further public order.

Services

The essential services must be provided but they should be suited to local conditions and be as simple as possible. Water supplies are the most urgent need in most urban areas. Unless householders can afford to pay for the installation of water supplies in their houses the supply should be confined to stand pipes at convenient intervals. Street lighting should be provided as an important aid to the prevention of crime. Health services, such as the removal of refuse, the control of mosquito breeding and the inspection of latrines, are essential to the health of the community. They should not, however, be elaborate: pit latrines in most soils are as satisfactory as more expensive systems and incineration may be a cheaper way of disposing of refuse than its removal. In chapter 16, paragraph 17, reference is made to the importance of education in the towns. From the evidence which we have received, it is clear that the provision of schools is a strong inducement to the African worker to settle near his work. No comprehensive system of education can be established in the town until an adequate system of administration has been set up.

137. At present some sections of the population need an administrative organization suited to their special needs while they are adjusting themselves to urban life. These separate units, however, should not be closed to members of other groups, provided that all the inhabitants live in them on the same terms. At the same time as the administrative organization within the unit

is built up, the links with the main urban authority should be strengthened, and the eventual aim must be to further the disappearance of all administrative distinctions between the different sectors of the towns.

G. Urban Finance

138. Only the larger towns in East Africa control their own finances. The majority are financed from central government votes, receipts being credited to general revenue. The distinction in Kenya between municipalities with municipal councils and those with municipal boards is noted in paragraph 108, as is also the powers enjoyed by townships with township accounts. In Tanganyika there is one municipality, and 14 out of 28 townships have separate budgets of expenditure. In Uganda there is one municipality while two townships, Entebbe and Jinja, have separate budgets of expenditure.

139. The services for which the municipalities are responsible vary according to their stage of development. The Nairobi Council is responsible for most of those services which in the United Kingdom are generally considered to be the responsibility of local authorities. The recently established municipalities, such as Kampala and Dar-es-Salaam, have not yet accepted responsibility for many services which are normally regarded as being within the sphere of local government. Dar-es-Salaam Municipal Council is empowered to undertake hospital, maternity and child welfare services among others, but is not yet prepared to do so, and water supplies and education are also still carried out by the Central Government.

140. Municipal revenues are derived mainly from rates, from government grants and from fees from licences, etc. The newer municipalities are dependent to a large extent for their revenues on government grants. In 1952, £163,630 (including £57,577 in lieu of rates) was contributed by the Central Government to Kampala Municipality whose total revenue was £361,302. Government grants to Nairobi Municipality in 1950, on the other hand, amounted to only £59,486 (if the contribution in lieu of rates is excluded) out of a total revenue of £815,735.

141. In some towns which are not municipalities, rates are levied directly by the central government and are paid into central revenues. The municipalities, however, levy their own rates, but they are bound by law to obtain the sanction of the Governor if they wish to exceed a certain limit. In each territory the central governments make a contribution in lieu of rates for their property in the municipalities. Rates in Kenya are levied on unimproved site values. Until 1952 rates in Dar-es-Salaam were levied on the annual value of improvements (i.e. buildings) but they are now levied on unimproved site values. In Kampala an unimproved site rate of 1 per cent and an improvement rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent are levied. The income from rates contributes in varying proportions to the revenues: in Nairobi in 1950 it was approximately a quarter of the total, and in Kampala, in 1952, and Dar-es-Salaam, in 1954, it was just under one half.

142. Capital expenditure is financed mainly from loans and from grants made by governments out of general revenues. Only Nairobi Municipal Council is empowered to issue stock and the other Kenya municipalities obtain loans from the Central Government.

*The Report of the Development Committee recommended the provision of £1,800,000 for loan to local authorities during the five years 1950-54. With the

granting to Nairobi City Council of permission to raise money by issues of stock, the whole of this money becomes available to meet the needs of the remaining local authorities of the Colony.*

The capital expenditure of Dar-es-Salaam Municipality has also been financed from loans from the Government. That of Kampala, however, has been met by grants from central government revenue.

THE FINANCING OF AFRICAN SERVICES

143. As stated in paragraph 116 the responsibilities of the different municipalities towards their African populations vary. While Nairobi Municipality is responsible for nearly all the services needed by the African population, and also for their housing and general welfare, Kampala Municipality has not yet accepted any responsibility for its African inhabitants.

144. When African services are financed by the central government they have been provided on an *ad hoc* basis. Sums which have appeared in the central estimates at the request of district commissioners have been whittled down by the legislature. While it is not unreasonable that the central legislature should exercise a careful supervision over their estimated expenditures there are grounds for supposing that there has been a failure to appreciate the urgency of problems which arise from the growth of large African populations in the towns. There has also been resistance by municipal councils which are responsible for their African inhabitants to the provision of funds from municipal revenues. The argument has always been advanced that expenditure for the benefit of Africans is not a fair charge on the rates.

145. Broadly speaking, the funds necessary for the finance of the essential African services might be raised either by means of local taxes of the octroi type or by means of regular grants from the central government. We think that the collection of small duties on African produce entering the towns would be awkward to administer and that it would afford many opportunities for evasion. Without prejudice to whatever financial arrangements might be practicable and desirable in the future, for some time to come the finance of these African services must come out of the resources of central government. In that connexion we would mention that Africans who live in towns contribute appreciable sums to the revenue which the central governments receive from customs and excise duties. We do not propose that any pre-determined proportion of central government resources should be specifically ear-marked for the finance of these services, but we do recommend that the funds which central government provide should be on a more regular grant basis, rather than on the *ad hoc* basis which now prevails. There must obviously be some continuity of expenditure in the interests of good administration. It is difficult to organize an efficient and continuous service if estimates which are approved in one year are exposed to the risk that they may be disapproved in the year which follows. Whether what we have in mind should be achieved by means of a triennial or quinquennial block grant or by some other method is a matter which might be considered by the legislatures. It is conceivable that different services might be treated differently and it is not necessary to set out in detail the nature of the financial provisions which should be made.

146. Since very few Africans occupy leasehold or freehold plots the majority do not contribute directly to the rates, but they make considerable contributions to the revenues in other ways. In Uganda they make a very small direct contribution to municipal revenues apart from licence fees.

* Kenya, *Report of the Commissioner for Local Government, 1951 and 1952*, Government Printer, Nairobi, p. 5.

But Kampala Municipality is financed to a great extent by central government grants. This means that as a large proportion of central government revenue is derived from taxes on African grown crops the African population of the whole territory makes a considerable indirect contribution to the revenue of the Municipality. As well as the licence fees, etc., paid by Africans the Dar-es-Salaam Municipal Council receives approximately £25,000 a year from native poll and hut taxes. In Kenya Africans contribute by paying poll taxes and licence fees and also through the profits from municipal trading, especially from the sale of beer.

147. Apart from the administrative reasons given in section E there appear to us to be strong financial reasons for separating the predominantly African areas and establishing new administrative units. No financial arrangements can be satisfactory unless they are based on a clear assessment of the whole problem. The municipal councils or township authorities, as at present constituted, are the most suitable bodies to determine and provide for these needs. Once the needs have been assessed, the way in which they can be met can only be decided after an appreciation is made of the resources available. Only if they share the responsibility for its finance can the African inhabitants learn to recognize the connexion between their contribution to the revenue and the benefits which they receive. It is hoped that the feelings of dependence, and of not getting a fair deal, which govern the attitude of Africans towards the towns would then disappear. We recommend, therefore, that the predominantly African units should have their own budgets which are separate from those of the present urban authorities.

148. The main items of expenditure which are likely to occur are those described in paragraph 127, i.e., the cost of administration, and the provision of essential services. The cost of administration is unlikely to form a large proportion of the total expenditure. Some services, for example water and electricity supplies and the cost of land administration, can eventually be expected to fall on the consumer, although they may have to be subsidized in the early stages. In section D we recommend that the inhabitants themselves should be largely responsible for providing their own housing, which should not therefore be a heavy financial burden on the new authorities. There remain public services, such as roads, drainage and street lighting.

149. The provision of services should be governed by two principles. The first is that the protective services, i.e. those on which the health and well being of the whole town population depend, must be provided, even if these entail a considerable degree of subsidization, out of the central revenues of the territories. The second is that all additional services should be provided on a scale which is related to the stage of development which an area has reached. The aim should be to improve standards gradually throughout the whole area rather than to raise them at once to a very high level. Much of the area within the unit boundaries would be largely rural in character, and besides putting land on the basis which we have recommended, only water supplies and road improvements would be needed. In areas where the population was more dense additional services, such as refuse disposal and street lighting, would be needed. As a unit became more highly developed and permanent buildings appeared, it could be upgraded into a higher zone. Although the services provided would be more costly, its inhabitants would be expected to contribute more to the revenue.

150. Capital works should be financed by loans so that the cost is spread among those who benefit from them over a period. The contributions to the general revenue at present made by Africans, for example licence fees,

should be transferred to the unit treasury. The best method of raising additional revenue would be decided according to local circumstances and the wishes of the people concerned. Methods other than a rate on property might prove suitable. Local taxation of whatever kind should be subject to the approval of the legislature.

H. Summary

THE STATE OF TOWNS IN EAST AFRICA

151. As there was no urban tradition in East Africa, except on the coast, before the Europeans came, the towns are regarded primarily as non-native centres of administration and commerce, and governments have been too little concerned with African interests. Europeans and Asians have in most parts of East Africa been restricted to trading and dwelling within gazetted townships. This has had the effect of retarding the development of a modern economy among the Africans. Africans have come to work in the towns in increasing numbers over the last fifty years but very few of them have become permanent town dwellers. The main reasons for this have been (a) that they have not been able to transfer their homes to the towns owing to the high standards of building and sanitation which are imposed, and (b) that the level of wages is too low at present for the majority of Africans to house, feed and clothe their families in the towns.

152. Most of the towns grew slowly from the beginning of the century until 1939, but the numbers of people of all races in the towns have increased rapidly since then. Whereas the European section is likely to continue to be numerically small in proportion to the other races, and the Africans are as yet an unstable element in the towns, the Asian population is not only firmly established, but increasing rapidly. Too little attention has been paid to the problem of this increase in the Asian urban populations, especially as the existing land policies have restricted the space in which they can build their homes, shops and factories. There will not be room within many of the existing township boundaries to contain the Asian population in the future. There has also been a tendency, which is discussed in chapter 18 of the Report, to restrict their opportunities of obtaining employment and of increasing their wealth. This has tended to produce a close-knit and inward-looking community which jealously guards the position it has achieved for itself.

153. This in turn has helped to exclude Africans from playing a full part in town life. The number of Africans who come to the towns has increased rapidly since the war and is likely to continue to do so. Too little is known of the structure of the urban African populations to make any realistic estimate of their future increases. The influx into the towns is not directly related to the amount of paid employment available; and an increase in wages and in the number of houses available, therefore, may merely attract more people to the towns, and mean that the wage-earners support a larger number of people without any lessening of the extent of poverty or overcrowding. It is neither practicable nor desirable to attempt to control the movement of Africans from the rural areas into the towns. The majority maintain their holdings in their home areas and can return to them. This is a form of economic security. Many spend long periods in their working lives in and out of employment in the towns.

154. Land is the most important single factor affecting urban development. The greater part of the land within the town boundaries is in public ownership. As the non-African population has grown the land has been divided into leasehold plots. In order to make this possible large numbers of Africans, who were either in possession of temporary licences to occupy plots or who were merely squatting, have been pushed gradually outside the town boundaries. On the outskirts of most towns in East Africa Africans hold their land under customary tenure, although custom has been greatly modified and plots tend to be bought and sold. They have, however, no security of title and this has prevented them from fully developing their holdings. Whenever the areas of the towns have been extended they have been evicted on payment of compensation. As the Africans thus removed have often been among the most enterprising and politically conscious, their eviction has given rise to feelings of dissatisfaction and insecurity, even among large numbers of people not personally affected. It is significant that where Africans hold a title to their land, as in Buganda, they not only develop it to a considerable extent themselves, but are prepared to lease both the land and the buildings on it to non-Africans.

155. There is considerable shortage of housing for Africans and Asians in the lower income groups in the larger towns throughout East Africa. Whereas large numbers of houses owned by Africans have been removed in the process of re-developing urban areas, only a relatively small number of those who have lost their accommodation have been rehoused. Nor has sufficient housing been provided to keep pace with the increases in the population. There has been an almost universal attempt to build houses at the standard of construction laid down by rigid township building regulations. It is clear, however, that the resources of the territories are insufficient to rehouse in this way all those whose housing is inadequate, and the considerable expenditure involved will not in any case be justified by the present state of the territories' economies. The limited amount of accommodation provided by the authorities is therefore overcrowded, and the majority of the African population live in houses built by themselves either inside or outside the official boundaries of the town.

156. The systems of administration in the predominantly African parts of the towns are unsatisfactory. As they are not permanent residents with a stake in the towns which the ownership of property would give them, Africans have been regarded as the 'wards' of the urban authorities rather than as citizens, and they have had little say in the conduct of urban affairs. The methods of administration are also unsuited to the needs of people who are strangers to town life. With the exception of government housing estates, the African areas in the towns generally remain unprovided with essential services, such as roads, drainage and water supplies. This is also true of the areas surrounding the towns, which are still under the administration of African tribal authorities who are not equipped to establish an effective system of administration in the urbanized areas.

157. As a result of these factors, conditions among Africans in the towns are very unsatisfactory. The evils which inevitably arise among a poor, overcrowded and unstable population are all present. Poverty and overcrowding are the principal material causes of these conditions. Poverty can only be overcome as the whole economy of East Africa expands. At present the resources of the territories are insufficient to allow of the raising of wages to a level which would either enable the majority of Africans to support their families in the towns or to pay economic rents for regulation-standard housing. The process of settling down permanently in

urban areas will only take place slowly among the majority of Africans. Some of the causes of unsatisfactory conditions are not merely physical but are the result of the momentous changes which are taking place in African society. Africans who have broken away from tribal life often find that they cannot become members of modern society and that the road to wealth and positions of prestige is barred. This produces a feeling of frustration and also of antagonism to the society which excludes them.

158. In the towns Africans are confronted with a new way of life in which they join as isolated individuals who must provide for their own material, mental and emotional needs. In many towns the facilities for doing so are lacking, which leads to the resort to drunkenness and crime by those who, fresh from life in a community which exercises considerable control over the thoughts and actions of its members, are almost entirely lacking in those resources of mind and character which would give them the capacity to develop interests during leisure. Where, however, opportunities have been provided for the satisfaction of all the needs of the individual, morale is noticeably high. Moreover, where there is an outlet for African initiative there has been, as a result, a considerable development of African enterprise.

THE BASIS OF A NEW URBAN POLICY

159. The enterprise of non-Africans is needed to make possible the expansion of trade into areas which have hitherto been little touched by modern economic forces. At the same time opportunity should be given to Africans to learn from them and to compete with them. We recommend that the restrictions which have been placed on the acquisition of sites by non-Africans in the rural areas and which impede the growth of towns should be removed; and that the administration of the minor townships and trading centres should be put on a multi-racial basis and, at the same time, be integrated with that of the countryside.

160. In order to improve the unsatisfactory conditions which exist in many towns and to ensure that there is healthy urban development in the future, a clear overall policy is needed which takes into account all the factors which affect urban growth, such as population increases, land tenure, and administration. It is essential that this policy should embrace the whole of the actual and potential urbanized areas. We recommend that the East African governments should, as a matter of urgency, make a careful assessment of the problems which arise in the urban areas of their territories and frame policies accordingly.

161. There is a need for a system of land tenure which gives Africans who live inside and outside the towns full security to develop their holdings. This is essential if Africans are to settle down as members of the whole urban community. As land inside the towns is likely to prove insufficient for the needs of non-African and especially Indian expansion, they should be enabled to acquire land over the whole urban area which the present restrictions imposed on its acquisition do not allow. We recommend that Africans should be given clear and negotiable titles to their lands, as follows:

(a) As the greater part of the land inside the present town boundaries is in public ownership, they should be enabled to obtain leases whose length is determined according to the building zone; and (b) in the peripheral areas where after due investigation it appears that their rights amount to

freehold, they should be granted freehold titles. In order to provide space for non-African expansion we recommend that non-Africans should be allowed to obtain leases of land outside the present town boundaries whose occupation is at present restricted by law to Africans. We further recommend that the long-term aim should be to remove all restrictions on the transfer of such land between members of the different races.

162. Since under the present policy of insisting on costly standards of building construction it is possible to provide houses for only a small proportion of those who need them, considerable relaxation of constructional standards is necessary. We recommend that the urban areas should be divided into a number of zones and that building standards in the lowest zones should be virtually unregulated. The aim should be to raise the general level of housing throughout the whole urbanized area. All possible means should be employed to achieve this, and Africans especially should be encouraged to invest in the building of houses. We recommend that both in order to further the settlement of permanent African populations in the towns and to overcome the present shortage of accommodation, every encouragement should be given to Africans to own their own homes; and that governments should give them technical advice and assistance to this end. We also recommend that employers should set up housing committees to study the housing problems of their workers and to aid them to improve their houses by similar measures.

163. Unsatisfactory conditions arise whatever the standard of housing unless strict administrative control is maintained. A system of administration is needed which furthers two apparently conflicting aims; encouraging the development of towns in which members of all races live on an equal footing and the breaking down of barriers between them; and at the same time providing for the special needs of people who have no experience of town life. Owing to the special administrative problems which arise in the towns, we recommend that an officer of sufficient standing should be appointed in each territory to study them, and to assist the appropriate minister in framing and implementing policies in the light of the overall urban policy. We recommend that separate administrative units should be set up in the predominantly African areas which should be linked to the existing urban authorities in ways which accord with local conditions. We recommend that these units should be administered by agents of the central governments for a limited number of years, after which control should pass to the unit councils.

164. The sharing of the financial responsibilities between the central governments and the local authorities is unsatisfactory and has led to the neglect of the predominantly African areas. A system is needed which gives the units which we propose should be set up as much responsibility as possible for their own finances, in order to encourage a sense of responsibility among their inhabitants and to obtain a full contribution from the latter towards the services which they enjoy. We recommend that the units should be given a clear responsibility for certain services and that they should administer these on budgets subject to central government supervision. Certain services concerned with public health and good order must be established and maintained in the interests of the whole urban population. We recommend that apart from the revenue which they secure from local sources the units should be given grants of amounts fixed for a specific number of years by the central government in order to ensure that essential services are provided.

165. The towns are the centres of social and intellectual life, of economic enterprise and of political activity. It is essential to break down the barriers which prevent Africans from full participation in the life of the towns. The African must come to regard the towns as places which fully provide him with an outlet for his courage, ability and initiative. The measures which have been proposed, if carried out with sufficient skill and energy will, we believe, radically improve the undesirable conditions which at present exist and make sound urban development possible for the future.

PART V

Conditions for Development of the Land

CHAPTER 20

*Agricultural Potential**A. Rainfall Reliability: The Basic Limitation to Land Use*

1. In essaying to review the agricultural potentiality of a region as extensive as East Africa it is initially necessary to seek some basic definitive factor the application of which will enable a distinction to be made between areas which are essentially pastoral and those which are suitable for arable farming. In seeking for such a factor we have been greatly assisted by a paper, produced for us by the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation, which clearly indicates the importance of rainfall reliability from year to year in determining the suitability, or otherwise, of an area for farming and shows that the practice of agriculture is hazardous and un-economic in those zones where there is a danger of the failure of the rains approximately once in every three years. The same paper shows that there is little prospect of satisfactory grain growing, except in certain favoured spots, in areas where the reliable rainfall is under 30 inches.*

In view of these and other facts we use a thirty inch rainfall reliability factor as the definitive criterion with which to distinguish the pastoral from the arable lands, to define the geographical extent of each, and to assess the varying prospects of economic agriculture within the several categories which we shall enumerate. The operation of this rainfall reliability factor is illustrated on maps 2, 3 and 4 which are included in this Report and it is important that this chapter should be read in conjunction with these.

B. The Maps Submitted with the Report and their use in this Chapter

2. Four maps are included in this Report and these are to be found in a pocket at the end of the document. These maps have been compiled and produced, from material collected by the Commission, by the Directorate of Colonial Surveys and we wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Director and to the members of his staff without whose co-operation these valuable maps could not have been prepared.

Map 1 has been included for general purposes by way of illustrating the background to the problems with which we are dealing. Against a base which shows the main topographical features of the region this map illustrates the territorial, provincial and district boundaries; the principal townships; the railways and major road systems; and, finally, the boundaries of the Kenya Highlands and the distribution elsewhere of land held in freehold or leasehold by non-Africans.

* *Memorandum for the East African Royal Commission* by members of the staff of the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation, 1953.

Maps 2, 3 and 4 have been compiled from material supplied by the several East African organizations concerned with statistics, with agriculture and with tsetse research. The purpose of these maps is to facilitate a general appreciation of some of the main limitations to the agricultural use of the land and they are, consequently, particularly germane to this chapter. On them are recorded the areas infested by tsetse flies, the distribution and density of African population and the main communications. On all three maps this data remains unchanged but on maps 2 and 3 it is superimposed on different backgrounds. Map 2 shows the data in relation to various degrees of probability of obtaining 20 inches of rainfall, and map 3 shows the same data in relation to similar prospects of obtaining 30 inches. Map 4 is merely an enlargement of the Kenya section of map 2, with some additional information which we consider contributes to an understanding of the location and extent of potentially productive land in that country, in relation to the boundaries of the reserved Highlands and of the several native land units.

3. The purpose of map 2 is to enable the basic differentiation to be made between land which is essentially suitable only for pastoralism and areas where agriculture is possible, and it therefore serves to exclude from immediate attention areas which cannot, in all probability, support large populations which are dependent upon cultivation. This map shows the possibility of obtaining 20 inches in three categories, the geographic extent of which is shown in green, mauve and magenta. These colours coincide with prospects which are described in the legend as 'good', 'fair' and 'bad' respectively depending upon how often within a century a 20 inch annual rainfall is likely to fail.

In using map 2 we shall assume, in this chapter, that in the areas coloured magenta and mauve (that is, where the prospect of 20 inches of rain is bad or, at the best, only fair) the climatic conditions normally preclude economically productive arable agriculture. These regions are the essentially pastoral zones of East Africa. It does not follow that the remaining areas on map 2 (that is, those coloured green), are necessarily capable of sustaining arable agriculture; and in order to make this clear we have produced map 3.

4. While the purpose of map 2 is to exclude the magenta and mauve areas from consideration as spheres of arable farming, and to classify them as pastoral country, the purpose of map 3 is to focus attention upon the regions coloured green, which are those in which conditions most suitable for arable farming are to be found.

Map 3 depicts the prospect of 30 inches of rainfall in four categories which are coloured respectively green, light green, mauve and magenta. These colours correspond to degrees of reliability which are described in the legend as 'good', 'fair', 'poor' and 'bad' respectively.

5. We shall assume, in this chapter, that in the regions coloured magenta on map 3 the conditions appropriate to the practice of cultivation are not generally found. These regions correspond closely to those described as pastoral when map 2 was discussed above. We do not wish to imply that farming is not possible in such regions and we are well aware that within them, and elsewhere in Africa, agriculture is practised on similar and even on worse rainfalls. We consider, however, that farming has, under these conditions, to face such difficulties that it can never play a significant part in the economy, and we therefore contend that the economic future of these areas lies mainly in animal husbandry.

We further postulate that in the areas coloured mauve, light green and green on map 3 the lack of rainfall reliability, at the 30 inch level, does not preclude arable farming and that the prospect of agriculture being economic and successful increases as the rainfall reliability improves from 'poor' to 'fair', and thence to 'good'. We shall therefore expect to find the best scope for cultivation in the green zones, a somewhat slighter chance of success in the light green areas and a yet slimmer chance of economic arable farming in the regions coloured mauve.

In making these assumptions we are intentionally generalizing in order to preserve clarity. In so doing we realize that the distinctions which we make are inevitably selective and arbitrary and that they will be subject to numerous local exceptions. We believe nevertheless that the general impression conveyed is a true reflection of actual conditions in East Africa.

6. At this point the possibility of irrigation demands attention. Its use may, in certain circumstances, modify the restrictions placed upon farming by the vagaries of a low and fickle rainfall sufficiently to allow viable agriculture to be practised in regions where otherwise it would not be possible. The exclusion of the magenta areas on map 3 is, therefore, subject to reservations concerning certain irrigation areas just as, at the other extreme, the suitability for cultivation of the green areas is tempered by the existence of a number of limiting factors other than rainfall which may impede the success of farming in these regions.

C. The Operation of The Rainfall Reliability Factor Summarized

7. The effect of the rainfall factor as shown on maps 2 and 3 may be summarized as follows:

On map 2

(a) the areas shaded magenta and mauve may be excluded from those in which arable agriculture is normally possible. These regions are pastoral in character, the magenta zones being climatically harsher than those shaded mauve;

(b) the areas shaded light green are those wherein rainfall does not wholly, or necessarily, preclude cultivation.

On map 3

(a) the areas coloured green are those wherein a good rainfall reliability at the 30 inch level makes arable farming generally possible;

(b) the areas coloured light green and mauve, which may be considered together, are those where the indifferent reliability of a 30 inch rainfall produces marginal conditions of a kind which do not necessarily preclude arable farming, but which place distinct limitations upon the likelihood of its success; and

(c) the areas coloured magenta are those where the reliability of a 30 inch rainfall is too poor to allow arable farming to be normally possible. These regions coincide generally with those shaded mauve and magenta on map 2.

Finally, the use of irrigation may make arable agriculture possible in areas where it might not otherwise be so.

D. The Geographical Application of the Rainfall Reliability Factor

8. Bearing in mind these observations the geographical distribution of the several categories described above may now be examined. Undoubtedly the most salient feature of map 3 is the great extent of the magenta shaded areas. Approximately half of the land area of East Africa is so coloured and, by definition, this vast expanse of country is to be considered as primarily pastoral. Considered territorially the magenta colour embraces about two-thirds of Kenya Colony together with approximately one-third of Tanganyika, and only in Uganda is the extent of the pastoral regions restricted to limited areas in Karamoja and in the south-west of the Protectorate.

The two intermediate colours—light green and mauve—may be considered in conjunction, since both indicate ecological conditions of a marginal nature which fall between the pastoral and the arable zones. At their worst these marginal areas are little better than the magenta zones; at their best they are little inferior to the green regions. Between these extremes there lies the whole gamut of climatic and ecological variation usually associated with the marginal bracket. In all, something over a quarter of East Africa falls into this category. Territorially speaking the greater part of this marginal country is situated in western and southern Tanganyika. In Kenya and Uganda it is of more limited dimensions, and is distributed on the periphery of the purely pastoral zones rather than in large homogeneous blocks as in Tanganyika.

Turning to the areas which enjoy a good reliability of a 30 inch rainfall it will be noticed that the green areas on map 3 comprise somewhat less than a quarter of the total area of East Africa and that, as the map shows, much of this is already densely populated. The territorial distribution of these potentially productive areas emphasizes the fact that Kenya has little and that Uganda has much country of this type and that Tanganyika is between these extremes. In the south-west of that Territory there is a large homogeneous block of country of high potential productivity extending from Lake Nyasa north-eastwards to the vicinity of Morogoro, but elsewhere similar conditions are restricted to smaller areas on the western shore of Lake Victoria, to a few isolated highland massifs and to parts of the coast.

9. The distribution of the population in relation to these areas of good rainfall reliability at the 30 inch level is significant. In Kenya land of this type in the native land units, with the exception of limited areas in the Trans-Mara section of Masailand and on the Mau escarpment, is already heavily populated. Elsewhere the only considerable green areas which are not carrying dense populations are situated within the reserved Highlands. In Uganda the population is dense in the green coloured areas on the edge of Lake Victoria, on the slopes of Mount Elgon and in the highlands of Kigezi in the extreme south-west. Elsewhere much of the potentially productive region is at present only thinly populated. In Tanganyika dense populations have concentrated in the high rainfall reliability regions on Mounts Meru and Kilimanjaro, in the Usambara mountains and in the Southern Highlands. Only in the block of country along the Kilombero river and extending towards Lake Nyasa is there a considerable expanse of green which does not, as yet, accommodate a heavy population.

E. Factors Other than Rainfall Reliability which Limit Land Usage

10. Although the rainfall reliability criterion is of value in defining the basic ecological zones of East Africa it does not enable us to judge categorically the potentiality of any specific area as a sphere of economic agriculture. Rainfall reliability is the basic factor since it is the one which cannot, as yet, be overcome by the application of human effort; but it is not the only factor involved. There are many others which, either singly or in combination, act in restraint of agriculture and impede its economic development. The ecological significance and the geographical applicability of these now demands attention.

These new factors may conveniently be divided into two categories as:

(a) environmental and physical obstacles, other than rainfall, which render agriculture difficult, uneconomic, or impossible; and

(b) technical and organizational difficulties which limit the capacity of the appropriate agencies to undertake the development of areas where physical limitations are either non-existent or are removable.

F. Physical and Environmental Factors

TSETSE FLY INFESTATION AND THE TRYPANOSOMIASIS PROBLEM

11. Agricultural development and the realization of the latent potentiality of the available natural resources everywhere rest essentially upon the modification of the existing ecological equilibrium so that new conditions are produced in which the factors inimical to man are either neutralized or eradicated. The several species of tsetse fly and the various disease bearing trypanosomes which these are capable of carrying are major factors in the existing ecological and biological equilibrium of East Africa. The trypanosomes are the causal organisms of both human sleeping sickness and animal trypanosomiasis and consequently the relationship between human beings and their stock, and the fly, the vector of disease, is of great importance.

This relationship is of a mutually exclusive nature. On the one side the presence of flies infected with the trypanosomes of human sleeping sickness renders the infested area unsuitable for habitation, except in self-insulating sleeping sickness settlements. In like manner the infestation of an area by flies capable of carrying bovine trypanosomiasis precludes stock-keeping and, since Africans are usually unwilling to live divorced from their animals, this often amounts to the same thing as the exclusion of people. On the other side of the picture the occupation of an infested area by people in sufficient numbers to bring about by the practice of farming a modification of the bush, which is the fly's natural habitat, so as to render it inhospitable to the insect, usually leads to the evacuation of the area by the tsetse. Unfortunately in the past it has generally been people who have retreated before the encroachment of the fly rather than the reverse.

12. The geographical distribution and extent of fly infestation is shown in relation to the prospect of a 20 and a 30 inch rainfall on maps 2 and 3. In Kenya about 10 per cent of the country is known to be subject to fly.

The incidence of human sleeping sickness is confined to some riverine areas and to the shores of Lake Victoria but the animal disease factor is more widespread. Fortunately it is found, for reasons of altitude, in few of the possible spheres of high productivity. As shown on map 3 the main fly areas coincide with the pastoral or with the marginal arable-pastoral zones where the insect may have considerable significance if economic ranching is envisaged. Elsewhere in Kenya, only in Nyanza, in parts of Trans-Mara, and on the coast does fly infestation coincide with the regions of good rainfall reliability.

In Tanganyika the position is more grave. Fly is endemic over the greater part of the Territory and the possibility of human disease cannot be excluded in most of the infested areas. The insect is known to exist over an expanse of 94,000 square miles in the west of the country and over another 86,000 square miles in the south. Both these belts of infestation coincide largely with areas which have a good, or at least a fair, prospect of sufficient rain to support arable farming. A third block of infestation, some 20,000 square miles in extent, is situated in the north and north-centre of Tanganyika but this corresponds generally with essentially pastoral country. In all about 207,000 square miles, or approximately 60 per cent. of the land area of the Territory, are fly infested although the degree of concentration is, in part of this area, only slight. Nevertheless over all of this vast tract the presence of the fly either actively, or potentially, inhibits to some extent the development of economic arable or pastoral farming.

In Uganda about 24,000 square miles, or 32 per cent of the country, are said to be subject to infestation, but the dispersal of this area is such that practically two thirds of the Protectorate is in close contact with fly. Both the human and the animal disease are present but the former is restricted to the rivers and water courses and to the lake shores. Much of the infested country is in the north and west of the Protectorate where much land of potential value is at present dominated by the presence of fly.

In all about 40 per cent of the land area of the entire East African region is fly country. Throughout this vast area the present position is one of uneasy stability, marked by local reclamations in some places and by fresh advances by the fly elsewhere.

13. Research has gradually evolved a series of techniques which make possible, in theory and sometimes in practice, the partial or total eradication of the insect and the disease which it transmits. This counter-attack may be made along three lines. The causal organism, the trypanosome, may be attacked by prophylaxis and immunization. The vector, that is the fly, may be eradicated by several means, such as the use of insecticides, bush clearing, or the destruction of game. Finally, the physical environment may be so modified as to render it inimical to both the vector and the disease. In Uganda the presence of numerous natural barriers, such as water masses and dense forests, prevents the fly from encroaching, and has made it possible to mount a successful large-scale counter-offensive. Since 1947 about 6,000 square miles have been recovered from the insect in this way, but unfortunately the geographical circumstances in the other two territories seldom facilitate a similar approach to the problem.

Although the means of counter-attack do exist they are subject to certain drawbacks. They are usually expensive both in physical effort and in terms of money. This is particularly so because tsetse infestation forms only one part of a complex ecological balance, so that it may not pay to expend large sums on reclamation unless the associated factors allow the economic development of the land to be undertaken when the fly has been removed.

Moreover, since the consolidation and defence of the land reclaimed depends upon immediate, active, and continuous settlement it may not be advisable to undertake reclamation until, and unless, settlers are available. Even when they are available it will seldom be justified if they are not prepared to adopt from the start the planned systems of land usage which alone can make economic agricultural development successful. There can be few, if any, occasions on which reclamation can be warranted merely as a relief measure in order to allow the geographical expansion of wasteful farming methods.

14. It therefore appears doubtful whether any large-scale recovery of fly country can be envisaged for some considerable time to come. Effort will probably be concentrated in the few areas where a fortunate concatenation of circumstances makes possible the economic expansion of farming into fly country at little expense, but these are few and far between. Elsewhere the situation will remain, as at present, one of vigilant defence of the *status quo*, and this will continue until the techniques of reclamation become less expensive. It is consequently of importance that every attempt should be made to bring about a reduction in the costs of fly-eradication.

THE SHORTAGE OF WATER SUPPLIES

15. The significance of water supplies in the ecology of rural Africa has recently been succinctly summed up by Mr. Malcolm who writes, 'If soil fertility is one of the basic assets of the country water is the catalyst without which it cannot be used.'*

The total or partial absence of this catalyst over great tracts of East Africa places very serious limitations upon the economic use of the land. In the absence of adequate surface and of accessible sub-surface water supplies for the domestic use of farmers and for the watering of stock, large expanses are rendered uninhabitable and unusable. Elsewhere the maldistribution of the existing supplies produces dangerous concentrations of population and stock in the vicinity of the available watering points and this is fraught with the risk of overgrazing, over cultivation and of consequent erosion and loss of fertility.

16. The geographical application of this factor may be described in general terms. In Kenya the effective development of water resources was listed as the first priority in the 1946 Development Plan. The nature of the topography, and the relative absence of rivers, over the larger part of the Colony makes the position serious. Most of the two-thirds of the territory which is coloured magenta on map 3 is singularly lacking in water supplies and large tracts are virtually waterless desert or semi-desert. This severely limits pastoralism and, as a result, the nomadic herdsmen of the Northern Frontier exist under the harshest of conditions. In the intermediate zones of marginal country, which are of restricted size in Kenya, conditions are less severe, but much land which might be used for ranching, or even for cultivation, remains undeveloped through lack of water. This is the case in parts of West Suk, in Elgeyo-Marakwet, in Baringo and over much of the Machakos District. Only in the highlands and in Nyanza is the country adequately or well watered, but this is not invariably the case even here, and certain vicinities, such as the Trans-Mara, are well endowed by nature in other respects but lack the water supplies without which their development is not possible.

* D. W. Malcolm, *Sukumaland: An African People and their Country*. Oxford University Press, 1953.

A careful appreciation, made in 1934, indicated that in Tanganyika the position could then be described as follows:

(a) 10 per cent of the Territory could be described as 'well watered' and accommodated 63 per cent of the people;

(b) 8 per cent of the land was classified as 'fairly well watered' and supported 18 per cent of the population;

(c) 20 per cent of the country was designated 'poorly watered' and was occupied by 18 per cent of the population; and

(d) 62 per cent of the Territory was 'virtually waterless' and consequently was almost uninhabited.

That is to say that twenty years ago 99 per cent of the African population of Tanganyika was dwelling on about one-third of the land which had water supplies, and that nearly two-thirds of the country was waterless and uninhabitable waste. Although much has since been done to alleviate the position, the pattern remains essentially unaltered to-day and the 1934 description may still be used as a good indication of the gravity of the water problem facing the Territory.

The well watered areas correspond closely with the regions coloured green on map 3—that is with the high altitude areas, where climatic and physical conditions are clement, and also with the riverine zones and lake shores. The country which is classed as having only indifferent water supplies is generally situated on the lower fringes of the highlands and in the lake depressions. A very great part of the Central, Western and Northern Provinces can still be described as virtually waterless. Much of the latter category corresponds with the magenta coloured mass shown on map 3 in north and central Tanganyika, but not a little of the marginal country of the west and south of the Territory is also lacking in domestic water supplies.

Although the Uganda Protectorate is a country of lakes, swamps and rivers it nevertheless has to face considerable difficulties in respect of rural water supplies. The position was described in 1936 as follows:

(a) somewhat under one-third of the country was assessed as having 'sufficient water supplies.' This comprised the highlands of Kigezi, western Ankole and Toro together with the western parts of the West Nile District, the lake shores in Masaka and Mengo and, finally, the slopes of Mount Elgon;

(b) over a third of the Protectorate was described as comprising 'areas of difficulty'. This included most of Acholi and the north of Lango District, northern Teso, parts of West Nile, and much of Ankole, Masaka, Mengo and Busoga; and

(c) about a third of Uganda was described as having 'bad conditions' in respect of water supplies and this included Karamoja and a belt of country south of Lake Kyoga including parts of Mengo, Busoga and Mbale Districts.

Although great efforts have been made to improve conditions since 1936 the position remains radically unchanged to-day. The relation of these three water supply categories to rainfall reliability may be seen by reference to map 3. Over much of the high potentiality zones of western and northern Uganda, the scarcity of rural water supplies renders development very difficult. In Karamoja a difficult area of pastoral country is made yet harsher by the paucity of its water supplies, while in the drier parts of western Masaka and eastern Ankole the utilization of the marginal land available is similarly impeded. Even so, the absence of water supplies acts in restraint of economic agriculture less in Uganda than in the other two territories, and in the west and north of the Protectorate it does not necessarily preclude the exploitation of the high potentiality of the land there available.

THE INADEQUACY OF COMMUNICATIONS

17. Access to markets is an obvious and most important factor in the economic development of agriculture and one which depends largely upon the adequacy of the communications system. That the economic development of East Africa, as elsewhere, has in the past been greatly affected by transport facilities is demonstrated by the manner in which population has tended to concentrate in areas which, although initially not highly productive, have been penetrated by railways and roads, most of which were constructed for strategic and not economic reasons. Conversely, there are regions of high potential productivity which today, as a result of inaccessibility, remain sparsely peopled and under-developed. Examples of the stimulus given by railways are to be seen in the Uganda railway, the recently-constructed Southern Province line in Tanganyika and the branch from the Central line of that Territory to the Mpanda minefields. In all of these instances railways originally built for purposes other than the stimulation of African peasant farming have, in the event, had this result; and a similar one may confidently be anticipated from the current extension of the Uganda section of the railway to Lake George.

18. The question of communications is discussed in detail in chapter 12. It is sufficient here to outline the extent to which the lack of transportation at present impedes the development of certain regions. In this context it is to be noted that, with the exceptions of the extensive areas of high agricultural potentiality which are found in the Uganda Protectorate, in Nyanza and in the Kenya Highlands, the areas where favourable agricultural conditions are to be found are either remote from existing communications, and on the inaccessible perimeter of the East African region, or are small oases of land widely scattered over a vast expanse of inhospitable country of low potentiality. The first set of circumstances applies to the Kilombero valley of south-western Tanganyika and to northern Uganda, while the second applies to the isolated oases of favoured highland country in Tanganyika. In consequence the cost of establishing railways and roads is high in relation to the foreseeable traffic which will use them. As a result the limited resources available have, in the past, been used either to construct strategic communications or to follow-up economic development rather than to stimulate it. The era of strategic railway construction is, however, over. At the same time a stage has been reached when further economic development will not take place without the prior provision of communications. East Africa is therefore faced with a dilemma. Economic development will not materialize without railways, and, to a lesser extent, roads. The construction of these cannot be undertaken lightly in view of the great costs involved and the uncertain potentiality of the areas which most urgently need them, for most of these are, as yet, not of fully proved value.

19. In Kenya some of the areas of proved, or potential, high productivity are not far removed from the Uganda railway or from the branch line to Kisumu and Kitale, and both the Highlands and the Nyanza province are consequently adequately served by communications. Elsewhere, as in the Trans-Mara, the Mau, the possible irrigation areas in Meru and Embu, and the coastal strip, regions of possible high potentiality are relatively difficult of access.

20. Tanganyika has a greater problem to face and it has been said that the Territory's 'trinity of priorities' consists of food, water and communications. It is a peculiarity of the Tanganyika railway system that the three separate lines which comprise it all run from the coast into the interior in roughly

the same direction, from east to west or north-west. The communications system of the Territory is thus stratified horizontally, each line serving a belt of country stretching from a coast port to an inland terminus. Between these belts there lie stretches of territory which are unserved by the railways and which are often but poorly equipped with roads.

With the exception of the near-coastal areas served by the Tanga, Central and Southern Province lines none of the high potential zones coloured green on map 3 is in actual contact with a railway, although the Central line skirts the extreme northern end of the Kilombero block at Morogoro. These areas therefore depend upon long and tenuous roads, some of which are not of all-weather calibre.

The marginal areas shown in light green and mauve on the map are little better served. The Southern Province line traverses a hundred miles or so of this country. Its effect in stimulating production in the near-coastal districts of the Southern Province has been noted and is further attested by the success attending the Southern Province Development Plan which has been in operation for the past four years.

The Central line traverses the marginal lands of the west, from Tabora to Kigoma, but for the greater part of its length it passes through the arid bush and wastes of the centre of the Territory. The great expanse of marginal country between the Central line and the head of Lake Nyasa is virtually devoid of that contact with the coast ports and the external markets which it will require if it is ever to be developed.

A railway link between Tanganyika and South Africa and the Rhodesias has recently been suggested and an economic survey of the proposed route, through the Kilombero valley and the Southern Highlands, has been made.* If this railway is ever built it would traverse much land which is of considerable potentiality and it might well stimulate agricultural development in large areas in the south-west of the Territory.

21. In Uganda the completion of the extension from Kampala to Lake George will give access to the highly productive west and south-west. The construction of a line from Soroti to Gulu, via Lira, which has recently been suggested would afford similar access to potentially productive regions in the north and north-west. There are today few areas, with the exceptions of Karamoja, the extreme western districts and the heart of the Protectorate, which are more than 30 miles from a port or a railway, but this does not imply that the position is altogether satisfactory since in many cases handling charges, necessitated by transfer of cargoes from one form of transportation to another in the course of a journey, make the freighting of produce expensive.

MANPOWER

22. In East Africa, with some exceptions, the areas of high agricultural potential (as far as rainfall, soil, and other environmental physical factors are concerned), coincide either with the highland regions or with the Lake Victoria depression. That is to say that the productive areas are, generally speaking, those which already carry populations which are dense relative to the productivity of the land. This is graphically illustrated on map 3 by the concentration of the dots, which indicate population, on the green patches which show high reliability rainfall areas and which generally can be approximated to regions of high actual, or potential, productivity. This coincidence is apparent in the Kenya Highlands, in the Lake Victoria depression both in

* *Report on the Central African Rail Link Development Survey* by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners and Overseas Consultants Inc, Colonial Office, 2 vols, 1952.

Nyanza and in Buganda, in the western highlands of Uganda and Tanganyika and in the various high altitude zones such as Mounts Elgon and Kilimanjaro, and the Usambara and Uluguru mountains. There are, in fact, only three examples of high-potential areas which do not carry an already heavy population. These are the sections of the Kenya highlands which are reserved for European occupation, the west and north of Uganda and the south-west of Tanganyika.

A glance at the arable-pastoral areas coloured light green or mauve on the map shows that these, on the other hand, are only sparsely populated. Only in the native land units of Kenya, in the cultivation steppeland of Sukumaland in the Lake Province of Tanganyika, and in the coastal areas of the Southern Province of Tanganyika is a relatively heavy population indicated in the marginal areas.

23. The position may be summarized by saying that, except for southern Tanganyika and western and northern Uganda, there remain no large areas of highly productive land which are still unoccupied. On the other hand most of the marginal, but still often potentially productive, regions are relatively thinly populated. The really significant point lies in the geographic relationship between the centres of population and the remaining under-developed, sparsely peopled, potentially productive zones. The latter areas are seldom adjacent to the congested regions which might become sources of the manpower necessary for their development, nor are the marginal zones which might be developed always in close and convenient juxtaposition to those same supplies of manpower.

24. The transfer of families from distant congested regions for the permanent settlement of the undeveloped zones of East Africa is seldom possible. The African is notoriously reluctant to move his home into a new area especially if this involves long distances and great environmental changes. This reluctance is seldom overcome until the pressure of economic circumstances caused by the shortage of land, and by the progressive fall in yields from the soil, becomes acute. These circumstances are not as yet generally in operation in East Africa although they undoubtedly prevail in many vicinities. Unfortunately these are remote from the possible reception areas to which an exodus might be directed

SOILS

25. There is a not uncommon belief that tropical soils are of inexhaustible fertility and are capable of high and sustained yields at the cost of little expenditure of human effort. In actual fact the soils of East Africa, in common with those of a large section of the tropical world, are by nature relatively poor, unproductive and fragile. With certain exceptions, mainly the volcanic and alluvial soils, they are often chemically deficient, lacking in humus, and easily leached. Physically they are highly friable and display an alarming tendency to erode or to become lateritic depending upon the circumstances. When mishandled they quickly decline in fertility and rapidly disintegrate under the action of wind and rain.

A paper produced for us by the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation comments on the relation between soil fertility and the population density and points out that where the African has been able to exercise a free choice, unimpeded by other factors, he has naturally concentrated upon the more fertile soils. As a result most of the more fertile areas—and these roughly correspond to the high rainfall reliability zones—have already been taken up. The only regions of under-developed but chemically fertile soil which remain unused are either those within which

other factors, such as tsetse fly or lack of water, impede settlement or those where the intractable physical properties of the soil in the hardpan areas act as a deterrent to peasant farmers who are equipped with little save an axe and a hoe.

These remaining fertile soils are, therefore, not very attractive to African farmers and the difficulty is enhanced by a comparative ignorance of their general chemical composition, and of their possible behaviour and physical reaction to cultivation.

Consequently both the comparative poverty of East African soils and the lack of knowledge concerning them act in limitation of agriculture. There is a great deal to be accomplished by soil surveyors and soil scientists before the nature of the soils and their probable responses to fertilization, mechanization, and other agricultural treatments are known, and before it will be possible to evolve the methods by which they may be farmed in the most effective way and without endangering them. The work being carried out at the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation's station, at the various Overseas Food Corporation experimental sites and elsewhere, will be of the greatest value in this respect, but it is likely to be some considerable time before command over the East African soils is fully established and they surrender their greatest possible returns.

DISEASE

26. The incidence of human and animal diseases is a further restrictive factor. The African lives under the constant threat of infection and is familiar, from the cradle to the grave, with the visitations of numerous debilitating and unpleasant tropical diseases. Often, however, he pleads fear of increased sickness as an explanation of his unwillingness when faced with the prospect of moving from his accustomed homeland into a settlement area. This disinclination to emigrate is of significance since it militates against the provision of essential manpower in the under-developed regions. It appears that the African's aversion to movement springs from several sources. In it are compounded a superstitious fear of abandoning the religious, ritualistic and magical associations of his place of origin, an unconscious psychological dislike of environmental, climatic, and dietary changes, and a feeling that it will involve a loss of the local immunity to disease which he and his stock have built up by long residence in the old home.

Experience has shown the difficulty of persuading Africans to settle in potentially good agricultural land prior to the eradication of epidemic disease and the establishment of medical and other social services. Since this is an expensive process the disease factor in human beings necessarily enters into any appreciation of the economics of resettlement and agricultural development.

There is another aspect of the human disease factor. The prevalent sicknesses are usually of a debilitating nature and their ravages considerably reduce not only the quantity, but also the quality and efficiency of the labour which can be applied to the land for agricultural purposes. Once again the need for the provision of medical services is apparent.

Animal diseases also enter into the picture. Among pastoral tribes the fear of the reduction of stock as a result of the visitation of disease leads to an attempt to compensate for this by keeping over-large herds. This overstocking is a factor of some importance when the economic use of the pastoral areas is under consideration and is one with which we deal at length elsewhere. Furthermore there is a tendency to avoid the areas where disease is common and to concentrate stock into the healthy zones and this

further the ravages of overgrazing. Finally as we have seen amongst mixed farming communities the presence of bovine trypanosomiasis often indirectly excludes people from regions suitable for arable farming because they are unwilling to be separated from their beasts.

THE OVERALL EFFECT OF THE SEVERAL PHYSICAL FACTORS

27. In the foregoing paragraphs we have described several of the physical obstacles which impede economic agriculture. Those selected are some of the more important but there are many more of lesser importance or of local significance only. These factors are in operation, sometimes individually but more often in one or other of many possible combinations, in nearly all parts of East Africa, and a prerequisite to sound agricultural development is, therefore, their removal or diminution as restrictions upon land usage. Their real significance lies in their interaction, inter-relation and combination. Individually and collectively they form a part of an ecological balance which is, at present, often weighted against the agricultural use of the land.

In attempting to adjust this equilibrium so that it ceases to be inimical to man it is necessary to appreciate not only the isolated and separate effect of each individual factor, but also the collective effect of a combination of some or all of them. Furthermore it is essential to foresee, and to be able to forestall, the possible deleterious results of removing some of the factors and, by so doing, upsetting the balance, since to do this may be to bring about a process of ecological change which may rapidly and unexpectedly become unfavourable to man.

Economic land usage depends upon the rational application of labour, capital, knowledge and skill to the available natural resources. Its development must necessarily be assessed in terms of the necessary expenditure equated with anticipated returns. In the formation of this kind of appreciation the significance of the various limitations, which have been described above, calls for close attention. It must also be noted that this manner of approaching the development problem demands an intimate liaison between the several departments, authorities, agencies and individuals concerned in land usage and at every stage from that of preliminary investigation and survey to that of actual operation. Only by tackling the very complex problems posed by the African environment in this co-ordinated and systematic way will it be possible to evolve economic systems of farming and to avoid the piecemeal expenditure of effort and money in unco-ordinated, unphased, projects such as those which have, in the past, been a feature of many tropical territories.

G. Some Technical Obstacles

THE LACK OF DATA AND INFORMATION

28. Throughout our enquiry we have been impressed both by the limited amount, and by the doubtful value, of the data and information available for the study of most forms of activity in East Africa. This absence of knowledge concerning the elementary facts imposes severe limitations upon all attempts to foster economic development whether in agriculture or in other spheres.

In the relative absence of valid statistics, of systematically collected and collated observations based on practical experience and of scientifically acquired knowledge regarding the major problems of the region, it often proves impossible to make more than a tentative approach to development planning. In these circumstances projects are sometimes inevitably based upon little more than conjecture and informed guesswork.

A few examples will serve to emphasize the point. The knowledge we possess of East African soils is still rudimentary and will remain so until more soil surveys have been completed. Agriculture, therefore, in certain areas is a matter of empirical trial and error, and often receives considerable set-backs as a result. Again, correct systems of usage have not as yet been evolved for various types of vegetation régimes so that, for example, the huge area of 'miombo' woodland which covers about a third of Tanganyika still awaits research investigation before planned development and usage will be possible. As a final example we may take the current lack of hydrographical knowledge. The possession of adequate hydrographical data is an essential prerequisite to the irrigation projects which East Africa urgently needs. Yet there are few rivers whose régimes have been studied and plotted by the taking of regular maximum and minimum flow readings over a period of years, and in the absence of these it is difficult to assess the prospects of irrigation.

A thorough, concerted and systematic examination and inventory of the natural resources of the region, or of the parts of it which offer possible development, is needed as a preliminary to the improvement of agriculture. This will take some time to accomplish and its initiation is therefore a matter of urgency, since until it is completed the planning of economic agriculture must inevitably resemble a chess game played with only half the necessary pieces.

THE ABSENCE OF CO-ORDINATION IN RESEARCH

29. On our visits to East Africa we found that a great deal of commendable effort and intelligence, together with considerable sums of money, were being devoted to various facets of research directed towards the solution of the many problems posed by the harsh environment, and towards the evolution of the methods proper to the economic use of the available natural resources. The subject of research receives detailed treatment elsewhere in this Report and we allude to it here only in so far as its present organization, or absence of organization and co-ordination, acts in restriction of agricultural development.

We noticed a general lack of liaison and of exchange between the various agencies and persons engaged in the work. This was apparent not only between field workers and research technicians within the individual territories but also between the various territories at most levels and in nearly all spheres. As a result there is a tendency for research to be conducted in water-tight compartments and for valuable experience gained in one place to be localized through lack of dissemination. These circumstances constitute yet another factor in impeding the progress of sound land usage.

FINANCIAL LIMITATIONS

30. The process of development in the under-developed regions of the world is notoriously, and perhaps inevitably, expensive. The process normally comprises three fairly distinct phases each of which is fraught with difficulties and all of which involve considerable expenditure. It is initially necessary, in the absence of reliable data, to collect, collate and examine the basic data upon which economic planning rests. This costs money especially in

countries like East Africa where trained local staff is lacking and expatriate staff is hard to recruit and expensive to employ. Upon the completion of the investigation stage it is necessary to work out appropriate usage methods applicable to the area under review. This is normally done by a process of trial and error involving both scientific research and field pilot schemes in which various techniques are tested practically under local conditions. In the event of this empirical process proving successful, it finally becomes necessary to find the money to put the project into effect. This may come from private or from public sources or from both; it may be locally provided or it may emanate from overseas sources. However, some part of it usually falls upon the public funds of the territory concerned since private capital is rarely to be found for development projects in the absence of such essential prerequisites as communications and the like, which are now generally considered as being a governmental responsibility. In the event of the project being one of African agricultural development the provision of the money is likely to fall almost entirely upon public funds at the disposal of the territory.

31. Not infrequently the various territorial governments have found that the sums involved in this process of development are beyond their limited resources and it has sometimes happened that they have been unable, without assistance, even to undertake the initial investigations without which planned development is impossible, let alone the actual opening-up of a promising region.

Some specific examples taken from recent experience in Tanganyika will serve to emphasize the point. It has been estimated that the cost of irrigation surveys in the Kilombero valley, an area long considered as potentially productive, would be in the order of £110,000. Similar surveys in the other possible irrigation areas of the Territory would involve a further £120,000. Again, in 1951 it was estimated that the irrigating of 40,000 acres in south-western Tanganyika would entail the expenditure of between £1,500,000 and £2,000,000. In the same year a report on the Pangani river basin proposed irrigation works which, if they had proved possible, would have necessitated the construction of a dam costing £832,000 together with the expenditure of further large sums on canals and other works. Irrigation is, of course, not the only form of development which is expensive. Other water supplies, tsetse reclamation, research, and above all communications are similarly costly. That this is so is indicated by an estimate, made in 1952, that the cost of a line from the Central line of Tanganyika to the Rhodesian railway system would be about £33,000,000 and that a second line joining the Southern Province line to this Central African link would involve the expenditure of a further £18,000,000. Other instances could be quoted from the other two territories but the above are enough to indicate that the inhospitable and harsh environment of East Africa is not one which could be brought under control cheaply or easily. There are, however, elsewhere in the world examples of equally hostile country being made to yield economic returns on capital investment. It is unwise to be over pessimistic about the prospects in East Africa, but it is equally important to realize that most of foreseeable large-scale developments will involve high capital expenditure and that the capital is unlikely to be forthcoming locally, in view of the limited capacity of the East African communities to accumulate local savings for reinvestment in the region.

In this section we mention only three of the more important obstacles which stand in the way of development. There are others some of which, for example those attendant upon sectional interests in the land and the game and forestry reserve policy, are discussed elsewhere in this

Report. To these may be added the lack of locally available skilled and semi-skilled labour, of trained technicians, and of machinery and equipment. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that the task of winning from East Africa the greatest agricultural yields which it is capable of giving, and which are consonant with the continuing health of the soil, will encounter many obstacles.

32. Bearing this in mind it is now possible to assess the agricultural potentiality of the region in the light of these various obstacles and also to indicate the particular localities which appear, in the circumstances obtaining, to afford the greatest possibility of returns commensurate with the capital, labour, skill, and management which will have to be invested in them in order to bring about their development.

H. General Appreciation of the Agricultural Potentiality of the Region

33. In Part III we show that it is now imperative for East Africa to put all of its available natural resources to the most productive use and to realize to the fullest extent the potentiality of its agriculture which, in the absence of any large-scale, workable mineral deposits and of major industrial enterprises, must inevitably form the basis of any expansion of the regional economy. The first step in undertaking development of this nature is obviously a regional and territorial inventory and review of the available assets in land. In section A of this chapter a rainfall reliability criterion is postulated as the means of differentiating the several ecological régimes of East Africa, namely the pastoral, the marginal and the arable. In later sections the other major obstacles which inhibit, or hamper, agriculture are described. We have also, throughout our investigation, given considerable attention to much documentary evidence concerning the potentiality of many specific vicinities and we have visited many of these so that we feel ourselves in a position to make a brief overall review of the potential of the region.

THE LIMITED POTENTIALITY OF THE PASTORAL AREAS

34. The greater part of Kenya, a very considerable part of Tanganyika and a far smaller section of Uganda is coloured magenta on map 3 and, by the application of the definition given in this chapter, is essentially pastoral country.

Although there are within the pastoral zone not a few cultivating tribes which eke out a bare subsistence, this country affords no prospect of ever playing a material part in the arable agricultural development of East Africa, and we do not think that it can ever play a significant part in the general economy of the region.

The more arid sectors of pastoral country in northern Kenya and central Tanganyika will doubtless long remain, as at present, the home of hardy nomadic camel-keepers and cattle-men who manage to exist only with extreme difficulty and who are not able to take an active part in development. Elsewhere, in the less inhospitable savannahs and grass lands, economic animal husbandry may eventually become possible. Such areas include in Kenya, the Masai and Kamba Land Units, the coast hinterland and the Suk and neighbouring districts; in Tanganyika, the Masai and Mkata plains, the grassland areas of the Southern Highlands, the Ufipa plateau and parts of the coast hinterland; and in Uganda, Karamoja, Ankole and Masaka. These

are, however, relatively small and widely scattered areas in a vast expanse of country the remainder of which appears to have very little potentiality. Even within the better sections the technical and financial difficulties limiting fly eradication, the provision of water and the evolution and implementation of proper animal and grazing management, make it unlikely that development will, for some time to come, be considerable.

THE UNPROVED NATURE AND UNCERTAIN POTENTIALITY OF THE MARGINAL AREAS

35. Within the very great expanses of arable-pastoral marginal country which is coloured mauve and light green on map 3, rainfall does not preclude agriculture and there is consequently at least a chance of its development. Other factors, however, are present, and there are very serious obstacles impeding the full usage of the marginal country in an economical manner. It is usually situated in the remote and inaccessible parts of the region, much of it is without, or but poorly supplied with, water and large expanses are covered by the inhospitable bush vegetation, known locally as 'miombo', which harbours the tsetse fly. Considered generally, the arable-pastoral marginal land of the three territories does not present an encouraging picture and it has so far largely defeated attempts to use it on economic lines. The recovery, clearing, preparation and working of the land in these zones bristles with as yet unsolved technical problems, which include the evolution of methods of clearing and ploughing which are not prohibitively costly, the defence of the recovered area against fly and the evolution of appropriate and successful farming techniques.

It is too early to say whether a suitable usage for these areas will ever be evolved and whether they will ultimately play a full part in the economy of the region. Much depends upon the degree of success attending the efforts of the Overseas Food Corporation, the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, the Kenya African Land Development Board and other similar bodies. It is therefore premature to assess the extent to which the development of these areas may some day become economic. But if optimism is not yet justifiable it is also premature to anticipate the failure of current endeavours to find the key to development. This is particularly so in view of the success with which similar intractable country has been made productive elsewhere in the world. All that can be said with certainty at present is that one large-scale attempt to tame marginal country by highly capitalized agricultural experiment has failed, and that the experience gained so far in this, and in other less unfortunate exercises, emphasizes the very great difficulties which will have to be overcome before these zones become economically productive, and affords only very limited indications that a solution, or solutions, will ultimately be forthcoming.

36. That something can be made of the better marginal zones is shown by the progress of African farming in certain regions. An example is to be seen in Sukumaland in Tanganyika where local communities of peasant farmers not only support themselves but also produce a large part of the territorial cotton crop. Similarly in the Southern Province of the same territory success has attended the efforts of peasant farmers, and this is attested by the results of the Southern Province Development Plan which, largely by stimulating African production, has already raised the exportable surplus of the Province by 64 per cent between 1947 and 1952.

In general, however, we are of the opinion that it is not possible to consider the marginal zones as contributors to the regional economy on a significant scale at present or in the near future, and we feel that the development which may at some future time take place will be the result of a slow, laborious and undoubtedly expensive process.

37. Since it is impossible for the East African territories to hope for very much development in the immediate future from the pastoral and marginal regions, they have, of necessity and as an obvious and reasonable first priority, to consider the development and exploitation of the potential of all the available fertile and high productivity areas and, at the same time, to explore the possibilities of irrigation. It is along these two lines of approach that success in establishing the sound basis of an expanding agricultural economy undoubtedly lies.

THE FERTILE AREAS OF HIGH POTENTIAL OR REAL PRODUCTIVITY

38. The areas of green on map 3 are those of high productivity land wherein the immediate prospect of economic agricultural development are naturally to be sought. A glance at the map confirms the fact that these areas are very unequally distributed between the territories. We have referred to this in relation to the distribution of marginal and pastoral land in section D of this chapter. This maldistribution of fertile land presents a twofold choice to the communities of East Africa and to their respective governments. The East African region may, from the development point of view, be considered either as a single regional unit, or as a collection of three separate territories each of which must be assessed on its own merits and developed in isolation along its own lines. The implication of the second choice in the circumstances is clear in view of the maldistribution of good land.

39. In suggesting a regional, uniform and co-operative attitude to the task of putting the East African natural resources to their fullest possible use we are not overlooking the factors which militate against such a course. The material benefits which would accrue to East Africa from a single regional endeavour to bring about development in the interests of the whole East African community cannot at present be attained owing to the inhibiting effect of racial and political interests. At the same time we would be failing in our duty if we did not point out the implications of failure to adopt this unitary approach. If, for political or other reasons, it is not forthcoming, there will inevitably be a slowing down of the tempo of development in each and all of the territories, and this at a time when it is imperative to accelerate the process.

40. The importance of a regional appreciation of the problem is re-emphasized by a glance at the actual location of the fertile areas on map 3 and the relation of this distribution to the three territories. If the isolated mountain areas which are scattered over the plateau of East Africa are ignored, and the small coastal strips left out of the picture, the greater part of the high productivity zones of the region fall into two major blocks as follows:

(a) In the north-western corner of the region the larger of these two blocks comprises the greater part of the Uganda together with the shores of Lake Victoria in Kenya and Tanganyika, an eastwards projection into the Kenya highlands and a southwards projection into the western highlands of Tanganyika in Kasulu, Ngara and the neighbouring districts. Considered regionally, this block of country, which coincides with the Lake Victoria depression, forms a single economic unit and is of the greatest importance to East Africa as a whole. It follows that it can best be developed as a unit in the interests of the three territories in combination. When viewed territorially the contrast is striking. The artificial political boundaries carve up the geographical and ecological unit into three very unequal parts, and two of these are possibly imperfect development entities if they are to stand alone. Thus while Uganda possesses the greater part of the Lake Victoria depression and of its fertile lands, Kenya has a far smaller section consisting of the already

densely populated and highly cultivated Nyanza Province and the highlands, and in these is concentrated nearly the whole population of the Colony. Territorially speaking Tanganyika holds the smallest sector of the block of land under consideration, and this sector is backed by marginal country.

It is apparent that merely territorial development in the Lake Victoria depression would produce an uneven and unco-ordinated pattern of agricultural and economic progress. What is necessary is the realization of the need for territorial co-operation and of the benefits which would accrue to each of the territories from the development of this great hinterland basin. The economy of Kenya, for example, is already to a considerable extent based upon entrepôt activities. The failure to co-operate in this development would relegate Tanganyika's portion of the Lake Victoria area to comparative unimportance and, as a result, that Territory would inevitably have to look for development to the other block of fertile country which lies in the south-west. In so doing it would encounter difficulties which it might not be able to face alone and which, in any case, are more complex and intractable than those of the Lake Victoria region. Kenya would be less able to provide employment off the land for its increasing population, and a failure to co-operate in developing the Lake Victoria depression would similarly reduce the potential living standards of the inhabitants of Uganda.

(b) In south-western Tanganyika there is a very extensive block of fertile country which remains virtually undeveloped in the face of the major difficulties of communications, fly, inaccessibility and lack of capital for irrigation and other projects. It includes the Kilombero river valley and parts of the Southern Highlands plateau and extends southwards along the north-eastern shores of Lake Nyasa into Songea and Tunduru Districts. The whole of this zone is within Tanganyika so that territorial development purely and simply would avail Kenya little, if at all, and the benefit would accrue entirely to Tanganyika. Furthermore it seems unlikely that the Territory will be able successfully to undertake development, in face of the manifold problems it presents, with the limited resources locally available. Here also, therefore, there is much to be said for a co-operative regional approach aimed at the usage of the area in the interests of the whole of East Africa. It is perhaps only along these lines that it will be possible to use it at all.

Before we conclude this chapter there is a further factor of importance to consider. This is the possible use of irrigation in order to mitigate the limitations of rainfall or to enhance yields where rainfall is sufficient for cultivation in any case. To this we now turn.

I. The Use of Irrigation

41. Irrigation may have a twofold significance in an agricultural economy. It may provide a means of bringing into cultivation land which is at present not cultivable because of a low or an unreliable rainfall, and so serve to increase the actual extent of productive arable. It may also enable increased productivity on land which although under cultivation at present is not yielding the greatest possible returns. We have, therefore, been led to devote considerable attention to the possibilities of irrigation and to examine the prospects afforded by the major rivers.

It has not as yet been found possible to carry out any large-scale irrigation project within the region although in all the territories much attention has for long been given to the problem. The reasons for this inability to inaugurate

major projects are numerous. They include the absence of departments and of officers specifically organized and employed to grapple with the technical difficulties of irrigation, the paucity of reliable data concerning the behaviour and régimes of the various rivers, and the large financial implications inherent in the use of irrigation under the local geographical and climatic conditions. Furthermore, nowhere in the East African region are conditions for irrigation comparable to those in Egypt, the Sudan and India to be found. Nowhere is there the fortunate conjunction of adequate water and large expanses of land of suitable character and topography on the same scale as in the countries which are the main scenes of great irrigation projects to-day. There are also problems of organization and technique, to which we have referred elsewhere, but these are difficulties which can, in all probability, be overcome in due course if suitable physical conditions can be found for the economic use of irrigation. It is fundamentally a physical difficulty which underlies the comparative failure to use irrigation in the region up to the present and it is, therefore, largely to the consideration of the environmental factors which we have turned in order to examine the problem.

IRRIGATION IN KENYA COLONY AND PROTECTORATE

42. Kenya has, unfortunately, less good arable country in high reliability rainfall zones than the other two territories and it is therefore doubly unfortunate that the country also lacks rivers which afford the possibility of irrigation. As long ago as 1925 Mr. A. D. Lewis in reviewing the irrigation prospects of Kenya pointed out that these were extremely limited and that, apart from the Tana river region, only about 22,000 acres of potentially irrigable land were available. His conclusion that no large part of the African population would be able to settle in irrigated areas for many years has been fulfilled in the event.

43. The Tana river was specifically excepted by Mr. Lewis and has been the subject of investigation and conjecture as a site of irrigation for many years and a considerable official literature on the subject is available. The one conclusive fact which emerges is that the river does not justify the sanguine hopes which it has sometimes raised. But this is not to dismiss it as of no value. The Tana may conveniently be divided into three reaches. The upper section is that part of the river upstream of Bura, a village about half way between Garsen and Garissa. The middle reach stretches downstream from this point to Garsen ; and the lower Tana is the sector between Garsen and the Indian Ocean. Each of these sections has at some time been the object of proposals and recommendations and it is of interest to note that the schedule of development areas produced by the African Land Utilisation and Settlement Board in 1953 lists 200,000 acres in the lower and middle reaches as possibly capable of development by the use of the natural flood plains and by the use of pumps.

In 1934 an investigation by Messrs. Harris and Sampson concluded that there was no real prospect of irrigation on the lower and middle reaches. They concluded that since in the lower reaches the river flows in a channel which, as a result of progressive silting along the river bed, is higher than the surrounding land, the cost of protective works designed to discipline the river, and so to defend the lower lands from periodic inundation, would be immense. At the same time the embankment of the river would only accelerate the rate at which the river bed rises and would thus involve a most undesirable legacy for future generations, since it would involve constant and expensive flood protection to defend the land against inundation and the incessant risk of disastrous flooding which would inevitably take place

at some future date despite these precautions. The lower river therefore appeared to offer little hope of becoming a scene of irrigation on a large scale. The same report contained the opinion that no suitable sites for the take-off of irrigation canals could be found on the middle reaches of the Tana and that since there is little solid bed-rock it would be impractical to construct a dam, or barrage, to raise the necessary head of water. As a result, Harris and Sampson concluded that without the construction of a long and expensive canal to bring water from the upper reaches it would not be possible to irrigate on the middle Tana, and that in any case the uncertainty of the river's régime, together with the limited extent of the irrigable land, would make irrigation unjustifiable.

For these and other reasons attention has since been concentrated on the upper Tana and this reach was the object of a detailed survey carried out under Mr. Tetley in 1948. After thorough investigation he reported that in theory two schemes might be possible. The first of these would irrigate an area north of Garissa and the second a smaller area south of the first area. Both of these projects could be carried out in several ways and the costings varied with the methods used. At its most ambitious the first scheme would command 180,000 acres and would cost £27,200,000. At a less ambitious level the irrigation of 60,000 acres would cost £10,700,000. The cost per acre of clearing, preparing and finally irrigating the land would consequently vary from £151 to £178, exclusive of recurrent charges. The second scheme was somewhat less expensive. About 108,000 acres might be brought into use for £19,500,000 or, alternatively, 48,000 acres for £5,800,000. Mr. Tetley considered that these figures indicated that both of the possible projects must be considered as very uneconomic. The African Land Utilisation and Settlement Board adopted this opinion and the projects have been ruled out as being prohibitively expensive, especially in view of the report of a soil chemist who found that the soils involved were far from fertile and were of a fragile physical composition.

44. From the technical point of view, therefore, it appears that the prospects on the upper Tana are limited by the enormous costs involved. We ourselves saw the whole of the river from the air and the middle and lower reaches on the ground. We are not convinced that the middle sections should be ruled out as emphatically as has hitherto been the case. If the great costs of protective works are to be avoided it will be necessary to confine attention to the areas which are higher than the river, and these are limited by topography and by the soil conditions. We must comment that elsewhere in the world it has been possible to construct large barrages on foundations other than rock and that the absence of rock should not, therefore, necessarily be allowed to inhibit irrigation works on the middle Tana in the event of other conditions proving satisfactory. Within these areas it is, therefore, possible that something can be accomplished. We recommend that a detailed topographical survey of the available areas on the middle and lower Tana should be made with a view to determining the actual extent of the land which might be commanded and that an examination of the soils in these regions should be put in train. We are further of the opinion that the possibility of small local projects using pumps cannot be ruled out on the lower reach and that experimental work in this direction should continue.

Over and above the purely technical problems posed by the behaviour of the river, the Tana valley has certain other characteristics which must be taken into consideration when the possibility of the economic use of irrigation is under review. The riverain lands are remote from the centres

of population whence settlers might be expected and this remoteness is emphasized by an intervening stretch of semi-desert and by the virtual absence of communications. The river is two hundred miles from the nearest railhead. Transport costs on exportable crops under irrigation might well be so high as to be prohibitive unless it ultimately proves feasible to improve communications. The isolation also adversely influences the probability of settlers being forthcoming, and this risk is enhanced by the physical and climatic disparity between the riverain lands and the distant hill areas whence settlers might be expected to come. Hill dwellers from the congested land units in the highlands might well be reluctant to emigrate to the hot and extremely unhealthy Tana valley, where they would be surrounded by unfriendly Somali nomads and subject to the depredations of game. Within the area itself there are at present insufficient cultivators to develop those parts which may eventually prove irrigable.

45. Elsewhere in Kenya there are several regions which have been classified as potentially irrigable by the Land Utilisation and Settlement Board or by its successor, the African Land Development Board. In certain of these experimental work is in hand, but nowhere as yet has a comprehensive scheme been inaugurated. In the Meru and Embu Districts a pilot project has been established to investigate the possibility of irrigating about 30,000 acres from the streams flowing eastwards from Mount Kenya. The value of such a development close to the densely populated Kikuyu tribal areas is obvious. A major difficulty which has been encountered has been the claims of the local Meru and Embu clans to the exclusive use of this land, and we welcome the realistic attitude recently adopted by the Kenya Government in refusing to allow these claims to hold up a desirable development.

Similar pilot schemes, on a small scale, have been started in order to explore the possibilities of irrigation in several areas in the native land units which lie to the north of the Highlands. In the Baringo District it seems possible that 25,000 acres in the Njemps flats may be capable of development despite the drawbacks of inaccessibility, poor communications and unattractive climate. In neighbouring districts similar obstacles beset attempts to irrigate 25,000 acres in the Barsalinga flats in Samburu and about 5,000 acres in West Suk. In the Turkana District of the Northern Province a system of controlled flood irrigation by bunds is being planned to use the waters of the Turkwell river in the vicinity of Lodwar. It is calculated that by this method over 50,000 acres may eventually be brought into cultivation. It is reported that a tendency towards increased salinity has been observed here.

In the densely populated Nyanza Province on the shores of Lake Victoria the use of irrigation is also under review. The African Land Utilisation Board has estimated that about 5,000 acres in the Kano plains of Central Nyanza may be rendered more productive than at present by irrigation. It is similarly estimated that 32,000 acres in the Yala swamp may be put to better use if proper drainage is introduced. In both of these areas experimental work is in hand but the potentiality of the region is not yet fully proven. It is of interest to note that the East African Rice Mission reported in 1948 that a total of nearly 16,000 acres of rice land could perhaps be found in the Kano and Kisumu areas and recommended that comprehensive hydrographic and topographic surveys should be made. We endorse this opinion and recommend that the exploration in these and other potential development areas should be pressed forward as expeditiously as possible.

46. In considering the possibility of irrigation schemes in the Lake Victoria basin, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact of the Nile Waters Agreement

of 1929. This Agreement between Her Majesty's Government and Egypt contains the provision that:

'save with the previous agreement of the Egyptian Government no irrigation or power works are to be constructed on the Nile and its branches, or on any of the lakes from which it flows so far as all these are in countries under British administration, which would, in such manner as to entail any prejudice to the interest of Egypt, either reduce the quantity of water arriving in Egypt, or modify the date of its arrival, or lower its level'.

The main principles established by the Agreement may be summarized as follows:

- (a) The usage of water already established must be respected at all times.
- (b) Nile water questions should be dealt with on their merits, after thorough consideration of their technical aspects, independently of other matters.
- (c) There should be due regard for the interests of all territories concerned in the distribution of any additional supplies.

In accordance with these principles it was found possible, in 1952, for the Egyptian and Sudan Governments, by an exchange of notes supplementary to, and not incompatible with, the Nile Waters Agreement, to agree that the respective shares of Egypt and the Sudan in water made available from any future projects should be decided in technical discussions between the two countries before any work is carried out. There have also been recent successful negotiations with the Egyptian Government relating to the construction of the Owen Falls dam. Although, therefore, the Nile Waters Agreement was negotiated at a time when the future needs of the East African territories were less clearly foreseen than they are now, the equitable distribution of any future additional supplies that can be made available is so much to the interest of all concerned that there is no reason to suppose that similar negotiations to those between Egypt and the Sudan could not be successfully carried through on behalf of the East African governments.

IRRIGATION IN TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

47. The prospect of using irrigation has long been under review in Tanganyika. Sundry investigations have been made but it has not yet been possible to carry out any major scheme in the Territory, although many local small-scale irrigation works are in operation, often by Africans some of whom are skilled irrigators. It was not until 1952 that the Government obtained for the first time the full-time services of a professional irrigation engineer. This officer, who is at present engaged in a preliminary territorial survey, expressed to us the opinion that there was considerable scope for irrigation in Tanganyika, given the requisite staff and equipment and a satisfactory organization, and that much might be accomplished initially by encouraging and supervising numerous small-scale schemes on a village or local level. We endorse this opinion and recommend that every effort should be made to investigate the possibility of using the many small streams and rivers in the mountainous areas of the Territory.

48. Interest in the last few years has been taken in several of the major rivers of the country and especially on the Rufiji, the Kilombero and the Pangani or Ruvu.

The flood-plain of the Rufiji is an expanse of alluvial soils extending along the lower reaches of the river for about eighty miles. The surrounding land is slightly higher and is known to be less fertile. In the flood-plains

the normal seasonal flooding and the rainfall are usually sufficient to allow one or two crops to be grown in the year so that irrigation is not a necessity for the maintenance of life in the area. It may, however, be justified if it increases the financial return for labour by enabling improved crop yields, new crops, or varieties which have an enhanced value, to be grown at an economic cost; and also if irrigation can give an added security to cultivation by enabling the processes of the agricultural year to be carried out without risk of drought after planting, or of excessive flooding. It is, therefore, necessary to decide whether a scheme will justify the expenditure by the returns which it is likely to produce. This decision depends upon the costs involved in relation to the area of land commanded and the value of the crops which it will produce.

In 1928 Mr. Telford of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate closely examined the economics of a project on the river*. He reviewed the possibility of gravity irrigation from dams sited either on the flood plain or further up the river, and also the chances of pumped water supplies, and he came to the conclusion that in any event major constructional works would be needed not only in order to bring water to the land but also to stabilize the river, to control the seasonal flooding, and to protect the irrigable lands from inundation. He pointed out that the decision whether these expensive works would be justifiable depended upon the acreage commanded. It is at this point that difficulty is encountered because up to the present day the area of land available remains uncertain. Mr. Telford, almost thirty years ago, calculated the gross area of the flood plain at somewhat over 600,000 acres. After making deductions for valueless land, unsuitable areas and those which could only grow food crops he placed the total area of land which could, with irrigation, produce marketable crops at 115,000 acres, and he concluded that this acreage would not justify the capital expenditure involved in its development.

The Tanganyika Government has, however, continued to be interested in the Rufiji and several and conflicting estimates of the area commandable have been made since 1928. These have usually been higher than that of Mr. Telford. The most recent of these, made by Mr. Simansky, an expert loaned by the Food and Agricultural Organization to the Tanganyika Government in 1953-54, is in the neighbourhood of 400,000 acres. The territorial Government has, in the meantime, conducted experimental rice cultivation by mechanical means in the Rufiji area and has, over the last eighteen months, been carrying out the initial stages of a comprehensive survey of the ecology, topography, and hydrology of the Rufiji basin preliminary to the planning of a project, should this prove to be feasible. We endorse this policy of systematic survey and experiment and recommend that it should be continued to completion, and that particular attention should be given to ascertaining the actual acreage of cultivable land available so that this may be related to the costs involved. Only by so doing will it be possible to bring the project to a point at which planning on practical lines will become possible.

49. The Kilombero, a major tributary of the Rufiji, has also been the subject of much speculation. In 1928 Mr. Telford reported that 250,000 acres of fertile soil suitable for agricultural development were available. In 1952 Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners and Overseas Consultants Inc. examined the valley in the course of their economic survey of the route of the suggested Central African railway-link and came to the conclusions

* A. M. Telford, *Report on the Development of the Rufiji and Kilombero Valleys*. Crown Agents, 1929.

that Mr. Telford's estimate was correct and that the region possessed natural advantages in soil and climate which should justify development. Meanwhile in 1951 a team of land usage experts had made a detailed survey of a selected block of 400 square miles in the valley and concluded that, subject to further detailed hydrographic and topographic surveys, the large scale production of rice would prove to be an economic proposition. The Tanganyika Government is therefore at present engaged in the task of investigation prior to project planning. The immediate object is increased rice production, initially in a limited area of the valley. This may, however, ultimately lead to the opening of much greater areas in the Kilombero. We recommend the continuation of the exploration.

Large scale development is not likely to be easy, inexpensive or quickly accomplished. The Kilombero is remote, and at present inaccessible. In this context the significance of the Central African rail-link is apparent. Moreover the present population of the area is small and primitive and the environment not one which will naturally attract settlement. Malaria and bilharzia are real problems and fly exists in parts of the valley though not in the immediate riverain regions. If the ultimate development of the region depends upon the use of the main river, large technical and engineering problems will eventually have to be faced, because of the liability of the Kilombero to violent seasonal flooding. These difficulties will not have to be faced, however, until the present investigations are completed and the economics of agricultural development further established. Meanwhile limited development is being undertaken, on lines which we consider are sound and practical, on the fan slopes of the small perennial hill streams which flow into the Kilombero. These small rivers produce deltas and use is being made of the secondary flood-waters in these to irrigate small areas of land. In this way several limited, but compact and controlled, local irrigation schemes may be developed and as experience is gained it will be possible to extend their scope to play a greater part in the overall development of the Kilombero region.

50. A second major tributary of the Rufiji has also been suggested as a sphere of irrigation. The Central African rail-link development survey indicated the potentiality of the Usangu plains which are traversed by the headwaters of the Great Ruaha river north of Mbeya. The plains are said to be of good alluvial soil which promises well. Four specific projects have been suggested for this region and, in all, perhaps 150,000 acres or so may be available for irrigation. The potentiality of the Usanga plain is, however, still largely a matter of conjecture in the absence of the necessary pre-planning data, and it is unlikely that the very considerable costs involved will be justified until improved communications render development economic. We nevertheless recommend that steps should be taken to carry out the collection of the necessary data, so that in the event of development ever becoming possible this will be immediately available; and we also recommend that a small-scale experiment into the possibility of using pumps should be established in order to ascertain the actual reaction of the land to the use of water.

51. Several major rivers outside the Rufiji-Kilombero-Ruaha drainage basin have recently been surveyed with a view to irrigation. Of these the Pangani, or Ruvu, which rises near Kilimanjaro and flows south-east to the Indian Ocean skirting *en route* the highly populated hill areas of the Northern and Tanga Provinces, once gave rise to great hopes. In 1951 a reconnaissance survey encountered an initial obstacle in the form of a guarantee, made some years ago by the Government to the local electricity supply company, to ensure that a stated minimum flow of water passed

through the company's turbines on the river. It was found that in order to respect this guarantee a system of water storage would be needed if the river was to be used for irrigation. This would involve the construction of an expensive dam. Given the dam, subsequently estimated to cost £832,000, the 1951 survey estimated that about 100,000 acres might be irrigable. A second survey, in 1951/52, was confined to selected areas previously suggested for irrigation. It concluded that the dam would enable the irrigation of between 50,000 and 25,000 acres only, that the cost per acre in capital works would be about £10 and that recurring charges would be £4 per annum. Furthermore a soil survey revealed that much of this land was saline and would require reclamation, the technique of which had not as yet been fully established. Because of these difficulties, it was decided to shelve the project until the time when full control of the river becomes possible, when the techniques of reclamation are established and sufficient data becomes available. We instance this case because it gives a valuable insight into the type of obstacle encountered in agricultural development and demonstrates how quickly sanguine hopes can be shattered by unexpected factors in the African environment.

52. There is a second river called the Ruvu in Tanganyika and this is not to be confused with the Pangani which is also so-named. It rises in the Uluguru mountains near Morogoro, and flows eastwards to the sea which it reaches north of Dar-es-Salaam. Its proximity to the capital and chief port and also to the congested Uluguru hills, its accessibility and the fact that its régime is well known, lends the Ruvu river particular attraction. The difficulties to be overcome prior to the development of irrigation are connected with the unruly régime of the river which is characterized by alternating droughts and floods. The development of the 70,000 acres available in the Ruvu valley is thus likely to be expensive.

53. The Ruvuma river, in the south of the Territory, cannot be excluded as a possible future scene of irrigation, but any attempt to construct a barrage over the river would involve great cost and negotiation with the Portuguese authorities. We do not, in the circumstances, contemplate any immediate prospect of major projects on the Ruvuma, but there may be considerable scope for local, small-scale canal irrigation on the Tanganyika bank, and a small pumping scheme might be tried with profit.

54. Elsewhere in the Territory there are other possibilities of irrigation, flood control and drainage. The Rice Mission indicated the suitability of the Lukuledi and the Mbwemkuru rivers, both of which are in the Southern Province. There is the possibility of local schemes on each of these and they merit closer attention and survey in order to reveal their full value. Similar surveys might with profit be carried out on some of the streams issuing into Lake Victoria and in the lake-shore plains at the northern end of Lake Nyasa in the Rungwe District. Considerable work has already been undertaken on the Luengera river and the other tributaries of the Pangani, and cultivation of rice in these areas might well be encouraged by further surveys and improved methods. Attention might also be given to the Usinge and Lumbwe swamps in the Western Province although these, like the neighbouring Malagarasi swamps which we viewed from the air, would entail very large and ambitious projects of flood control and drainage. In view of the wildness of this country and of the immensity of the task of drainage in a swamp covering 3,000 to 4,000 square miles we do not anticipate any immediate development, but we endorse a policy of preliminary investigation directed towards ascertaining the actual nature of these items in the natural resources assets of the Territory.

55. Finally we refer to the Luiche river which rises in the Kasulu highlands and flows into Lake Tanganyika near Kigoma. The river forms a delta of about 20,000 acres which is of high fertility, being composed of accumulated silt from the highlands deposited over the years by the river. This delta is used for the cultivation of rice and was once even more extensively used. The Government is engaged at present in a project to control flooding and so make controlled irrigation possible over the whole area. We endorse this policy as one likely to lead to the rapid and relatively inexpensive development of an area of some significance.

IRRIGATION IN THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE

56. In Uganda there are still large reserves of sparsely populated and under-developed land of high potentiality in the reliable rainfall zones, and the Protectorate has no irrigation schemes. But a growing population and higher standards of living will make increased demands on the productivity of the soil, and although irrigation may never become a pressing need, there may be areas where it can be introduced with advantage and economy.

A recent writer has pointed out that there are areas where the average annual requirement of water for agriculture is theoretically met by the annual rainfall but where seasonal maldistribution makes conditions critical at certain stages in the agricultural year*. These are cases where irrigation might even now be of great value, and it is therefore desirable that the Uganda Government should continue to investigate and experiment, and to collect the necessary data.

Nearly all the surface water resources of the Protectorate are in some way associated with the Nile and the comments that follow must therefore be read subject to what is said in paragraph 46 of this chapter on the subject of the Nile Waters Agreement.

57. The East African Rice Mission of 1948 saw great scope for irrigation on the Semliki flats using the water of the Semliki river and commented that the project would involve negotiation with Egypt and with the Belgian Congo. The use of these flats would involve an ambitious system of drainage control and would be expensive. Elsewhere in the Toro District, the Lake George flats where a survey has already been carried out, appear to afford prospects, and a scheme may become desirable now that the western extension of the railway has brought them into easy communication with Buganda and with the coast ports. Suitable sites for other schemes might be found on some of the rivers which flow into Lake Victoria. Similarly, there is a prospect of development on the streams which flow off the western slopes of Mount Elgon and discharge into Lakes Salisbury and Kyoga, along the Nile from Namasagali to Lake Kyoga and in other parts of northern Busoga District.

We were informed that in the northern parts of the Protectorate possible sites for irrigation schemes could be found on the Aswa and Pager rivers, for example in the vicinity of Kitgum. These sites might be of great importance if the proposed railway from Soroti to Gulu is built, and a similar importance might ultimately attach to possible schemes on the Anau river in the West Nile District which would thereby be brought into closer contact with markets and ports.

58. The Rice Mission of 1948 investigated the economics of a suggestion that pumping might be used to irrigate areas on the shores of Lake Kyoga and expressed opinions that no large-scale scheme was then justified and that it would be preferable to defer consideration of such a project until

* H. Olivier, *Some Aspects of the Owen Falls Scheme*, Uganda Journal, March, 1953.

the hydro-electric scheme at Owen Falls was completed. This is now the case and we recommend that the possibilities of using the water of Lake Kyoga by means of electrically operated pumps should now be explored. In view of the hardship resulting from local food shortages caused by the uncertain rainfall south and east of Lake Kyoga this development would be of great value.

59. There is also considerable potentiality in the reclamation and usage of the swampland which covers about 2,500 square miles, or 3 per cent of the area of Uganda. Much of this is at present unused or unusable and its drainage might be of great value. The Sezibwa swamp alone is thought to contain over 100,000 acres of potentially reclaimable land. Elsewhere large swamps in the Teso, Kigezi, West Nile and other districts merit attention. The Hydrographical Department of Uganda has been working on the problem of swamp reclamation for some years and there is a hope that a way may be found of preserving the fertility of the swamp soils. There is an urgent need for further research and it is clear that the system of cultivation in the swamps will have to be carefully controlled. The Kigezi District, which has already a pressing population problem, might be singled out for priority treatment in the hope that its swamplands may be satisfactorily reclaimed and used.

CHAPTER 21

Present Land Use

INTRODUCTION

1. If a panorama picture could be taken slowly, and over a period, of the way people are living in East Africa, the most striking feature of it would be a restless anxiety to obtain and hold on to the land. Land is still, for the vast majority, a basic necessity from which each family derives its own food by its own physical effort. Where this can be done with the least effort for the greatest result, people have tended to collect and tend to want to stay. This tendency has been accentuated by the difficulty of penetrating the unknown where tsetse and lack of water have proved insurmountable obstacles, and by the hazards of uncertain rainfall over such a large part of the region. Thus the places where good rainfall, good soil, water and grazing are most easily obtained, and the risks of human and animal disease most easily avoided, are in the greatest demand. As population has increased—and this has generally been greatest in these most favourable localities—so has pressure increased in two directions, outwards, so as to get more land if possible and to obtain as fertile land as possible, and inwards, towards a more devastating use of the land itself. The inward pressure, under contemporary systems of land usage, is affecting production from the soil adversely. This is the most serious aspect of the land problem. The outward pressure results in conflict wherever fertile land is short. The descriptions of contemporary land usage which follow in this chapter of our Report will indicate how these pressures interact so that both result in the antithesis of that economic productivity upon which the future of East Africa depends. To understand the effect it is necessary to imagine the United Kingdom shorn of its industrial production, with few exports to pay for its food and with few internal avenues of employment. The inhabitants would at once compete with each other for the fertile land from which they themselves and their children must exist. The only reason why the people in the United Kingdom to day are not seriously concerned

about access to land is because they have other regular means of having access to money and thereby to living. The comparison is exaggerated because our population is far denser and our knowledge of how to produce economically from the land much greater, but it is not out of place. It makes the present absolute dependence upon land in East Africa and the anxieties that arise therefrom stand out. As one African witness from a crowded area in Tanganyika picturesquely portrayed it to us, it is, to the people, as if the land was always 'flying away' from them owing to the increase in population, leaving them anxious and uncertain how many acres there are and if there will be sufficient for them to live in peace in the future.

2. In chapter 20 we describe map 2 which indicates the percentage probability of a total annual rainfall of less than 20 inches. Examination of this map at once reveals striking differences between the three territories. Practically all of Uganda falls in the more reliable rain belt. By contrast, the magnitude of the drier category of land in Kenya and Tanganyika is very apparent. These climatic differences explain contrasts which we found between the three territories in their attitude to the need for agricultural changes. In Kenya a sense of urgency is evident in sweeping plans to introduce better forms of land usage at once.* In Uganda and Tanganyika the pace is more leisurely and the need for change less appreciated and less apparent. In these latter territories there are still large areas of unoccupied cultivable land which are, however, daily passing over to uneconomic customary usage. In Kenya this asset hardly any longer exists and the dead end of customary usage, unadjusted to modern conditions, is more obvious and alarming.

3. There is, of course, immense local variation but a certain basic similarity underlies the customary systems in East Africa. The people range from purely pastoral to purely cultivating communities according to their environments with, in between, pastoralists who are taking up cultivation, and cultivators who are taking up stock. These are not entirely clear-cut distinctions and through all patterns of usage the same themes recur. Nevertheless, the cultivator is different from the pastoralist, and it is convenient to consider them severally. We shall deal with the pastoral communities first.

A. Pastoral Communities

4. The mountain masses, Mount Elgon, the Highlands, the Aberdares, Mount Kenya, the hills of Machakos, Kitui and Teita, Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru, the Mbulu and Oldeani highlands, the Pare and Usambara mountains, are all natural cultivation areas, but they are only small areas rising out of a great dry zone which stretches east to west from a narrow coastal rain-strip to Lake Victoria, and north to south from the northern frontier of Kenya to the heart of Tanganyika. This huge dry zone is the home of the pastoral tribes; the Karamajong in Uganda; the Turkana, the Suk, the Baringo group of tribes, the Samburu, Boran, Somali, Galla,

* For more detailed information the reader should refer to R. J. M. Swynnerton, *A Plan to intensify the development of African Agriculture in Kenya*, Government Printer, Nairobi 1954, covering the African areas of Kenya, towards the execution of which the British Government made a grant of £5m. in 1953. The other territories also have a variety of rehabilitation and development plans pertaining to particular districts. We have not attempted a critical examination of these various plans but have confined our description to a review of the main overall problems of the region.

Masai and some of the Kamba in Kenya ; and the Masai, Gogo, Barabaig and others in Tanganyika. Differing in detail according to the toughness of their habitat they present a common problem. Their pastoral way of life portends both a danger and a deficiency. The danger is that they may turn their lands into desert ; the deficiency that, without management of their herds, and in some cases better usage of their lands than mere pastoralism, they will contribute far less than their land's potential to the growing needs of the community.

5. In Kenya, three-quarters of the land's surface is occupied by pure pastoralists. Two-thirds of these, in the north and east, live in country already semi-desert with a low and erratic rainfall, high evaporation and strong desiccating winds. In the remaining pastoral areas of Kenya, and in most of the pastoral areas of Uganda and Tanganyika, rainfall is higher and potential ranching conditions are more favourable, but the type of land usage in the pastoral areas of all three territories is the nomadic range of cattle, sheep and goats, and bears a resemblance to that which is thought to have produced the now widespread deserts of the Middle East. The cause of the danger is overstocking in relation to available pasture, often beginning at water-holes where too many beasts are watered at one place so that their tracks and concentration destroy the grazing for miles around. The land, once it has lost its grazing cover, affords an easy run-off for rain ; the soil gets washed away and erosion sets in ; the water table is affected and springs dry up ; the herdsmen, finding no grazing left on the plains, begin to mount the hills, denuding them of grass and, in time, also of tree cover.

6. The danger involved and the effect on the pastoral region and its surroundings have been vividly brought out in a report recently made for the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation by Dr. Hirsch, a visiting American scholar and himself Chief of the Watershed Management Division, South-east Station, United States Forest Service*. In referring to the Karamoja District of Uganda, the Turkana District of Kenya and to adjacent areas, this report points out that active desert encroachment is taking place and that much of the soil has become bare of grass cover within the memory of the inhabitants. Desert succulents have become more conspicuous ; erosion is continuous and the top soil has been blown or washed away in wide areas. Native livestock, which is still present, must range over great distances for forage and water. The water balance has been greatly affected and the region is moving towards progressive desiccation. The local climate is affected by this, and dryness is breeding dryness, for the heat increases the velocity and drying potentiality of the lower wind currents which may carry an increased desiccating effect into contiguous land areas lying in the direction of the prevailing winds.

7. Similar descriptions were given to us by forestry and veterinary officers of the Masai country in Tanganyika which occupies 24,000 square miles out of 32,000 in the Northern Province of that territory. In this area there are said to be now no forests and nowhere is there anything like enough water, and water is disappearing rapidly. Laws protecting trees are never applied and the Masai have cut and destroyed the vegetation. Gross overstocking is resulting from maldistribution of water and from tsetse. While there are too many cattle, the main offenders are goats, for they pull up grass by the roots and destroy both the trees and the grazing for the cattle. There is no organized market for small stock and individual headmen are known to own very large numbers. The resulting

* Reproduced in the *Annual Report for 1952 of the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation*.

erosion from this state of affairs is appalling in some areas, and under current usage the region may well become a desert within another generation.

8. Less drastic views were usually expressed by administrative officers who suggested that in purely pastoral areas the rate of deterioration is not as violent as in the semi-pastoral districts where cultivation competes with the range of stock. Particularly in the case of the Masai, they emphasized their remarkable aptitude as stock masters within the limits of their ecology. They stated that in purely pastoral areas the places of greatest concentration around permanent water are abandoned in wet years and may recover from complete denudation to a thick mat of cover. The heavy rains of 1951 gave a demonstration of this recovery in Masai lands in Kenya, and we ourselves observed an astonishing rehabilitation of pasture on badly eroded land when we visited the 'Experimental Protected Square Mile' at Makaveti near Machakos. These demonstrations give hope that firm action can still be remedial and that some of these vast areas, under proper management, can make important contributions to the economy. But under present conditions the present picture of pastoral areas seems to be, as the Director of Veterinary Services in Kenya reports, 'one of steadily increasing stock numbers on progressively deteriorating land.'

9. There is great difficulty in arresting this decline to desert. Pastoral tribes are very retentive of their ways. They establish a usage of a certain stretch of country and their life is one of gradual movement from one pasture to another and is determined by the variable rain. The grazing and the water are held in common by different clans but the herds are owned individually. Each individual has an interest in increasing his herds for the stock are associated with the human society both in sentiment and economy. Some of this association is rooted in practices, such as bride-price, whereby a family must needs accumulate cattle for its sons to exchange on their marriage as sureties to the brides' families. Stock also provide the yardstick of wealth and prestige, estimated unfortunately not in pounds weight, but, like our own bank notes, in numbers irrespective of condition. Often, moreover, the association with stock is basic to existence itself. A family needs to keep large herds for its food supply and in excess of immediate needs to counter drought and disease and to exchange for grain. Thus a search for economic security as much as a clinging to old customs may underlie the constant desire to increase stock and to find additional pasture and water. To understand this is important, for where the desire can no longer be satisfied, mere destocking and mere control of numbers only antagonize unless accompanied by an alternative way of life and security.

10. In the past when country became overgrazed alternatives were found, or not found, as the case may have been, according to a tribe's fighting prowess, and the history of East Africa is full of evidence of nomads seeking to better themselves by migratory invasion, and, in suitable environments, adapting themselves as cultivators. There is little doubt today that only firm administration stops the Karamajong, Turkana, Boran, Somali and no doubt other pastoralists from overrunning their neighbours who are better off than themselves. But with these avenues of expansion now closed by district boundaries, the old custom of communal range with unrestricted individual ownership becomes a major factor in the deterioration of the land. The unrestricted right of all to the commonage discourages individual stock limitation or improvement. Not only does the number of stock now bear no relation to the land's carrying capacity and so endanger the land, but socially a certain stagnation results. While

his cultivator neighbour is being increasingly drawn to economic needs and influenced by urban and industrial development, the pastoral tribesman has tended to remain an anachronism outside modern society, which thus suffers a human loss, for his virtues of pride and simplicity command affection and respect. The main need, therefore, in the pastoral areas is to find some satisfactory alternative to the old migratory invasion, which will bring the nomad, where possible, into contact with the growing exchange economy and will bring to his aid some system of economic usage which will save his land.

B. Cultivating Communities

11. In passing on to consider the rest of the area the scene before us is not one of immediate difference but rather of a gradual change of emphasis, as rainfall becomes greater and more reliable, from a purely pastoral life to a cultivating life, in which stock has a decreasing degree of predominance as cultivation becomes an increasing climatic possibility. Map 2, which shows the percentage reliability of a 20-inch rainfall and which depicts so clearly the purely pastoral country, is a little misleading because it may give the impression that all the remaining area, which is coloured green, is one of ample rainfall. We have thought it wise, therefore, to reproduce map 3, which shows the percentage reliability of a 30-inch rainfall. Three important features are illustrated by this map.

12. First, it shows that there is a large extent of country which falls between the 20-inch and 30-inch rainfall reliability lines. This country is for the most part free from tsetse, a semi-pastoral area, wherein large herds of stock are still carried but within which cultivation is also practised. Generally it is adjacent to the purely pastoral areas but enjoys a slightly better rainfall. In Kenya, and in those parts of Tanganyika where the mountains rise out of the dry pastoral plains, this means that it is situated a little higher up in altitude. All round the foothills people are concentrated in a patchwork of small holdings on which they rely for subsistence while their stock roams over the fallows and the lower ground. Away from the mountain zones on flatter ground, and in less overcrowded conditions as yet, similar patterns of cultivating and grazing extend from the main pastoral zones over the wide plains of north-western Tanganyika and of the Lango and Teso Districts of Uganda until they merge into the more favourable climate surrounding Lake Victoria. In addition to these areas adjacent to the main pastoral zones, other large regions of only semi-pastoral country within the 20-inch to 30-inch rainfall belt can be seen around Masindi Fort and west and south of Masaka in Uganda, in the Malagarasi region west of Tabora and in certain places in the south-western parts of Tanganyika.

Secondly, the map makes clear what vast areas of western and southern Tanganyika fall into this marginal rainfall zone and are dominated by tsetse. These areas are for the most part covered by heavy bush and have scanty water supplies and an uncertain climate. The risk of sleeping sickness to human beings, and of trypanosomiasis to stock, is present and so, for these reasons, these areas are very sparsely inhabited.

Thirdly, the map brings out, in the area coloured green, the land which gets a reliable rainfall of 30 inches or more. In fact it identifies, as far as rainfall is concerned, where the best natural chance of a good

farming livelihood exists and shows how comparatively limited this area is. Naturally it is here that the population has tended to concentrate. In Kenya, where a small green area lies in contrast to a vast magenta area, the congestion is greatest, and this applies also to the isolated mountain outcrops of Tanganyika. It is only in small pockets along the coast, in a great wedge in south-western Tanganyika, in the north-west corner of Tanganyika and in Uganda that there are still ample green areas which are not congested.

13. In section A of this chapter we give a general description of the causes of deterioration in the pastoral zone. There is a similar deficiency and danger in the present land usage in the cultivating zone and this can be illustrated in the same way by a general description which applies to most of the regions of cultivation, although a wider range of differences in usage prevents any general description from being entirely comprehensive.

14. In most places where cultivation is practised and crops are grown in East Africa, the history from which the present land usage started is that of an individual family cutting down bush or forest and establishing a 'shamba', or land-farming unit, of such a size as the available hands of the family could manage. The family herds grazed in the adjacent bush and were not integrated with the cultivation. When the soil showed signs of exhaustion by lower crop yields, a new 'shamba' was cut out and the original one was left to revert to a bush fallow, making thus a rough rotation. Inter-cropping was practised, with different cereals and pulses, according to family needs and labour resources. Often the crops were scattered to take account of fertility variations, but to preserve the land a long periodic fallow was necessary. This system of land usage, which usually goes by the name of 'shifting cultivation', was no doubt satisfactory for the circumstances of its time. There are even areas today where it still appears satisfactory, where better alternatives are not easy to discover, and where the circumstances which make apparent its inherent dangers and deficiencies do not yet awaken attention. It was a method of survival in a land of varying soils and varying water and rainfall conditions in the tropics where agriculture is not easy, and it was a method demanding little effort from a population prone to devastating disease and warfare. With the woman as the prime mover in agricultural work and the man for defence, the system evolved in a society where no house or crop was likely to be permanently safe and where the alternation of active danger with leisure was a common phenomenon.

15. It was for this environment that the land tenure system was evolved; 'The basis of land tenure' writes Mr. Norman Humphrey in describing a typical example in North Nyanza in Kenya* 'is the familiar Bantu one of the individual having inheritable rights of user in his arable lands, whilst elsewhere in the grazing lands, the forests, the salt licks, he shares with his fellows of clan and/or tribe, the beneficial use of such natural sources of wealth that have come into the possession of the tribe either by conquest or by original occupation. This does not mean that a man had individual ownership in his fields or even the individual right to misuse them. 'Ownership' resided not in the man alone but also in his ancestors, who played a very real part in his life and in his posterity whose interests had to be guarded just as well as those of the living members of the family. The ancestors' rights obviously affected all members of the clan . . . since common descent is claimed from the original founder. The rights

* Norman Humphrey, *The Liguru and the Land*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1947; referred to in Sir Philip Mitchell's despatch No. 193 to the Secretary of State dated 16th November, 1951.

of posterity were equally a concern of the tribe since it is on these that the continued life and prosperity of the people as a whole depend.' In this quotation we see repeated principles which we have already noted among the pastoral tribes—the unrestricted right of the individual to run stock on what is held to be the common asset of land; the right of all in the clan to claim to be supported from the clan's land; and the understanding that ownership, if such an idea exists at all, is vested in the community, so that sale, mortgage, capital value, lease and rental were terms unknown. There was, moreover, in the system, a certain egalitarianism, a conception that the various members of the society accept a fair share in what belongs to the whole; and this feature is evident not only in the communal grazing but also in the distribution of land. Some land would grow good maize and other land only sugar cane or rice, and often the dispersion of an individual holding over a wide area was due to the attempt to give each member a share of each type of soil.

16. There was, and there remains, a very wide variety of authorities responsible for the administration of the land of the unit. In some cases, something not dissimilar from theocracy had arisen; in so far as land was 'owned' by anybody it was deemed to be owned by the tutelary spirits of the deceased ancestors whose interests were guarded by the magical and religious dignitaries of the society. In other cases the institution of chieftom had evolved, and a chief exercised authority over the tribe or the clan and had, on their behalf, fiduciary responsibility for the land. Yet again, in some communities a similar responsibility for the land was exercised by a council, or by a group of elders specially selected for the task. But irrespective of the actual person or persons in whose hands the control lay, basically the method in which this control was exercised, and the reasons for so exercising it, were the same. The authority, whatever its nature, was responsible for ensuring that the local customs regarding land were observed; that individuals obtained their appropriate rights as far as the use of the land was concerned; and that these rights in no way damaged the rights of the group as a whole.

17. There were also social features of importance in the system. The society was one of status, that is to say one in which an individual looked for a safe livelihood for himself and his posterity not in pioneering originality but in routine conformity to his fellows in the clan. There was a mystical bond between the land and the ancestors and between the land and the posterity of the clan. The individual's welfare hinged very largely upon his relationship to the whole community. His life was regulated by a nexus of privileges and obligations. The importance of the communal tie was underlined in social relationships such as the age group, the family tie, the religio-magical secret society and a common sharing of cultivation. In this way the system may well have had the psychological satisfaction of a small, closed world providing for all, and it is sometimes looked back to with nostalgia from the stresses of today when other drawbacks of that time are forgotten.

18. Important as it is to understand this background, for much of it still plays a part in the minds of people today, it is necessary to appreciate that many of these very features, in tune with the environment of a remote and empty continent, made, and still make, the system intrinsically unable to support a high standard of living or a dense population. It was essentially only a subsistence economy and in it human society inevitably remained primitive at a bare level of existence. What this inherent deficiency has already meant historically in terms of the most elementary tools of progress has been described in chapter 2 in a quotation from Sir Philip

Mitchell's 'The Agrarian Problem in Kenya'; but even today the most dominating characteristic of the region is the elementary rawness of the environment which faces the African in his daily life. The impact of the outside world has indeed brought improvements but it started so short a time ago. The people still lack almost everything that we associate with modern life. They are making use of the resources in their hands, but, notwithstanding their efforts, the results are limited by the paucity of these resources. There is a tremendous gap to make up. Railways are almost non-existent and roads are almost everywhere deficient; disease, human, animal and crop, is still a formidable factor; and all human activities demand great physical effort. It is necessary to walk miles for water, to depend on human beings for portage and upon human labour for all work. Against such a background it is not surprising that there is no modern economy, no escape from mental isolation, and no avenue for the creation of wider loyalties and contacts for social progress. The building of a higher standard of living has to start from the ground level. There is no surplus from the past, either in experience or in material things, and no foundation upon which to build.

19. Apart from this handicap of deficiency, the customary system of land usage among the cultivators has, under the impact of modern conditions, developed features which are leading to serious deterioration of the land. Commonly, under the system, when a man died his rights to cultivate were distributed among his heirs. In the old days if this distribution left too small a 'shamba' to support a descendant and his family, he could clear another in the bush as long as his clan could collectively maintain a claim to undeveloped bush or forest. If and when a time arrived, however, when there was no further undeveloped bush a limit began to operate on the area available for cultivation. If the human beings and stock continued to increase after this limit had been reached there was no land for them to take except the fallow, and if this was cultivated instead of rested the risk of deterioration began. The system thus depended for its efficiency on the availability of extra land all the time to carry extra people and stock if these increased.

20. It is generally supposed that before the Europeans came to East Africa increase in both human beings and stock was heavily restricted by the primitive conditions of life. The slave trade is believed to have ravaged East Africa for generations. Starvation and epidemic diseases are known to have added to the heavy mortality. Inter-tribal raiding, which generally included destruction of crops and seizure of livestock, was prevalent. Around 1889 an unusually severe epidemic of rinderpest swept from the north right down into South Africa and destroyed hundreds of thousands of cattle. It was followed by another severe epidemic, smallpox, and these disasters, which no doubt occurred on other unrecorded occasions, and their inevitable consequence, famine, contributed to preserve a natural balance between people, stock and land. Probably in those days when a limit was reached by a tribe, the matter led to war or emigration. Since the establishment of European administration, however, these restraints and solutions have ceased to apply. While population and stock have increased, under the umbrella of law and order and health services, the operating areas of each tribe's activities have come to be crystallized into definite districts, or reserves, within which productive virgin land has rapidly dwindled.

21. Another modern impact seriously affecting the land has been the way in which a cash economy has, since the arrival of the Europeans, become superimposed upon the old subsistence agriculture. The presence

of European planters and farmers, the introduction of money itself and wages, the replacement of a barter system by cash transactions and the realization of the value to an individual of economic crops, have already begun to play their part in moving society towards a modern economy, but instead of leading the way to a new productive system they have generally operated within the confines of the old one. Instead of the process taking place on the stable base of an agricultural system planned to give an economic return, the conception of a cash income has led to extensive planting of land, particularly in maize, wattle, cotton and coffee, without any agricultural planning. Maize in particular has made inroads into the fallow, reducing the available subsistence area and unbalancing its essential resting period.

22. It is important to appreciate how an overcrowded area appears in these circumstances. In the first place what was originally an effective rotation of bush fallow can no longer continue because the land is required by someone for cropping before it has been sufficiently rested. Faced with the need to support extra persons by obtaining extra crops from a limited area, most tribes have sought an answer by reducing the length of time during which the land ought to be rested. Such a solution is inevitably made at the expense of the yield. Moreover, a stage is reached when it is no longer possible to reduce the fallow period. There then takes place the final compromise. Extra persons can only be accommodated by a reduction in the size of holding of the individual. Subdivision begins and may go on until the holdings reach a sub-economic size. With increasing population, higher, not lower, yields are needed, yet there is no hope of producing a greater surplus per acre because of the fragmentation and subdivision of 'shambas' into tiny, scattered holdings with different crops and fallows mixed up together. What was originally a fair social practice to ensure that each descendant was provided for, becomes in the end agriculturally an obstruction, for the inheritance of a number of small fragments in widely scattered places gives no chance of bringing modern techniques, whether of manuring, or mixed farming, or machinery, or management, economically to the aid of the peasant. The continuous cultivation leads to erosion and the hundreds of little boundaries become storm gullies.

Meantime the area of grazing is continually being reduced by the cultivation demands of extra population. Alongside the process of declining yields from lack of fallowing, the custom of common grazing plays a major part in the deterioration of the soil. The common land is nobody's responsibility. No individual has any interest in restricting his stock or in improving grazing which is shared with his neighbours. Overgrazing kills out the most valuable deeper rooting plants and grasses and as fallow becomes less and less easily available so steeper and higher slopes have to become the common grazing land. The resultant removal of cover allows the rains to wash away the top soil. The quicker run-off erodes this grazing area and adds to erosion problems on the arable land lower down. The decline to desert begins.

23. The deterioration affects the human society as well as the land. The existence of a common grazing ground no longer holds a unifying power, but rivalries between the users take the place of a unity of interest. Cash crops have led to the realization that land is endowed with a cash value. Increasing pressure causes individuals to be more vociferous about their own rights against those of the community. The clash between the emerging individual and the traditional claims of relations and neighbours causes constant litigation. The old community society begins to break down into a jostle of individuals for survival, and a landless class begins to emerge. Some of these find a place for subsistence on the lands of luckier individuals, often

relations, but they are liable to be turned off and are forbidden to plant permanent crops or to build permanent houses for fear of establishing permanent claims to the land. Their precarious position encourages them to 'mine' the land and inflates the growing sense of insecurity. Many can no longer support themselves from the land at all and yet have no other form of permanent security.

24. Parallel with a trend towards individual assertion of rights within a clan, tribal and clan and even territorial parochialism has become more prominent wherever the problem is more crucial, each tribe having to face its own land problem instead of the matter being handled on a territorial, much less a regional, basis. Probably this was always the case to a certain degree in pre-European days but there is evidence, and indeed it is apparent today in some uncrowded areas, that when there was sufficient land, customs did not preclude use of part of the clan land by individual outsiders. Outsiders were even welcomed as an addition to a clan's fighting capacity, and are still welcomed in places of ample land when they bring a *douceur* to the local chief although, of course, they are required to conform to the local leadership. But while this process is still going on in some as yet uncrowded areas in Uganda and Tanganyika, in crowded areas increasing pressure on land is encouraging a very strong retentive complex; especially if any planned or organized immigration of outsiders is envisaged on a large scale. One of the most marked characteristics as a result is an extremely irregular pattern of overcrowding not merely from one tribe to another but from clan to clan. There is an obvious and increasing anxiety to hold on to whatever land has by now been crystallized into an accepted occupation-district even if the land is not at present used. The rights over such land tend to be regarded by clans and tribes as essential to the *lebensraum* of their own posterity, and government administrators, who have historically based their local rule on a tribal-area conception, have hesitated to interfere with this attitude. Indeed the attitude has been enshrined in the whole history of land status and alienation, in various treaties, orders-in-council and statements of policy, all intended to give individual tribes, clans and races a sense of security. However understandable all this may be, the result is that the amelioration of an overcrowded district by spreading its population into an adjacent undeveloped area is apt to be thwarted by a closed door, so that often the only place to which an overcrowded surplus can be diverted, without facing local opposition, is into land which is uninhabited for some very adequate reason, such as lack of water, poor soil, tsetse, lack of rain, or some combination of these deficiencies. Often, even those who are suffering in the overcrowded areas share the parochial outlook and are reluctant to leave their homeland and seek their fortunes in remoter country without the roads, schools and other amenities to which they are now accustomed, or to subject themselves to another local government.

Yet, some do go, and are accepted where there is still fertile land, but this migration, not organized to permit a rehabilitation in their homeland, nor organized in the area to which they go, extends the problem, for they merely repeat the customary system with all its drawbacks, so that a haphazard invasion is steadily eating into the undeveloped fertile land which still remains, even into land which should be retained as protective forest, repeating the dangers and deficiencies and spreading the difficulty of introducing better land usage.

25. It is not easy for the people concerned to tackle the deterioration associated with the persistence of their own customs. Just as with the pastoral tribes, the ownership of extensive numbers of stock persists with most

cultivators as a mark of prestige and as a social and economic bank. So also the right to run stock and treat land communally gives no opportunity of individual improvement. As in the pastoral areas, society faces a dilemma between the old clan system, with its provision for giving everyone a right to share in the land, which is now in a decreasing and deteriorating inheritance, and the necessity for a reorganization which will enable individual enterprise to raise the value of the inheritance, but, in so doing, will restrict the rights of all to seek their livelihood in the old manner, and will be bound to force some people out. Although progressive individuals, and acquisitive ones, may understand and benefit from change, the way of solution has, for many, a disagreeable flavour of extra work, restriction of stock, breach of custom, a parting with family lands and a risk of forced emigration, all of which increase the apprehension of immediate insecurity in place of that personal sense of safety which the customary system used to provide. The process of change appears as a threat to wipe out the identity of a community with no visible substitute. It is thus extremely unpalatable for many to accept the inexorable logic that the customary system, if continued, will destroy the security of the whole tribe. It is far easier for a tribal community to believe, and hope, that a solution can be found by getting some extra adjacent land rather than to accept that the restriction on tribal expansion has now become permanent and that the future lies with moving into an individual economy.

26. Parallel with these agrarian social changes in the homeland, completely new avenues of life have been opened in the last fifty years in employment in towns, plantations, forest services, European farms and government departments, and the society which was so primitive sixty years ago has been affected by new conceptions of religion, education and economic life, immediately related to the rest of the modern world. We examine, in other parts of this Report, the extent to which these alternative avenues of employment can offer a safety valve, what changes in conditions would be needed to effect this, and what difficulties confront these changes. But, for the present, it is important to appreciate that these influences have not yet operated to provide an alternative safe way of life either mentally or economically. Some people have sought employment away from home as a new and temporary attraction, some from necessity, and most as an avenue to a higher standard of living than circumstances now offered them at home; but very few have yet found permanent security thus, and 'a foot in employment and a foot in the homeland' is the typical existence of the majority of urban and plantation workers, with all the agrarian, social and economic drawbacks that such split lives imply. Increasingly this situation, so well known to South and Central Africa, is typifying economic development in East Africa also, and, as in those countries, a satisfactory solution to land usage is inhibited by the retention of land by everyone, because economic activity does not yet provide for the employee that alternative security in life which we expect of it in our more mature societies. As we have already shown in Part III, the very development of that alternative security in urban life, with the higher wages, satisfactory housing and provision for sickness and retirement which are indispensable to it, is dependent on maximum production from the fertile land, so that a vicious circle prevails: the solution to the urban problem being dependent on good usage of the land and good usage of the land being impossible without the development of alternative income earning opportunities.

27. The pace and influence of change has, of course, been enormously accentuated by the war, which provided for many new horizons of living and contrasts of countries and ideas. Much of this has no doubt been stimulating. Often it has been profoundly disturbing especially where it has

awakened a sense of grievance at the sight of contrasts of wealth and standards of living. Where conditions of rural life have seriously deteriorated and where a satisfying urban life has not yet emerged, dullness and discontent, unemployment and lack of land, have led to fear and suspicion and in places evoke a dangerous malaise.

28. We do not suggest that the above picture is yet general. There is today an enormous variation from tribe to tribe in terms of population pressure and in the actual or potential deterioration of the soil. There are enormous territorial differences in degree between Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, according to climate and history. There remain very large regions where shifting cultivation and old systems of communal land holding are still virtually inviolate. But pressure towards individual tenure is emerging. In the coastal areas this may be due to Arab and Muslim customs, in the regions west of Lake Victoria to traditional Hima concepts of overlord and tenant, but in the main it is associated with the areas of good soil and adequate rainfall where profitable economic crops thrive, and these are the areas that matter. These are also the areas where, in all three territories in the most crowded districts, examples can already clearly be seen of the ultimately disastrous effect on the land, on the standard of living, and on social contentment, if the customary system of agriculture is left to the impact of modern change unguided. The evidence which we received during our investigation illustrated that over a wider range of territory than many may hitherto have been aware the most urgent problem in East Africa is not the question of alienated land, for this is only one small facet of it, but the need to discover and apply systems of land usage by the indigenous inhabitants which will be both productive economically and satisfying socially, to replace the present totally unsatisfactory customary usage before it is too late to be able to do so. On the one hand the law and the customs and, in many places, the mental outlook of the community are still conditioned by attitudes of clan, tribe and race which determine the use of land. On the other hand the impact of the modern world, the growing population, the growing demand for higher standards of living, and undoubtedly in many areas the wish of the modern individual for his own safe personal holding in land, cannot be satisfied by these conditions. The human society stands buffeted between these two forces, and where the pressure is greatest there is a real breakdown. The problem before it is how to release men from those customary communal conceptions which give so limited a range to human existence and how to give opportunity to individual initiative in order to raise the land's productivity and meet the totally different demands of today. And an essential condition of the solution is that it should yet retain sight of the old conception of providing a living for all, to which, after all, we ourselves in our modern societies equally subscribe.

CHAPTER 22

Alternatives to Customary Land Use

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES

1. The customary agricultural systems now face a two-fold challenge. On the one hand, they are already becoming untenable in crowded areas owing to lack of new land to meet the requirements of the increasing population. On the other hand they are failing to yield the income standards now increasingly being demanded by the people, particularly by the younger

male adult population, who therefore seek employment elsewhere, especially in the towns. We have shown in Part III that, in the absence of exploitable mineral resources and in the existing circumstances of East Africa, the expansion of the urban labour market itself depends on the development of increased productivity in agriculture. Basically this development is a question of commercializing the indigenous agricultural systems in order to bring about a combination of the factors of production, land, labour and capital, so that they can yield an increased money income.

2. Although in many parts of East Africa production is carried on by some type of family unit, it would be a mistake to compare this with the small scale peasant production of, say, Holland, Denmark or similar intensively organized systems of commercial agriculture. In East Africa peasant agriculture is by and large not directed towards securing the greatest money-incomes, nor is it conducted with the aim or knowledge of how to achieve a net surplus after all the costs involved in production have been accurately taken into account. The basic appreciation of land as an asset which has to be carefully conserved is for the most part absent. Indigenous agriculture is attuned to the ecology of the environment only under given conditions of restricted subsistence production based on shifting cultivation. Once this system is no longer possible, or desired, what is required for the proper economic combination of resources, is a complete economic and social reorientation. The mere expansion of production for the market is not in itself sufficient. For, as we show in this chapter, such an expansion, unless it is accompanied by the establishment of a balanced pattern of agriculture, will lead to soil exhaustion unless opportunities are provided and taken to establish a proper fallow, suitable crop rotations, or economic methods of restoring nutrients to the soil artificially.

3. The discovery and development of such balanced patterns of production present difficult problems. First, as long as communities are isolated from the market, it is idle to expect them to change from producing food crops for their own subsistence to specialized production for the market. If the objective of raising income per head through greater specialization is to be possible, there must obviously be access to the market. In large parts of East Africa this prerequisite is absent owing to the extremely poor system of roads and the virtual absence of railways.

4. Secondly, where communications are adequate, it does not follow that those factors which lead to greater production can easily be brought into combination. The individual must be able to obtain an area of land of sufficient size, relative to his labour resources, to yield to him and his family an income no lower than that which he could usually obtain in non-agricultural occupations. The change must be able to obviate the present need for rural workers to supplement their incomes on the land by temporary migration into wage employment in the towns. For the migrant labour system prevents the worker from becoming either an efficient producer on the land or an efficient worker in industrial employment.

5. Thirdly, there is the difficulty which the change involves in crowded areas. Those whose labour will become redundant after the introduction of a more efficient system of production, and who can no longer find a place on the land, will cause a general problem of displacement. A movement of population is of course an unavoidable accompaniment of the process of raising income per head from given areas of land. It is precisely the ability to release labour resources for other tasks on new land, or away from the land altogether, which makes possible the production of increased income per head. Where land or opportunities of employment are readily available,

or expand *pari passu* with the release of labour from the land, the displaced population can be relatively easily absorbed. But in many of the overcrowded areas the consolidation of holdings, and the general rationalization and commercialization of agriculture, cannot even begin until surplus population has first been removed from them, at any rate temporarily, to enable the land to be rehabilitated, and as this surplus population cannot be absorbed in non-agricultural pursuits, new land has to be found for it. But even where this is possible the problem does not end there. It is clearly undesirable that those who are so transferred should simply repeat methods of usage which lead again to the low standards of income and soil deterioration, to obviate which was the main reason for the transfer.

6. Fourthly, the most suitable patterns of production, both to rehabilitate overcrowded areas and in new land, have still in many cases to be discovered. Moreover, the factors of production themselves, land, labour and capital are all scarce in relation to the new tasks demanded by new systems of agricultural production.

The land is not only scarce because it is overcrowded in the fertile areas from the point of view of subsistence production. It is scarce also in the sense that it requires much improvement before continuous production with higher yields can be obtained from it. Capital is scarce because the surplus produced by existing subsistence methods is negligible; and labour is scarce because the type of labour accustomed to subsistence production requires much additional training, supervision, and experience of modern techniques before it can cope effectively with the problems of farming efficiently for the market.

7. It follows, therefore, that the process of raising agricultural productivity must necessarily be slow. As it proceeds there will always be twin dangers to be avoided: on the one hand policies which, while raising income per head, may displace persons too rapidly from the land; on the other hand, policies which, while accommodating more people on the land, may do so in a manner which does not raise income per head sufficiently. This conflict, between temporary relief measures to assist persons to remain on the land without greatly increasing their incomes and production policies designed to raise income standards, is inescapable, because the change cannot be viewed only in terms of economic efficiency. It must be seen against a wide range of social effects which the transition to more efficient systems involves. It is necessary above all to avoid the creation of a landless and homeless proletariat which cannot find employment in the towns. It is our opinion that, while it is necessary to bring about the most economic use of land and to conserve fertility, it is equally necessary to realize that the existing day-to-day problems and experiences of the people cannot wait on ideal solutions. What this implies is that economically perfect systems cannot be introduced or imposed on an overall basis. Advance in agricultural rehabilitation must necessarily proceed at an uneven pace in different regions and by different individuals and groups of individuals.

8. It implies further that agricultural policy must be based on a plan of objectives clearly related to the scarcity of the factors of production. At every stage agricultural policy involves an economic choice in relation to the social conditions existing in East Africa. Resources for costly experiments or for developments which are likely to yield benefit only in the remote future are not available at present. It is far more important to concentrate on measures which will bring about immediate and certain, even if only small-scale, improvements, from which communities, and individual producers, can build up a surplus for further investment. At every

stage individuals or communities should be assisted to improve their own methods and increase their income. Moreover, where these efforts require control of land use, of size of holdings and the like, the control should provide flexibility so as to avoid a rigid pattern of production which would inhibit changes which may later be found to be economically advantageous. Wherever schemes for agricultural improvements or resettlement are embarked upon, it is essential that these should meet the acid test of yielding an increased net income to the producers, and to the economy as a whole, commensurate with the resources expended thereon. Where the expenditure is of a relief nature, as for long-term improvements which the individual producers cannot at present afford, the expenditure should be clearly designated as being for such purposes, and it should be borne by government. Only by so distinguishing expenditures can agricultural policy, and the efforts of those administering it, be realistically assessed, and its primary task of raising the real productivity of the people on the land, in relation to the resources available, be properly achieved. It follows from this that agricultural investments, apart from organized experimentation, must be concentrated in the first place in those areas, and in those directions, where it will be most productive, and must not be frittered away at the dictate of sectional pressure.

A. Pastoral Communities

CONTROL OF STOCK NUMBERS

9. Our description in the preceding chapter of land usage among the pastoral communities closed on the need to find a modern substitute for migratory invasion. So serious has the danger to the land become and so difficult has it been to introduce any changes, that many technical officers whom we met were sceptical of any adequate response in time and considered that only firm administrative control of stock numbers could save the situation. Other African territories have had to choose between serious land ruin and compulsory destocking, and in parts of East Africa the dilemma is already there. It may well be that in order to make a start to recovery compulsory destocking may have to be applied in certain districts as, indeed, has already been done in some areas. But it is a measure of last resort and has great disadvantages. Moreover, each area requires appropriate study. In some, as we have said, the compulsory removal of stock may result in real hardship. It is of vital importance to present destocking to the public not as a capital levy on reserves but as the prelude to an annual crop from the production of a planned ranching business, the training and development for which are being pursued by the government in an evident policy in order to further a money economy.

10. The main characteristics of proper ranching are: the relation of stock to carrying capacity; distributed water supplies; pasture management; sufficiency of land; and a market. These are all part of a pattern. Breeding policy, so important in the end, is hardly applicable until these other needs are established.

11. Certain areas offer great natural difficulties to the realization of such a policy in their remoteness, lack of water or lack of rain. In the Northern Frontier District of Kenya for example, in 1953, in an area of 10,000 square miles rain fell in only 300 square miles and all stock naturally gathered there. Such a climate makes organized ranching uneconomic until water

can be provided, by dams or boreholes, and protected. In the primitive and unruly circumstances of the borders of Ethiopia and Somaliland this must await a much later date. Probably certain areas of this kind will remain for years little save the natural habitat of nomads. There is little point, for the moment, in increasing facilities for stock survival there and little more can be done than to try to provide the inhabitants with an alternative to stock in places where the topography permits. In parts of Karamoja, and to a lesser extent in Turkana, extensive work has been done in recent years in controlling the run-off of rain into small basin irrigation schemes by dams and spillways across the *wadis*. The technique was introduced from Aden Protectorate where conditions are not dissimilar. The Abyan Scheme in Aden, which grows cotton of high financial value, affords an example of alternative livelihood by contact with an exchange economy, although in East Africa at present the intention is to grow food crops because the district is remote. As excess stock is often carried in lieu of food which is imported, often from great distances, the services of men experienced in such irrigation development would seem well worth application on a wider scale in such areas.

12. Another great difficulty in getting stock related to the carrying capacity of land is the immense gulf between the needs of modern ranching and the natural customs of the pastoralists. How broad the step is from a concept of communal grazing rights over vast areas to individual grazing rights over smaller areas may be illustrated by a small experience of our own. We visited the Samburu tribe in Kenya and expressed our appreciation of the tribal ranching plan on the Leroghi Plateau, which is one of the places where first steps are being taken towards rational stock control. The Samburu told us that they liked the ranch but resented the stock control rules. On further enquiry it appeared that the customary system of communal right of usage made it necessary for everyone in the tribe to get a quota on the ranch. The limitations of stock numbers under the rules, however, meant that each family herd had to be split into some animals in the quota on the ranch and the remainder, which had to find their grazing in distant *wadis*. As a result the herdsmen were separated from their wives and the children from milk, and very naturally the idea was unpopular. The story illustrates the constant problem of adjustment between primitive ways and modern needs, how difficult is the first step of change, and how vital must be the part played by public understanding and public opinion, when old and new conflict. It also illustrates how they conflict at times and how a straight choice has to be made between one or the other.

13. The main fault in the old system, as noted before, is the combination of communal range with unrestricted individual ownership, because therein neither the community nor the individual have regard to the effects of their actions on the land. It is this feature which must be eliminated. A solution can be found either communally or individually. A community can agree to restrict the stock of each individual to what the land will collectively carry, land to practise a proper community rotation, or the land can be divided up into individual ranches. There is scope for both solutions in East Africa. The communal solution has merits in existing pastoral areas and as an intermediate stage. It is likely to be the easiest first step away from the present system. But there may equally be a place for individuals, and in undeveloped ranching land when new water supplies or tsetse clearance open up new areas there is a chance to get away from communal claims and to lay out individual ranches, or family ranching units, or for an individual section of a tribe to work within a co-operative framework. There is no need

for any dogmatic ideology about the solution. There should be freedom to experiment with different alternatives and only experience will show what is best economically and what is best suited to the people. But one point is essential, whatever solution is adopted, it must be applied to land usage as one unit of control.

14. Another of the major difficulties made clear to us in all three territories is the smallness of the monetary needs of the pastoral tribes. By personal inspection of some of the homcs we could see for ourselves what little scope, under present ways of living, a pastoral family could have for any kind of expenditure. Yet a more co-ordinated and persistent policy may well stimulate demands for the satisfaction of which pastoral tribes will increasingly part with stock. We emphasize the word 'co-ordinated'. We were advised, for instance, that the Masai are prepared to pay for labour to undertake tsetse clearance to increase their pastures and for additional water supplies, and that they tax themselves unusually highly for these ends. But there are no controls or limits on the stock which use these facilities. There is little value in this expenditure merely to bring hitherto protected country under the customary risk of haphazard excessive stocking. There is great value in it if it is part of a plan for rational ranching. Similarly, pastoral tribes have become increasingly ready to pay for inoculation for disease control. There is again little value in introducing these facilities to keep alive stock which has no proper provision for its forage and clearly, in general, drugs should be supplied as a deliberate incentive only to those who co-operate in planned ranching. Where co-operation is impossible to obtain, it may sometimes be advisable to let nature take its course, without water development or disease control, rather than to provide these aids without the planned management which will lead to a proper economy. Under natural conditions the region may be unproductive but it will not be ruined. Unfortunately interference to control rinderpest, pleuro-pneumonia and east coast fever is often essential to protect the good rancher, and clearly the right policy is to co-ordinate everything which will help to overcome the faults in customary usage and to gain co-operation, step by step, towards the establishment of proper ranching methods.

15. Encouragement of a commercial instinct is a vital step in stabilizing stock numbers and there are signs that it may fall today on more receptive ground than has hitherto been the case. Evidence of an increasing cash consciousness as a help to stocksales was given to us from a variety of sources. In Tanganyika, for instance, the traditional interchange of products between the pastoralists on the plain and the cultivators on Kilimanjaro is nowadays stimulating a natural advance to a more modern economy. A hundred thousand gallons of sour milk a month are said to be sold at the same price as European fresh milk to Chagga, Meru, and Arusha tribesmen in this district by Masai who return home with cash, bananas, cereals and vegetables. A more forceful commodity sales policy was advocated by many officials during our tour and traders were criticized for lack of enterprise. Greatcoats, building materials, rain water tanks for houses, fencing, ponies, Land Rovers, engineering training facilities, more education and above all, water supplies, were variously recommended in all three territories to stimulate pastoralists to sell their stock. One interesting suggestion advocated, as a first step from nomadism, the custom of an annual shift from one type of pasture to another, such as is practised in Scandinavia, Switzerland, Greece and Barotseland. The custom implies a permanency in one locality and may accelerate the turnover of cattle by absorbing more material goods for buildings, furniture and clothing. We are unable to judge these views in detail but they seem to us to suggest an expectancy and readiness for a money economy, at least in parts, which corroborate our own impressions from many African memoranda.

Difficult as it is to establish a stable economy in the pastoral areas, the way to it must surely lie in putting the nomad in touch with the rising exchange economy of the rest of the territory by encouraging export of stock, emigration of persons, and import of goods. Expenditure on local control schemes without better stock connexion and better communications has clearly very limited value. In this connexion the policy of treating so many pastoral areas as 'closed districts' under some form of outlying districts ordinance might well be reviewed. Both in Uganda and Kenya there are districts where entry is still subject to permit. No doubt there were, and perhaps still are, administrative reasons of law and order for such restrictions, but in general the right policy must be to encourage the free movement of persons and goods in and out of such districts so as to get away from the need to hoard stock as the only medium of exchange and security. Another restrictive practice which needs review in this connexion, especially in Uganda, is the regulation which confines Asian traders to townships. No doubt, again, good reasons and perhaps fear of abuses, monopolies, and so on, lie behind such orders, but they do pay a penalty by setting a seal on trade, as if there was only so much to go round, and that that might become confined to Asians. We have discussed already the general problem of how the less knowledgeable vast majority of the community can be brought into those sectors of economic life which the professional, technical, managerial, shareholding, and entrepreneur classes enjoy. These have naturally until now been mainly the preserve of Europeans and Asians, who alone had the knowledge and means of operating them. There must be wiser solutions to that problem than to shut out from the rural areas those who, in the present circumstances, are best placed to be the starters, stimulating a wider economy for all.

16. Whether the trader is to be blamed for lack of enterprise as much as his critics imply appears to be open to some doubt. A recent survey in Tanganyika, originated with this belief in mind, gives a wealth of data indicating that the main reason for lack of buying is not so much poor stocking by the trader as the absolute lowness of money incomes among indigenous families. There seems little doubt that where money incomes rise one of the first results is a higher demand and higher prices for meat, and that this in turn is a prime factor in inducing pastoralists to sell their stock. It is to the encouragement of this demand and to the easy satisfying of it that the rehabilitation of the pastoral areas must surely be geared.

WATER SUPPLIES

17. Distributed water supplies are the basis of ranching and have enabled many inhospitable parts of the world to produce good stock in spite of very indifferent rainfall. Widespread criticism has been made in Kenya and Tanganyika of the failure of governments to give enough attention to water supplies either financially or technically. We understand, however, that some hesitation has been felt, and that sums voted for the pastoral areas have been left unspent, because provision of water without control of stock has merely led to the aggravation of the problem. When, however, a co-ordinated policy for these regions is put into action, water development is a first priority. The matter has been taken up particularly in the Karamoja District of Uganda where, parallel with the flood irrigation schemes, dams are being built to conserve water for stock. It is hoped that in this manner the nomad will be induced to settle down near his food supply and thanks to plentiful water in dams, some of which can be used to irrigate grazing, be able to rotate his pasture and control his stock. A great deal of experience has also been gained in Kenya where hundreds of dams have been constructed, not only in the reserves but in the game parks and on private farms. Individual

settlers have succeeded in recreating springs in *wadis* long dried up, by a simple series of retaining catchments. Although Karamoja has a better rainfall than much of the pastoral area and although boreholes are an additional necessity for the safety of a ranch, it would appear that there is an immense scope for additional works almost everywhere for conserving rain. Priorities in such a wide programme would preferably be concentrated in those areas which show most prospect of changing to a modern system. Economic returns from ranching do not come quickly and for the repayment of capital expenditure on water development the government could, when they are co-ordinated into making a modern ranch, look to the ultimate increased appreciation in land value which development will eventually bring, although the financing can also be assisted over the years by sales of stock.

PASTURE MANAGEMENT

18. The most practical system of pasture management will no doubt vary in different environments and may well evolve only gradually from a simple two-course rotation to the separate, fenced and watered paddocks of a good European ranch. One of the biggest and most experienced ranchers in Kenya considered fencing essential. He attributed to fencing an increase in the carrying capacity of his own ranch by five times and advocated larger paddocks for lower rainfall areas, quoting the 50,000-acre paddocks of the King Ranch in Texas. It was an exaggeration, in his opinion, to regard the expense as prohibitive if one considered the return from it. Fencing may well be essential at a later stage, but in the progress from pure nomadism, even a properly regulated alternation of wet and dry grazing with well-distributed water supplies would be a first step forward. This system has been advocated for Karamoja by Mr. Watson, lately head of the Serere Research Station in Uganda, and accepted by the district team there. It was also advocated to us for Masailand in Kenya by the Provincial Commissioner, because it might dovetail in as a first process with the present sections of the Masai tribe. Experience in Southern Rhodesia in the Zimutu Reserve has demonstrated that alternate grazing can be efficiently managed without fencing as long as demarcation banks or lines are kept clear. This is also the system adopted in the ranching experiment in the Samburu country and at Simba Emali adjoining the Kamba reserve.

19. One of the difficulties bound to arise in any area already overcrowded with stock is the question of sufficiency of land. Although ultimately by means of stock control, properly distributed water supplies, fencing and selection, a much larger carrying capacity ought to be developed, the initial stage involves a problem of displacement. In order to get the indispensable unit-control it will be essential to restrict defined ranches to particular sections or clans who are prepared to co-operate in stock and water control, and it will be necessary to keep all others out. This first step towards better management by individual clans is often the hardest, because the restriction on numbers in the defined ranch, in a reserve already overstocked, usually means increasing the overstocking in the rest of the area and so antagonizing the combined communal sense of the rest of the tribe. It is precisely at this point, and for this purpose, that some spare room is really valuable. Any arrangement which seeks to make more land available merely for customary usage—and much tribal enthusiasm has in places been devoted to clearing land from tsetse for such a purpose, when areas currently in use have become seriously eroded—is really only a palliative seeking to save one area but in the end extending the problem over wider areas. But the procurement of additional land is in many parts a necessity to get a modern system going.

TSETSE CLEARING

20. We discuss in chapter 20 the general problem of tsetse which affects enormous stretches of East Africa. As far as ranching is concerned the high cost of tsetse eradication is still the major stumbling block, and until some comparatively inexpensive method can be discovered, the use of tsetse infested country purely for ranching is likely to be confined to those cases where it will facilitate the rehabilitation of an existing ranching or cultivation area, thus giving a return both from the newly cleared area and ultimately from the land rehabilitated.

We should mention, however, two series of experiments being carried out in Kenya which may have an important bearing on reducing the cost of using tsetse infested country for permanent or temporary stock rearing purposes. The first experiment is of a long-term nature and is designed to ascertain whether or not Zebu calves reared in tsetse-infested country, under favourable conditions of husbandry and nutrition, will survive and reproduce without the need for regular treatment with trypanocidal drugs. This requires that parent stock, when first introduced to the tsetse areas, should be protected against trypanosomiasis by the use of drugs for a period sufficiently long for them to calve and rear their calves. The second experiment involves the use of drugs to give immunity for a seasonal period, and is being conducted in areas within reach of the Kamba reserve. The purpose is to ascertain whether stock can be taken off the reserve during the rains and run in tsetse infested country without incurring the cost of tsetse clearance, thus enabling the home pastures to recover.

The possibilities opened up by these experiments are great, but results are not yet finalized and it would be premature and destructive of confidence to attempt their widespread application until certainty is ensured.

GAME PRESERVATION

21. In the search for more grazing by pastoral tribes, the establishment of game reserves and national parks has become the subject of a good deal of criticism. This criticism originates sometimes in the complaints of a few cultivators who have been turned out of some of the places reserved for game, and sometimes in the complaints of pastoralists whose customary water-holes have been included within the boundaries of a national park. It is most important that the hardships occasioned by these sudden changes should be sympathetically dealt with by the territorial governments and not left to be determined by lines drawn on a map, or dictated by officials of the game departments alone, because they give rise, among people who cannot be aware of the issues involved, to a feeling that the governments have more regard to animals than to people. In this context the reservation of large areas for game is misunderstood and becomes associated with other fears of European control over land. It is, however, mainly as a competitor to the progress of pastoral tribes that the subject needs consideration here, and, it is in Kenya that the principles involved are best illustrated.

22. Before the introduction of firearms, game and the African pastoralist and cultivator had always competed for land and for a living on level terms. But with the arrival of the European, who brought with him the modern rifle, most of the great herds of game, which had roamed the plains of East Africa since time immemorial, disappeared. It became evident early in this century that if game were to survive at all it would need protection. Consequently, in the three territories areas have been set aside as game reserves, partial game reserves, controlled areas and national parks, giving to the fauna varying degrees of security from their human enemies. In a controlled area,

for instance, game hunting is controlled but entry and residence is not. In a national park, however, it is unlawful for any person, without permission of the Trustees, to possess a weapon, kill game, cut vegetation, or to introduce domestic animals. Intermediate are the Kenya national reserves where game is preserved, but man and his domestic animals come and go as they wish.

So game came to be preserved partly because the present generation must hand on to those who follow at least part of the heritage they received. There is also the responsibility to the world at large. The list of extinct species has already borne too many additions in our time. Partly, too, game was, and is, preserved because it represents a solid financial asset. It is difficult to assess the revenue derived from those who come to East Africa to shoot, photograph, or to watch game, but it is significant that with air transport making East Africa accessible, tourists in Kenya spent £500,000 in 1949 and £5,000,000 in 1953, despite the unrest in the latter year. Only East and South Africa and the Congo can offer parks full of game on such a scale. Only Kenya can offer such splendid opportunities to watch game within easy reach of amenities and services which attract the casual tourist and film companies.

23. Whilst accepting these responsibilities, however, it is fully appreciated that, generally speaking, where the interest of man and game conflict, the need of the former must be considered paramount. In the second interim report of the Game Policy Committee of Kenya, accepted by the Government of that Colony, the Trustees of the national parks are enjoined 'not to stand in the way of legitimate human development and expansion'. Of course there will always be marginal areas. The Masai live happily surrounded by game, but that is not to suggest that they do not complain about game eating grass which might have been left for their cattle. In some areas, if game is to survive, money must be spent on dams and other forms of water supply. In some areas, the game department believe that game fences would prevent the irruption of big herds at certain times of the year into favourable grazing areas. The Masai in particular, and other nomadic pastoralists, are suspicious of any enclosure or fence, but they would do well to appreciate that their territories include first-rate ranching land, and that if they were to make proper use of this land, no-one could object to the clearance of game from the area. The European rancher will not tolerate game on his ranch, nor need the African rancher. But as things are, there can be no justification for shooting game out of an area to allow scrub cattle of no economic value the more easily to over-graze it. At least game does not let in the desert.

24. Then again there are small areas of fertile land on which large areas of game park, useless except as such, depend. Half the value of the Tsavo Park in Kenya, an immense area of arid tsetse bush, hangs on a small area round the Tsavo river and the Mzima springs. In Tanganyika and Uganda, there are substantial areas of land with an agricultural potential included in game parks. For the time being they are remote, or there is plenty of alternative and equally fertile land, at present unused and available for development.

25. Conditions change, and the conflict between the human being and game will change its ground. Members of the game departments naturally tend to regard an elephant as being of greater importance than a few bananas, but they will reflect that potentially destructive animals in the wrong place are no advertisement for game protection. An African in the bush may think a goat of more value than the total revenue from tourists: his children or

grandchildren will perhaps think otherwise. Periodically the whole position ought to be reviewed and game reserves should not be regarded as immutable. It may be that science will find means of putting to human use immense areas now under tsetse bush, but if game is to survive at all something more than large 'Whipsnades' must be left. Some game migrates to breed and will not sustain numbers without migration. Some game demands an environment which is only to be found in restricted areas. The preservation of game must not be allowed to stand in the way of the urgent need for proper land usage, but for the time being there is plenty of land in East Africa which man has not yet learnt to turn to productive use and which can be left to the game to enjoy.

EXPERIMENTAL RANCHES

26. When one recollects the technical and human needs required in order to rehabilitate the pastoral areas, the difficulties are formidable and the economic advantages untried. To continue the present system will lead to disaster, while to deal with it merely by compulsory destocking would be a sterile and antagonizing policy. While nomadic life may be inevitable in remoter regions of harsh climate, there are extensive parts of Karamoja and Ankole in Uganda, of the West Suk, Baringo, Samburu, Kitui, Machakos and Masai Districts in Kenya, and of the Masai, Gogo and Barabaig lands in Tanganyika which have on the whole better rainfall, contain good natural ranching country, and are in places capable of growing crops. The Kenya Masai alone have an area equal in size to the whole of the Highlands and, in the opinion of the Chief Veterinary Officer could, under European methods of ranching, produce five times their present output. The continuance of mere nomadism in such parts is a gross misuse and it is here that the opportunity lies of calling a halt to it. On the periphery of such country in Kenya, lands have been alienated and certain efficient European estates in Laikipia, Machakos and Naivasha are a striking demonstration of how, with fencing, water supplies, and wise management, both of pasture and of breeding, lands in such an environment can be changed, not merely to stop the decline to desert but positively to increase their carrying capacity and to make full contribution in beef and milk to a modern society's needs. Such estates are an example of the immense contribution which European settlement might be making, if it was viewed as a starter to the evolution of African farming and as an agent for spreading the techniques of a money economy among the people rather than merely offering them employment. For here right usage can be providing a bridge to link the pastoralist with the urban dweller.

27. It would be a mistake to interfere with tribal life everywhere at once and it would be best to begin the matter by a series of experimental ranches. As far as capital is concerned we have already discussed the question of water. The other main needs, land and stock, are already there. In most European ranches little capital was available at the start. It was created out of income, from animal reproduction and human work, and ploughed back into the ranch gradually to increase the fencing and water and improve the quality of the stock. We visualize African ranching developing in the same way. A survey to select where to site the experimental ranches would be clearly essential. Sites adjacent to existing European ranches have an advantage because of the example of economic success alongside them. Such sites could be found in Kenya in the Samburu, Masai and Kamba country. The Maria-kani area and its vicinity, although not adjacent to European estates, has the advantage of being alongside the Nairobi to Mombasa railway line and main road, and has recently been developing as an African dairy

scheme without, however, the kind of control which can protect the land. In Tanganyika the Masai country near Essimngor and the Mkata plains near Kilosa are, we are informed, now under consideration for such an experiment. Sukumaland with the big market across the lake to the north would seem another area worth consideration, while the experimental ranch of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation near Kongwa might stimulate better usage in Gogoland. In Uganda the government is posting a special rehabilitation officer to Karamoja. The scope of this appointment, useful though it is, is wider than what we have in mind. Within that scope, however, may well be found a particular region to start an experimental ranch. Other areas in Uganda worth consideration are the Katonga valley and other parts of Ankole and Masaka Districts.

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

28. We discuss in chapter 24 the personnel problems involved in obtaining changes in land usage as smoothly and at the same time as expeditiously as possible, and we there draw attention particularly to the importance of continuity of personnel. The appointment of special staff gradually to introduce proper methods of ranching in pastoral areas is now a matter of real urgency. We do not want a hasty recruitment of untried men, but as and when suitable individuals can be found these appointments should be made as part of a consistent plan, and prospects should be good enough to encourage long continuous service. Only by living with the people and studying their present problems is the bridge to a new economy likely to be found. One well-managed scheme with the right man in charge making the best use of an experimental ranch is far better than a number of less efficient schemes all started at once. There is, however, a very wide difference between one such scheme started as part of a deliberate plan and given the full continuing support of the central government, and individual schemes which have arisen from the personal enthusiasm of officers who may subsequently be posted elsewhere. Good managers are particularly hard to get, but it is reasonable to believe that there are men with experience of efficient European ranches, as well as particular administrative and veterinary officers, able and willing to specialize in this important duty, and having the enormous advantage of knowing the language and of being known and trusted by the tribe concerned.

STOCK MARKETING

29. We come now to the question of stock marketing, which occupies a paramount position in the whole problem of land usage. The remaining paragraphs of this section are devoted to this subject, which we have felt must be reviewed in some detail.

While a readiness to sell surplus stock and to practise management of water and pasture is the basic idea which must be inculcated into pastoral tribes, an adequate system of buying and marketing the stock must match this readiness. Concern for systematic marketing is a novel idea and it is only recently that the whole question of agricultural improvement has appeared either urgent or tractable in East Africa. Until the outbreak of war the picture was one of maintaining law and order in the tribal areas, while a small alien community, pioneering in an unknown environment, sought to hammer out a profitable and proper way of farming amid the hazards of disease, locusts, droughts and ignorance. Such conditions provided neither the money nor the outlook for large-scale state intervention, and meat marketing was left to the small-scale enterprise of individual Somali traders. This private enterprise system was recalled to us with nostalgia by

some pastoral tribes, but many officials criticized its serious limitations in providing neither a sizable nor a steady take-off nor any consistency in price. It was the war which gave the impetus and necessity for an organized alternative, and it is the higher prices of primary crops and developing industry since the war which is now giving an opportunity to treat the whole question of meat marketing from a community angle, by facilitating the reduction of stock in areas where it is in excess of the optimum and by encouraging and satisfying an increasing popular demand for meat.

30. The condition of the pastoral tribes makes clear how important it is that the governments of East Africa should take advantage of this opportunity. The difficulties are formidable and measures now being taken to overcome them are not entirely successful. There are bottle-necks in quarantines and stock routes, and there is anxiety for the actual certainty of a market. There is no easy cure for these difficulties, but the need for a more concerted policy is clear. We illustrate our impressions from a few examples.

31. In Kampala and the eastern part of Uganda there is a large unsatisfied demand for meat, and on the other side of the border in Kenya there are large stocks seeking a market. The demand and the supply were not linked legitimately because of the lack of agreement about quarantines between the Governments of Uganda and Kenya. To some extent they were linked illegitimately by large-scale black-market smuggling over the border which of course made nonsense of quarantines. The Uganda Veterinary Department wished to retain the market for their own destocking problems in Teso and Karamoja, but there seemed to us room for supplies from both countries and a need for a high-level joint review to expand and satisfy it, rather than leaving the matter to the preferential restrictiveness of quarantine regulations. The story illustrates a general problem in East Africa, the problem of what body should be responsible for actively encouraging stock sales. The field has been traditionally left to the veterinary departments because of the greater importance of disease than marketing in primitive pastoral society. Disease control implies a continual interest in restricting movement, and while this is clearly important, there is today a new and immense need to encourage movement and turnover, which are essentially the characteristics of good marketing. In the case of the Kenya-Uganda border, which we have described, this encouragement came from private traders. The results have been remarkable, for the North Nyanza district reports tell of a reduction in stock numbers from 300,000 to 100,000 in the last 3 years owing to the Uganda and local markets, and make the very unusual claim that the District is now understocked.

32. A complete contrast to this satisfactory state of affairs was afforded by the Baringo District at the time of our visit. The District is mainly pastoral and dependent on stock sales for imports of food. It is also heavily overstocked and rapidly deteriorating. But, as with other reserves north of the Highlands, easy marketing is handicapped because stock from these reserves for sale in the big markets of Nyanza or Nairobi have to pass through the Highlands. In these reserves public auction sales have not been permitted, owing to the difficulty of controlling a number of different traders driving small lots of stock through the Highlands. Moreover, there has been a great deal of difficulty in getting stock routes established at all. Representatives of these tribes said that they felt bottled-up owing to European opposition to their stock outlet to markets, which forces them to use steep and circuitous alternatives. District reports deplore the lack of help in marketing, particularly of sheep and goats, for which, it was maintained, there would be an urban demand, especially among the Asian community, if restrictions were removed and a drive to help sales substituted.

33. The opposition to African stock routes is not essentially a racial matter at all. It is based on the reasonable fear which a farmer with high-grade cattle feels about infection from the stock of those who have no such standards, and of herdsmen who may be careless of the risk while on their way through. Yet we have deliberately recorded the fear as European opposition because that is how it appears to the tribes, and how it was represented to us, when the good farmers all belong to one racial area and the bad ones to another. While it is appreciated that the European opposition is legitimately based on fear of disease, we consider that well watered and properly policed stock routes and proper quarantine controls must be provided to encourage marketing from these reserves, and should be matters for continuous central government attention. They should be regarded as fundamental to the national interest, and should not be left to be forced through with difficulty against local European interest according to the varying pressure of individual personalities.

European farmers are conveniently situated for railhead and roads and it may well be that railhead and roads to enable lorry transport should be extended to assist marketing of African stock, where African ranching is properly organized and practised, if there is no other way of effecting adequate quarantine. To the particular consideration of whether that section of road or rail would pay should be added attention to the damage done to overall territorial interests by the lack of these facilities.

34. The heart of the stock problem lies, however, in the difficulty of making certain of a market. Few other single matters deserve more continuous and urgent attention, for without a regular sales off-take of stock most aspects of improving land usage are thwarted. Once again, as might be expected from a glance at map 3, it is in Kenya, with its shortage of fertile land, that the matter has first come to a crisis. Uganda and Tanganyika, with large potential ranching areas closed to stock by tsetse, present as yet no general stock marketing problem as serious as Kenya's. Nevertheless these countries are not in essence different from Kenya in their land usage problems: they are simply at an earlier and less critical stage. Uganda still relies on marketing by private traders, but there is beginning to be doubt whether this is sufficient. Tanganyika has supplemented private trade by a cannery but the future with that supplement alone is by no means assured. Kenya has gone much further in trying to introduce a complete marketing system. Ironically, at the time of our visit, Kenya stock marketing was, as a result of certain inadequacies of the system, in a state of chaos. There are features, however, in Kenya's attempts to introduce a system, which may in time be of value to the other two territories. We shall examine the position in Kenya first and then proceed to consider marketing in Uganda and Tanganyika.

STOCK MARKETING IN KENYA

35. We have already noted that, in the opinion of most officials, stock marketing prior to the war in the hands of small traders had serious limitations. Individual traders with little capital were apt to reduce prices as soon as the small parcel in which they were interested had been purchased, and it was considered that something far more regular must be provided to induce the pastoralist to de-stock on the scale that was needed. The opportunity came in the war when the presence of large numbers of troops in East Africa established a regular demand for meat, and a Livestock Control, operated by the Veterinary Department, was set up to meet it. Quotas of stock were filled, thanks to a response by chiefs to a patriotic appeal, and to some coercion. The justification for this method ceased with the war and the Livestock Control was changed to a Meat Marketing Board to purchase only

such livestock as was freely offered. This Board operated as a government department with the aid of public funds and, as far as African livestock was concerned, operated with considerable success, according to the evidence of administrative officers. The tribes had acquired the habit of selling livestock in the war and the Board did not hesitate to buy stock on occasions at an uneconomic price if it was advised by administrative officers that this course was necessary to maintain the momentum of sales in the area. In fact it operated a policy, which was intended to be in the national interest, to encourage off-take of stock and to raise purchasing power in the pastoral reserves. There was, however, no clear-cut sanction from government on the question of subsidized purchases.

36. In 1949 some European livestock producers and the Department of Veterinary Services were attracted by the system in Southern Rhodesia, a country facing the same dangers of overstocked reserves as Kenya. The system was designed to ensure maximum return to producers, and empowered a Cold Storage Commission to operate a monopoly. The size of its operations, thanks to the monopoly, allowed for the provision of modern cold storage facilities on a major scale so that meat could be stored in good condition, and the profits made from the by-products obtained with modern equipment were intended to enable the farmer to be paid more for his beasts than before. The system seemed to have advantages for both Africans and Europeans, and the Kenya Government decided in 1950 to terminate the Meat Marketing Board and to establish in its place a Kenya Meat Commission with monopolistic powers.

37. For reasons which we must examine later, this change has, for the time being, had a most disastrous effect on the marketing of African stock which appears to have been brought almost to a standstill. The magnitude of the damage can be seen from evidence given to us in a variety of districts. Figures from the unfortunate Baringo District are illustrative. Purchases made here by Livestock Control in the war years were from about 1,000 to 3,000 cattle and a good number of sheep and goats. The subsequent Meat Marketing Board brought much more. The figures of their purchases are as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep : Goats</i>
1947	6,916	?
1948	5,434	14,051
1949	10,078	17,522
1950	2,169	2,000

It will be seen that from 1947 to 1949 a very satisfactory trade was being built up. In 1950 it completely collapsed, because the Kenya Meat Commission, established in that year, appeared to be uninterested in stock from that area. The district officers, faced with very serious overstocking and overgrazing, were forced, although this was illegal in view of the monopoly, to run their own auction sales and to welcome buyers from anywhere. As a result the sales of cattle rose to 2,740 in 1951, 6,000 in 1952 and 7,908 in 1953, but there has been a negligible take-off of sheep and goats. The free auctions have now come to be regarded as part of the district life. We have already noted the stock route difficulties of this District. After so many setbacks, people there are now understandably suspicious of any more changes, and clearly, this history is the very reverse of what could be desired.

38. The position in eastern Kenya was also the subject of comment at the time of our visit. The District Commissioner at Garissa, speaking of the Somali tribe, said that the difficulty there now was not so much getting tribesmen to sell as widening the market. Even female stock could be sold if prices were attractive. But the Kenya Meat Commission would only take 600

cattle and 5,000 sheep and goats a month, whereas the District could treble this off-take, which Mombassa could absorb. The same view was also held by an Asian critic, resident in Mombasa, who complained that much more stock was offering than the Kenya Meat Commission would accept. According to him the setting up of the Commission had merely created difficulties for the coast. The price had increased considerably owing to the margins allowed to the Commission and the butchers, and this had reduced consumption by the poor. Yet often the coast was nowadays without meat, a situation which had never arisen before.

The stock take-off position in eastern Kenya has also been aggravated by the emergency. The Provincial Commissioner at Isiolo stated that his main problem was too much stock and no market. His tribesmen were not opposed to sale or unreasonable about prices, but in spite of selling 100,000 cattle and 1,250,000 sheep and goats in the 5 years from 1946 to 1952, there was no reduction in stock. In 1952 the sale figure had fallen to only 13,000 against a probable stock increase of 90,000 per annum. Since 1952 buying had practically ceased. The reason given was the closure of the Kikuyu markets owing to the emergency, and the difficulty of controlling the stock routes through to other markets.

Probably the most unfortunate effect of this breakdown in meat marketing has, however, been felt in the Kamba tribe. Representatives of their pastoral section from Kitui expressed great anxiety on the matter. Their main request was for more land for grazing purposes. There were far too many cattle in the reserve and it was most difficult to recondition the land, which they agreed was essential, and to carry such stock owing to the lack of grazing. They were trying to sell but could not get a market. They were prepared to accept low prices but in spite of that there were no buyers. They were not allowed to take stock to the Kikuyu or coast markets owing to the emergency.

39. Although the emergency has clearly aggravated the difficulties, the inability of the Kenya Meat Commission to handle African stock marketing satisfactorily was already evident before the emergency and is attributed to a number of other reasons. We have noted that its predecessor, the Meat Marketing Board, operated a national policy to encourage off-take of stock from the African reserves and did not hesitate to buy on occasions at a subsidized price. The Kenya Meat Commission was set up with a different conception. It was a producers' association, embracing both African and European stock, intended to be run on business lines. In such a context, purchases of African stock at uneconomic prices would have meant that the European meat producers were subsidizing the African. The Commission had, moreover, to ensure an income to pay the interest and sinking funds on money borrowed to build its modern factories. It was decided, therefore, that the price paid for livestock on the hoof must be strictly related to its value for meat alone, the hides and offals being retained as the property of the Commission to build up these funds. Thus not only was the element of subsidy withdrawn, but, as the hides and offals constituted a high percentage of the total value of the low-grade African beast, the resultant price to the African producer was very greatly depressed. It was also decided that the cost of staff employed to purchase low-grade stock which was mainly from African areas, and a fair proportion of overheads, must be borne by the producers of such stock, and not fall on the high-grade producers who were mainly Europeans. The low prices offered after these various deductions, reduced sales from African areas to the Commission to practically nil.

In addition to the depression of prices resulting from this change in policy, the Commission's prices for African stock have been forced to a low

level by the Government's action in establishing retail price control on meat in urban areas.

40. Faced with this breakdown in the purchase of African stock, the Government, shortly before the emergency, decided to revert to the wartime conception of Livestock Control and use the Veterinary Department once again as buyers in the African reserves. An African Livestock Marketing Organisation has been started with the object of concentrating on areas which require de-stocking. Purchasing is carried out by livestock officers working in close co-operation with the Administration, disposal is organized by a senior officer of the Veterinary Department, and salaries and marketing charges are not initially borne against the stock purchased. The respective spheres of action of A.L.M.O., as the African Livestock Marketing Organisation is abbreviated, and the Kenya Meat Commission, have not, however, been defined and are a matter at issue between them. The Kenya Meat Commission has still the legal monopoly of all purchases but, as it has been unable to take delivery, A.L.M.O. has been attempting to find separate markets of its own. One feature of this attempt is of considerable interest, for at Archer's Post in the Samburu country, an inexpensive field abattoir has been established which is having considerable success in disposing of products like bone and blood meal and biltong made from the lowest quality of stock. The bulk of African marketing in eastern Kenya is, however, as we have seen, at a standstill.

41. The meat marketing position in Kenya clearly needs a special investigation by the Government of that country; and reorganization to determine the different interests of private traders, Kenya Meat Commission and A.L.M.O in such a way that the maximum encouragement can be given to the off-take from the African areas. We feel that it would be unwise to recommend this or that precise action in such a complicated and changeable history. There are, however, a number of questions general to the whole problem of stock marketing in East Africa which arise from the Kenya story, and it is appropriate for us to examine it in that light. Before doing so, however, we shall review the situation in Uganda and Tanganyika because such an examination has a relevance to all three territories.

STOCK MARKETING IN UGANDA

42. In Uganda, according to a memorandum from a recent Director of Veterinary Services, the policy of the Government has been to secure an overall increase in livestock production by effective disease control, improvement in husbandry, and orderly marketing by local traders. Despite the steep rise in livestock prices the demand for meat continues to exceed supplies and is without doubt associated with the greater purchasing power of the African population following general increases in the prices of cash crops and wages. The attempt to control the price of meat in the towns has tended to restrict supplies. Certain of the larger stock producing districts are, however, reaching a point where any marked increase in stock could not be supported by the available grazing under present husbandry practice. There is both the opportunity and the need for introducing economic ranching practices, for restricting cattle numbers to carrying capacity and laying down grazing control in each zone of land use. Although many stock owners continue to regard stock as social rather than economic assets and have yet to appreciate that stock should bring in a regular annual cash income, an increasing number are beginning to be influenced by economic considerations. In some areas a poor cotton crop, with a consequent reduction in cash income, has resulted in a marked increase in cattle sales. The relative scarcity, however, of consumer goods in rural areas has also been a major reason

for reduced sales in recent years. Markets and slaughter houses are inadequate and badly sited in the larger centres, and transport facilities are often lacking.

43. We have already quoted Dr. Hirsch's opinion on the state of Uganda's main pastoral district, Karamoja. Strong confirmation that mere reliance on private traders in organized markets was not now enough was given to us by the present Director of Veterinary Services and the Director of Natural Resources in Uganda. They informed us that, apart from the critical condition in Karamoja, they were also concerned about the increasing overstocking in the large cattle district in Teso where, in parts, the ratio had already reached one stock unit per three acres, and they feared a trend to overstocking throughout Uganda. The main problem in their minds was to deal with stock which, because of its poor condition, could not reach the fresh meat market. Private traders could not find a solution for this. For this reason a proposal is afoot to establish, in conjunction with a private commercial firm, a factory at Soroti in Teso especially to handle low-grade stock for canning, with possibly an extension in Karamoja. It is anticipated that such a factory would find a market for its products in various mines and estates in Uganda. The usual difficulty, however, is being encountered in hesitation to risk the capital without a guaranteed supply of stock, and to organize a large supply of stock without certainty of the factory. There is a suggestion that a guaranteed quota from Kenya to Soroti might facilitate its inception.

STOCK MARKETING IN TANGANYIKA

44. In Tanganyika the stock marketing problem, in spite of the description which we have already given of the Tanganyika Masailand, did not appear so vital a matter to the responsible authorities as in the other two territories. There are primary markets in all stock districts maintained by the native authorities, and the Veterinary Department runs a Livestock Marketing Section which is responsible for movement control over stock routes and holding grounds. The buyers are African traders who subsequently sell to the chief consuming areas which are the sisal estates and the coffee country in the Moshi and Bukoba Districts. Some cattle trek north to the Nyanza and Uganda markets. Purchase by private traders is supplemented by Tanganyika Packers Ltd., a combination of governmental and private commercial capital, who operate a cannery. The latter have been taking about 50 per cent of the sales and have had a considerable stabilizing effect on prices. Stock sales are by auction without any monopoly, quota, or price or distribution controls, and are said to be popular with the African producers who feel they are getting the best possible price for their animals. Nevertheless, Tanganyika Packers appear to have no difficulty in obtaining their requirements.

45. But the situation in Tanganyika is not entirely without anxiety. The output of the cannery has until now been taken by a Ministry of Food contract but with the end of rationing in the United Kingdom this off-take may well give rise to some anxiety. Moreover the present market sales are covering only a limited field. It is recognized that there is overstocking in places and considerable erosion as a result, but it is considered by the Director of Veterinary Services that the present culling programme of 5 per cent is sufficient until more is known of vital statistics of cattle in various areas. In Kenya the annual increase is said to vary from 5 per cent to 25 per cent, but a minimum off-take of 10 per cent is considered desirable.

There is less consumer demand and general purchasing power in Tanganyika than in Kenya and Uganda and the internal market would find difficulty in handling a higher rate of destocking. There is not much off-take for good meat and no weight and grade system of purchase. And at the other end of the scale, as in Uganda and Kenya, the rejects and the old and debilitated animals are not catered for by private traders. While clearly Tanganyika is at an earlier stage of the whole problem than are Kenya and Uganda, the familiar features are not far round the corner. From an interesting memorandum submitted to us by an African assistant agricultural officer of Tanganyika, we quote the following sentence :

'The reduction of present herds of cattle is a thorny question among African cattle owners, but it is a question that will have to be tackled with more boldness sooner or later in the economic development of these territories, for it is unimaginable how, with a rapidly growing population and diminishing land, the present herds of cattle can be profitably kept without detriment to the land and a smaller chance for the animals themselves.'

It is a sentence which expresses our own impressions.

THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF STOCK MARKETING

46. It is appropriate now to attempt to set down what seem to be the most important points at issue in the problem of stock marketing for, although Kenya is for the moment in difficulties, it is clear that both Uganda and Tanganyika are already in need of something supplementary to mere private trading, with veterinary department assistance, and this need will be continually increasing as their stock position gets more congested.

47. First in importance is surely the active stimulation and supply of the local market. The biggest potential increased demand for meat is arising from increased purchasing power in African communities. We have described the big market in Nyanza and Uganda and in Kikuyuland before the emergency. This example is paralleled in the Union, Southern Rhodesia, the Congo and the Sudan, where higher wages and increased purchasing power from cash crops has led to the same result. The same readiness to spend extra money on more meat is typical of the Chagga country in Tanganyika where a graph of stock sales through the Weruweru market closely follows the high returns from coffee. There seems very little doubt that a vital contribution to the problem of stock marketing can really come from a central government policy which stimulates cash crop production and higher agricultural and industrial incomes in the African community at large. There are other reasons for such a policy which will be apparent when we consider the cultivating communities, but its immense potential influence on the pastoral reserves is evident here.

48. Secondly, it seems that the assumption that private trading, because it was deficient before the war, needs to be entirely replaced, is not borne out by the facts. The position has entirely changed. Big potential markets are available now and private traders are seeking to supply them. There is now more opportunity for a sizable and steady off-take. The public auctions and the competition of traders are clearly preferred by African producers. Alternative methods of purchase and distribution by compulsory monopoly, like the Kenya Meat Commission or A.L.M.O., have not been successful in covering the full field. It is reasonable to doubt whether any such organization, which inevitably has high overheads, can seep into the remote crannies of the trade and offer anything like the resilience of the itinerant trader who very often functions on a barter basis.

49. Thirdly, this does not mean that there is no place for the veterinary department in connexion with stock marketing. There are three spheres in which it can be of paramount assistance. In the first place, there are sectors in which the marketing of African stock is still very far from a purely commercial business and where, until the pastoral tribes come to consider their stock increase as a cash crop, veterinary officers stand in a particularly close relationship both to the pastoral tribes and to the administration. We are advised that the personal confidence established by this relationship is still a major factor in effecting sales, and as long as some administrative pressure is necessary to direct the quality and quantity of stock to sales, it would seem preferable for the initial stage of this process to be conducted as a joint plan between the administrative and veterinary officers and the tribal authorities. It may well be that at this point an element of subsidy may have to go into some of the prices offered, on the lines adopted by the successful Meat Marketing Board in Kenya. For the avoidance of doubt it would seem better that the amount involved should be clearly ascertainable at this point, for the subsidy, as with agricultural subsidies in many other countries, would be a matter of national policy.

The second sphere in which the veterinary department may be of vital importance in marketing concerns the rejects. It appears that the African customer prefers high-grade meat and is prepared to pay for it. The private trader is out to satisfy him and has no interest in the lowest grade of stock, which, as we have seen, remains a problem in all three territories. It might be thought that the demand for higher quality meat would encourage the production of better stock, but we are advised that high prices offered for good stock are apt to cause African producers to refuse low prices for poor stock. These then clutter up the reserves, competing for the grazing, and make the production of good stock impossible. To get rid of this poor stock in large enough quantities and speedily enough is therefore a national priority problem. The success of A.L.M.O.'s first field abattoir in Kenya and the apparent extensive demand for its products, naturally awakens a hope that by much more use of local field abattoirs a large quantity of low-grade stock, particularly debilitated animals unable to travel far, could be taken off. There is a possibility of supplying more distant markets in view of the strong demand in Europe for bone and meat meal. The potential value of field abattoirs was indicated to us in an interesting memorandum from the Veterinary Department in Kenya examining the possibility of mobile field abattoirs for Masailand, in which a figure as high as 10 per cent, or 100,000 head, was authoritatively stated as the usual average of complete rejects in Masai stock under current usage. There are at present hygienic problems in the use of such abattoirs but the need to clear this low-grade stock, and gradually to build up production of better stock in pastoral areas, is so great that it is of the foremost importance to solve these and to facilitate a step by step extension of these field abattoirs and the marketing of their products. It may be thought that this is hardly a matter for the veterinary department, but it is probable that government funds will be needed for this purpose. Partly for this reason, and partly because such abattoirs are likely to be sited in remote districts and may well be beneficially associated with African district councils, we consider that, for the time being, they should continue to be set up and managed by the veterinary department both as regards production and marketing. Some strengthening of the department's staff may be needed but the products are small and the marketing should not present an unduly difficult task.

The third sphere in which the veterinary department could be of vital assistance to marketing is in overhauling the whole machinery of quarantines

and stock routes with the deliberate purpose of facilitating and speeding the safe throughput of all purchase stock to consumer markets. But the results of such a review will be of little value unless they are implemented by a firm and sustained central government policy.

50. Finally, we have to consider the position of the Kenya Meat Commission. Is such an organization redundant if private trading is to be encouraged? Surely not. An extraordinary feature of the Kenya Meat Commission is that up to the present the factory and the cannery which it is to operate have not yet been completed. We have seen what a large part the cannery of the Tanganyika Packers Ltd. plays in stabilizing prices in that territory and that in Uganda the establishment of a cannery is under consideration at Soroti. The cannery to be operated by the Kenya Meat Commission is expected, when in action, to absorb 40,000 head per annum, which would be an important contribution to reducing poor quality stock. The particular value of the Kenya Meat Commission would appear to lie in its factory and the opportunity of this organization to break into fields outside the East African market, which private African traders have no possibility of doing. Already it has been developing markets in the Congo and elsewhere. An outlet to European markets would, of course, make an immense difference to the stock marketing position in East Africa. The difficulty here is that almost all countries in Europe prohibit imports of meat from areas of endemic rinderpest. Although control of rinderpest has made great advances in East Africa it is still rampant in the surrounding countries of Ethiopia, Somaliland and the Sudan, and no clean bill of health, even from European areas, has yet proved acceptable to responsible authorities in Europe. A solution to this problem is not, however, beyond the scope of scientific success, and when it comes the facilities of the Kenya Meat Commission should enable that country to be the first to take advantage of it.

51. There remains the problem of the monopoly. The reason for setting it up was to ensure a sufficient throughput for the expensive capital equipment. It was not an invalid reason, for experience of a previous commercial factory in Kenya had shown that no reliance could be placed on full supplies coming forward from pastoral areas at commercial prices. The same difficulty is still arising as a prelude to getting the Soroti cannery going in Uganda. The analogy of Southern Rhodesia was followed but there was a significant difference. In Southern Rhodesia the Cold Storage Commission had a guaranteed quota from each African reserve, obtainable because of a regular system of de-stocking. In return, the Commission guaranteed to buy the quota, on weight and grade over scales, at prices based on a negotiated agreement with European producers. No such guaranteed quota system exists in Kenya, where there is no compulsion on the producer to sell or on the Commission to buy, and the price relationship insisted upon seems to have made it impossible to do business. Moreover, whatever the legal powers which the Commission possesses, the monopoly has not been applied to the Nyanza and Nandi Districts, and some scope of selling has had to be permitted to A.L.M.O. The law itself permits the sale of slaughter stock by an African to an African in the same district, and this opens the door to black-market sales at prices more attractive than the Commission's offer, tied as it is to an official retail urban price. Reviewing the matter now, it would seem worth considering whether such an unworkable monopoly is of any value, and whether the Kenya Meat Commission could not with safety simply compete in the auctions with private traders in the same way as Tanganyika Packers Ltd. does. If there is any economic value in modern facilities, cold storage, and factory-processed by-products, the Commission might be expected to stand on its own feet in competition, but if it is asked to do this it must not be hampered by retail price control.

52. It seems to us, then, that there may be a place in stock marketing at the moment for more than one method: for private traders with their particular qualification for expanding local markets; for the veterinary departments in the special sector of rejects; and for canneries and factories in expanding markets which the private trader cannot develop. One other feature of the Kenya story may make a contribution. It was during the time of the Meat Marketing Board that the most satisfactory off-take of African stock was achieved. It is the maximum stimulation of off-take of stock of all kinds combined with the building up of economic production in the future which each territory needs. From a land usage viewpoint it is desirable that the satisfactory co-operation of all methods of achieving this aim should be entrusted by the central governments to the continuous watch of a territorial Meat Marketing Committee whose duty would be, like that of the prototype in Kenya, to operate a policy designed in the national interest to encourage off-take of stock and to raise purchasing power in the pastoral areas. It may well be necessary in certain grades and on occasion to buy stock at an uneconomic price in order to maintain the momentum of sales, or to subsidize field abattoirs, for the problem of meat marketing cannot yet anywhere be regarded as a purely commercial business. But if such subsidies are anywhere desirable they should be identifiable and should only be applied for setting a district on the road to a proper economy.

53. We have dealt at some length in this section with the problem of securing an efficient system of meat marketing because it is not only among pastoral tribes that it vitally affects land usage. It is equally important to the cultivators, mixed up as they so often are with semi-pastoral conditions. Even in areas of high rainfall and good fertile land there are tribes which are only now beginning to change from a pastoral to a cultivating economy. In fact, except in the tsetse infested areas and in a few special crop zones, stock is one of the themes which runs through the whole range of land usage. The same attitudes to stock recur. The bride price and the stock bank present the same social handicaps to the emergence of efficient agriculture. Indeed, the damage from erosion and the urgent need to relate stock numbers to carrying capacity are even more critical in many cultivating areas than in the purely pastoral zones, for the very reason that more people and crops are there competing with stock for the available land. The proper use and disposal of stock is therefore almost a universal priority problem throughout the region.

STOCK BREEDING POLICY

54. It is an old farming saw that '90 per cent of the pedigree goes in at the mouth.' This is most applicable to the native areas of East Africa. Until the environment and management are improved it is useless to introduce better-bred animals. Consequently any efforts now being made toward breeding improved animals are in anticipation of improved animal husbandry in the African areas.

55. What are likely to be the future needs of the African when he has learnt to use cattle as economic animals? In the northern parts of Kenya, parts of Masailand, in the drier parts of Tanganyika and in parts of Karamoja, conditions must remain so harsh that only a beast capable of going several days without water and able to maintain life on the minimum of food, is able to exist. But there are vast areas of good ranching country where cattle thrive, though it may take up to 25 acres or more to feed a beast. Many of the more successful European ranchers have developed this type of country and have bred an improved Boran type of beef beast to suit it. Where rainfall is better and mixed farming is possible, there will be a demand for a dual purpose type of cow capable of giving more milk than the calf needs for normal growth. And finally, there are those limited native

areas, mostly in Kenya, where there is an abundant rainfall and good grazing throughout the year, and where dairying can be practised with a view to the sale of dairy products as an additional source of income to the farmer.

56. To breed pedigree stock with a view to improvement is a job requiring time and continuity of purpose. It becomes the life work of a certain type of farmer who is naturally attracted to the problems it presents. Even so, only a few who set out achieve success. Therefore the breeding of improved stock by government departments is fraught with every difficulty. If they find someone with the flair to breed stock he must go on leave and after a short while he will seek promotion or be transferred. Heads of departments change, and with them the aims of breeding establishments. In a year or two an unsuitable appointment can ruin the patient work of many years previous. Thus in East Africa we believe governments would be well advised to do the minimum in the way of pedigree breeding, as opposed to merely multiplying improved stock, and to look elsewhere for improved stock which may be suitable. There can be no case for a breeding establishment to improve the stock in the very dry areas. Unless such stock are subject to the same hard conditions which they meet in the field their progeny will fail to survive outside the breeding establishment. Any improvement possible in these areas can be achieved only by selection in the areas themselves.

For the beef ranching areas the improved Boran bulls bred in the European farming areas of Kenya have proved successful as far afield as Kongwa and there seems no need for governments to attempt to breed an alternative type.

In the marginal farming areas and in the hotter mixed-farming areas the Sahiwal has proved the most suitable of those which have been tried; whilst in the higher and cooler areas suitable grade stock would soon be available from the European farms if the market developed.

57. The fact that semen can be flown all over the world places the animal breeding resources of the rest of the world at the disposal of East Africa. Therefore we consider the time has come for a review of the animal breeding activities, as opposed to the demonstrational and experimental activities, of the livestock centres. The practical approach to cattle improvement in an area would be firstly, to improve animal husbandry; secondly, to improve the indigenous stock by selection, by culling in the field, by bull licensing and castration; and lastly, to introduce exotic sires such as the Sahiwal, or improved indigenous sires such as the Boran, to make best use of the available pasture and by-products of the farm.

58. Where small stock is concerned we can see little advantage in improving sheep and goats except in the more distant future, and where pigs and poultry are concerned the acclimatization of exotic stock has been achieved by the Kenya European farmer. Foundation stocks of poultry and pigs will be available when the African farmer has learnt how to feed and maintain them well enough.

B. Cultivating Communities

THE NEED FOR IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL METHODS

59. It is easier to see what is wrong with the present state of affairs than to be confident about the success of alternatives. Agricultural systems in use in temperate climes have not always produced the same benefits in the tropics. Scientific discoveries and changing patterns of economic demand constantly require farmers to make adjustments in their systems and any new system,

therefore, needs to be adaptable and flexible. Mistakes are often made also by dismissing too hastily the basis of some present practice which has evolved out of the accumulated experience of those who have lived in a place. This caution must not, however, excuse practices which are clearly harmful today, nor deter a search for better ones as new knowledge becomes available. There is a great deal yet to be discovered and a need for a large range of experiments in application. It is no doubt partly for these reasons that in Uganda and Tanganyika the agricultural approach has until now been a cautious one, emphasis being placed on improving production from existing systems by better cultivation, by optimum planting dates, by improved varieties or by the application of machinery, rather than by any radical alteration of the customary system itself. Nevertheless inaction from lack of fuller knowledge can be prolonged too far, and in Kenya, where the disastrous effect of present usage is far more general and critical, it has been considered essential to change the existing system and to adopt alternatives thought to be better in the light of present knowledge, imperfect as they may turn out to be in the evolution of time and discovery.

Our review of the region has given us a general impression of the widespread limitations and dangers of leaving present usage to evolve on its own and has left us in no doubt of the paramount importance, in all three territories, of determining and carrying out a policy to establish better alternatives. The scene confronting such a task is a confusing mixture of technical needs, human adjustments, and alternatives such as freehold or leasehold and individual or communal tenure, the appropriateness of which may vary in different circumstances. It is very easy to mistake a side track for a main road, and perhaps we should restate that the main aim we have in mind is sustained economic production with due regard, however, to that characteristic of the old customary system at its best, namely a responsibility for the livelihood of the whole community.

THE FAULTS OF THE PRESENT METHODS OF USAGE

60. It may help to clarify what is desirable by starting from the known major faults of present usage in the cultivation areas. These can be identified as: erosion; the lack of integration between the number of animals and the carrying capacity of land; the insufficiency of the resting period in the cultivation cycle; and fragmentation. These are the technical agricultural faults. The problem of land tenure affects all of them. There is an additional drawback which can hardly be called a fault but which is a significant factor in production from the land, and that is the limitation of the present system to the labour of the woman and the hoe. It is a surplus, not the mere restoration of a subsistence standard, that is needed. There is a growing demand for better standards of living for more people.

61. The actual disappearance of soil and the sight of land once fertile becoming barren is naturally the most vivid sign of deterioration, and measures to control soil erosion have been introduced and are being continually applied in many parts of East Africa. Erosion control is not merely a matter of maintaining the *status quo* and stopping deterioration. It plays a large part in the conservation of water, which is often the main limiting factor in crop production, and so is a positive agent in increasing yield. Extensive terracing can be seen and bears witness to some remarkable achievements on this priority necessity. What is less obvious is evidence of overall planning of land use on an ecological basis, particularly in the appropriate siting of protective forests with a view to rain and water conservation. There are general policies for the retention of a certain percentage of land and of certain blocks of country under forests, but a detailed plan to

plant up, particularly for this purpose, all over the country and to reassess what land could be released from present forests for more productive purposes, especially in overcrowded areas for African use, has yet to be made. Erosion control, essential and valuable as it is, is really only the first and easiest step just because it does not involve any radical alteration of the customary system itself.

THE CONSOLIDATED HOLDING AND THE LEY

62. Attack on the next three destructive items, however, that is on the lack of integration between animals and land, on the lack of sufficient resting period, and on fragmentation, is far more difficult because it is associated with radical alterations of the customary system. Attack on these features is really the crux of the matter because they are at the heart both of each individual's present economic life and of tribal and clan custom. Unless the individual can see a better alternative than the communal ranging of stock as a form of savings, and a better alternative than eating into his fallow and fragmenting his holding as a means of livelihood for his children, he cannot be expected to support change. It is only in Kenya that this attack is now being vigorously launched, and the alternative system generally advocated there is a small consolidated holding with a ley. This system, which has been evolved as a result of work on experimental stations, appears to have marked advantages and forms the central technical theme of the recent emergency agricultural plan for Kenya generally known as the Swynnerton Plan, to which we have already referred in chapter 21. In this plan the state of affairs in which a very large number of people is seeking a living from the land as independent individual families, has very naturally affected the direction of the technical solution. Research has not been aligned to see whether a large farm is more efficient than a small one but rather to see, in each ecological zone, what would be the minimum size and kind of unit for a typical individual family, from which they could make a reasonable living and which in its agricultural layout would be permanently fertile and stable. The minimum size of this mixed-farming unit is usually determined by two factors, the amount of land which the family can cultivate and weed with the help of such additional labour as can be obtained and afforded, and the amount of land required to feed the number of animals needed to keep the cultivated land adequately manured and rested. Naturally this second factor varies with the rainfall and general ecology of the district, so that the minimum individual unit may vary from 8 acres in fertile Kikuyu country to 25 acres in marginal Kamba country. Where the ecology is favourable, research is directed towards discovering the most efficient grasses for the grazing land so that a productive income in milk and meat products may be obtained from the land when it is lying fallow, and it is this differentiation from bush fallow that is usually termed a ley. A small area of cash crop, for instance coffee, pyrethrum, tea, sisal, tobacco or vegetables is included in the holding where conditions are appropriate, with the object of giving a cash surplus in addition to self-sufficiency in food.

63. Planned holdings on these lines facilitate the attack on the three major faults of the present system. With the family herds restricted to their own grazing ground there is an incentive to look after, and improve, both land and stock, which we have seen to be lacking under the communal grazing system. There is also, at last, a chance to begin thinking of income and savings without irresponsibility to land. A permanently stable resting period replaces the lack of fallow, and manuring, impossible in the fragmented plots of the old system, becomes easy. The wasted hours spent in walking

to scattered little parcels of land and the inefficiency in managing them are now replaced by ease of control in a consolidated unit around the homestead. A successful start has been made in parts of Kenya in establishing such holdings. This has been found easiest where an erstwhile pastoral tribe is just settling down to cultivation, as in the Kipsigis country where land is still sufficient for all to get a share. It has been much more difficult in crowded areas. There is no question, however, that where it has been achieved the resulting yield from the land is vastly improved. Consolidated holdings of this kind in the Nyeri District of the Kikuyu Land Unit, where individual tenure is far advanced, already have a sale value of two and a half times the current exchange value of customary land.

64. There are, however, a great number of difficulties which affect the establishment of small mixed-farmed holdings, and it is important to bring them out. One of the uncertain factors is in the ley. There is the difficulty of making it profitable in itself as well as a contributor to the maintenance of fertility. The most suitable grasses for different localities are not yet known. Some may be suitable for grazing but difficult to weed when the ley has, in its turn, to go down to cultivation. Some leys are impossible to undersow and involve laborious hand planting. The optimum stock management is uncertain, and it is too early to know whether leaving the stock on the leys will bring more fertility than feeding the stock in a stall and carting the manure to the cultivated crops. Apart from these technical uncertainties other conditions make these small planned units a matter of doubt. Under the current system cereal monoculture and communal grazing require the minimum of labour and intelligence. A higher sense of management and more hours of work are likely to be needed to get the best use out of such a unit, and not all cultivators may be capable of, or willing to meet, such demands upon them. Greater demands must be made on stock as well as on human beings. Better yielding qualities in milk and meat are needed to obtain a full cash dividend from the ley. These will require better disease control by spraying or dipping and separation of stock from neighbours' herds. This in turn may mean independent water supplies, by well or roof tank, and will certainly mean fencing. If this is done by thorn hedges for cheapness these may require hours of work if they are to be kept in control, and they tend to leave a border effect on adjacent edges and to take up too much good land. For these reasons wooden or wire fences may be preferable. Unusual capital outlay is thus likely to be a pre-requisite. We have already discussed the difficulties of extending rural credit with safety and, in addition to credit, new roads, stores, and organization to facilitate speedy marketing are bound to be needed. We apprehend then, as a first conclusion, that the introduction of a policy of planned small-holdings is bound to be a slow business.

Apart from these difficulties there is a risk that a system of small-holdings may not after all be an economic success. Unless they are attractive enough as a way of life and in economic reward, menfolk may drift off to the towns leaving their women unable to manage the unit, thus perpetuating the disruption of social life instead of relieving this disruption by full economic production from the land. It will be clear from the whole tenor of our Report that we believe that the community needs gradually to move from a subsistence to an exchange economy. The system of planned small-holdings is one first stage, but only a stage, in this process. In it self-sufficiency in food is still a central theme with a cash crop added. What it does is to bring order to this combination in place of chaos, and it does this as naturally as possible, evolving out of the present dependence of all on land and taking account of the need to provide for as many

as possible in independent holdings. It has, therefore, a very great deal to recommend it. It may be that in places a rational rotation of cash crop and food crop in consolidated units of a size that an individual with his present background can easily manage, will turn out to be the most economical method of production. But it may not do so. Our second conclusion is, therefore, that the application of this policy must be left flexible enough to allow change as experience dictates and as people desire ; but not to allow a continuation of the present state of affairs.

65. No doubt in time holdings will change hands. Those who specialize in farming will increase their stake, while others will find alternative means of livelihood as these alternatives develop. It is not, however, axiomatic that this change will take place in a smooth manner ensuring social contentment. Indeed the introduction into crowded areas of consolidated holdings, of even the minimum size envisaged, raises the whole problem of displacement, which is the third aspect to which attention must be paid. It is not a problem peculiar to East Africa. Many countries have faced, and continue to face it. It is well known in our own history from the story of the enclosures, and it continues today in our search to keep a balance between the encouragement of productive individual initiative and responsibility for a reasonable standard of living for all.

THE PROBLEM OF DISPLACEMENT

66. In evidence put before us one of the most general topics of comment is the overcrowding on the land. In chapter 3, which deals with population problems, we draw a distinction between overcrowding and overpopulation. What may be overcrowding today might become underpopulation if it were possible to find the resources, and if the community could be given freedom to apply them to the economic development of the region. Nevertheless in the setting of the present economy there is a great weight of evidence as to overcrowding and its untoward effects on the land in a number of different places. In many districts in Kenya this is the most prominent problem. In Tanganyika also, not only are many of the mountain districts in this state, but to apply a minimum-sized rational holding even in Sukumaland would necessitate considerable displacement. Uganda could carry five times its present population, yet in Bugishu, Teso, Kigezi and round Kampala the same difficulty of displacement would equally confront such a policy. The creation and retention of an adequate fallow and an end to fragmentation are integral necessities of a rational holding. It is the establishment of these needs that involves human adjustments. It is true that in the first consolidated unit these conditions are secured, but it would be wrong to imagine that consolidation can go ahead and be secured for ever unless alternative ways and places of living are found for those members of the family, and those families, who cannot get such units. These therefore are bound to set up a resistance to the process, for it tends to leave them with no means of support. It is a repetition of the same problem as that in the pastoral areas: the necessity for some additional land to give elbow room in order to get rehabilitation going. Once again the position is one of stalemate between the old customary tenure seeking to find a living for all in an increasingly hopeless inheritance, and a new system which can give individual scope to revitalize that inheritance ; a stalemate which can only be resolved without social disaster if the government concerned accepts some planning responsibility for the casualties.

67. The degree of displacement is a matter of some controversy for an understanding of the real state of affairs requires a survey. The absence of such a survey, and the absence of particular plans to deal adequately

with overcrowded areas, appear to lie at the root of the land trouble in Kenya, and may well, within the next generation, lead to similar trouble in parts of Tanganyika and Uganda. In one of the few overcrowded districts in which much consolidation is taking place, that of Nyeri in Kenya, rehabilitation is actually being slowed down precisely because rules against fragmentation cannot be made acceptable to a community which has not yet got alternative living room for its children, or because those who were thrown out from locations which have been consolidated have made the process unpopular to the community, although its productive advantages are well known. It is possible that a great degree of unevenness in economic usage would be revealed by such a survey even in the generally overcrowded areas in Kenya. Much of the fertile land in Kikuyu, for instance, is planted up with wattle. This is not necessarily confined to those altitudes best suited to wattle, and it may be that, while many are landless or have very small holdings, others are better off but are using land for purposes less economic than they could be. Moreover, under the present usage much land is wasted as scrub or is inadequately used owing to fragmentation. Again, as has been noted in chapter 21, much land is held unused and yet is not made available to other clans and tribes. These conditions have led to some doubt whether there really is any overcrowding. From this it has been but a short step to argue that when an area has been reorganized agriculturally into consolidated units the extra production will absorb any surplus in other employment and that in the end the area will carry a higher population than now. This argument tends to sidetrack the whole difficulty of starting rehabilitation and to ignore the present displacement problem. The most powerful influence inclining the community to shut its eyes to this problem is, however, the conception that those who have surplus fertile land have a right to hold on to it and to make no contribution towards a solution. The fact that this conception underlies past and present official undertakings, and the difficulty of persuading people to break away to a more individual conception of security, leads to another sidetrack: the hope that the surplus can somehow be absorbed by new development in empty spaces or in irrigation schemes. It is for this reason that resettlement schemes in Kenya have so far settled so few people. It is also argued that not everyone can expect to live off the land and that the surplus must be absorbed in industry and in employment on farms and plantations, in spite of the fact that these avenues of employment do not at present give a satisfactory livelihood. It is clear from previous chapters that we do not consider that either industry or irrigation will be able, in any short period of time, to absorb many people on an economic basis, and that the real need in East Africa is the economic development of the fertile land. We have shown that the payment of wages which will support a family in urban life, even without any old age and unemployment security plans, cannot economically be introduced without that increased momentum of productivity which can alone come from more economic use of the fertile land. Both as a solution to displacement, and thereby to the rehabilitation of currently overcrowded areas, and in general as a means of raising the standard of living, it is to that quarter, rather than to settlement of remoter areas or to costly capital works, that attention must be paid. The more this issue is postponed the greater is the risk of a large landless proletariat with little to live on. But, just as access to unused fertile land must be made easier, so also the usage of such land must be started on an economic and stable agricultural basis. The community cannot afford any further extension of the problem by permitting unused fertile land to be used today in the old ways.

THE USE OF FERTILIZERS

68. The problem of displacement might be less urgent if the need for a fallow could be wholly or partially circumvented, and in this direction the use of fertilizer merits attention. There is no fallow in the market garden areas of England and there may be no need to assume that all East Africa must have an agricultural system which combines animals and cultivation. Fertilizer trials have been made in many of the research stations. In some instances significant increases in yield have been obtained. In others the failure of crops to respond is thought to be due to chemical effects in the soil which impede availability of nutrients to the plants and of which research has not yet discovered the cause. The alternative of using the manure of animals, which already form a problem in usage, has naturally encouraged prior attention to a pattern of productivity into which animals are incorporated. But while the discovery and teaching of the technique of mixed-farming in the tropics may provide a vital new pattern of living in many places, the human difficulties of introducing this pattern into overcrowded areas makes the alternative of using artificials a much more important subject of investigation than it has hitherto appeared. At present fertilizers are hardly used in African agriculture. This is understandable because they have to be imported from abroad and their high cost gives an uneconomic return. A review of the profit and loss account of fertilizers from the point of view of national interests is, however, timely. The introduction of placement planting of phosphates in particular has opened up new prospects, and renders previous experiments out-of-date. It must take time, of course, to find out whether artificials used in this manner may prove economic over a much wider range of country than was previously thought possible. But the whole approach to the use of artificials merits review. In the past they have been regarded as rather a dangerous tool in the hands of the agriculturists, capable on occasions of doing good but equally capable of destroying fertility by misuse. For instance, in Britain in the past the good farmer grew comparatively little corn, which destroyed fertility, but many acres of root crops which replaced it. Now, with the use of artificials, the good farmer is unafraid to grow heavy cash crops secure in the knowledge that his rotation, combined with the judicious use of artificials, will more than maintain fertility. It is this new approach which must come in Africa.

69. The astonishing increase recently in the use of fertilizers in other parts of the world forms an interesting contrast to the paucity of their use in East Africa. Thanks to a generous policy of rebates making fertilizer cheap, consumption in the United States of America between 1936 and 1950 was multiplied seven times in the case of lime fertilizers and more than twenty-five times in that of phosphate fertilizers; while in the United Kingdom between 1939 and 1951 consumption of fertilizers of all kinds has more than trebled. A better comparison with East Africa, however, is provided by the pace at which fertilizers have been increasingly used by the small farmers of South Korea, where an average-sized holding is less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. For the whole of Korea before partition the amount of fertilizers used in 1926 totalled 36,000 tons. By 1930 consumption had risen to 175,000 tons and by 1938 to 800,000 tons. A Food and Agriculture Organization Mission has suggested that by 1958 the requirement for South Korea alone will be no less than 985,000 tons. These figures refer to a country with a different climate, cropping system and soils but as illustrations of consumption by peasant farmers they appear astronomical compared with the use of fertilizers in East Africa. Similar greatly expanded consumption and production of fertilizers is among the major aims of

agricultural policy in Japan, India and West Africa. The figures for Nigeria are significant. In 1943 the imports of chemical fertilizers totalled only 267 tons and in 1945 only 505 tons. In 1953, however, the total had risen to 7,791 tons. This very great increase over a period of only ten years demonstrates the rapidity with which African farmers can, under certain circumstances, familiarize themselves with the use of fertilizers. Their use by small peasant farmers on such a scale naturally calls for organization and in Korea the pattern is one of bulk importation by government of the greater proportion of supplies, mixing and distribution by a single agency, a quasi-national co-operative organization, down to the village level, and thereafter to the individual farmer by the local authority. These comparisons with other lands suggest the possibility of much greater use of fertilizers in East Africa and direct special attention to those regions where a concentration of fertile soil, adequate rain, communications and people give it the best prospect of economic use. They also raise the question whether fertilizers can be produced more cheaply within the region than by importation. The present use of fertilizers is too small to justify economic local manufacture unless special conditions apply. In the case of phosphate fertilizers such special conditions might be supplied by successful economic production of phosphate rock concentrate from deposits now being investigated for exploitation in the Tororo region of Uganda. A project is under investigation for the manufacture for export from these phosphate concentrates, of elemental phosphorus by the use of an electric furnace. Electric power is available from the Owen Falls dam but the production of phosphorus also requires solid fuel which is not economically available in East Africa. If phosphorus manufacture is established in Uganda there may be by-products from that industry which could be used in making fertilizers. If this project is not pursued it is doubtful whether the scale of operations needed merely to supply concentrates to a superphosphate manufacturing plant in East Africa would be sufficient to make such exploitation economic. Another proposal is also under study for the manufacture of triple superphosphate in East Africa based on the local phosphate concentrates and the importation of sulphur. There is no economic source of pyrites for the manufacture of sulphuric acid available at present in East Africa, and it would be necessary to ensure that such an industry could stand up to world competition before any steps were taken to establish it. The present demand in East Africa is in the region of 35,000 tons of superphosphate per annum which is quite inadequate to justify a factory, and may be compared with an output of 600,000 tons per annum at factories in South Africa. Indeed, one factory alone in the Union has a capacity to produce 250,000 tons of superphosphate per annum. As regards nitrogen fertilizers, the present consumption in East Africa is around 5,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia per annum. This must be compared with around 100,000 tons per annum for a minimum economic unit. Moreover the main raw materials of ammonia plants in the world, coke, natural gas and oil, are only available in East Africa by importation. Electric power is not in itself a factor to justify nitrogen production unless other facilities are available. Thus an increase in usage and the active encouragement of mineral surveys are likely to give the best prospect of a cheaper local product.

CROP SPECIALIZATION AND INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

70. We refer in paragraphs 62 to 65 of this chapter to the small planned holding as a first stage in the process of change from the present subsistence economy to an exchange economy. Instead of the chaos of the present scene with its haphazard impact of cash crops upon a broken base

of shifting cultivation, it introduces an ordered, manageable unit intended to give both self-sufficiency in food and a cash income. As such it makes an enormous advance in potential production. It is not necessarily, however, the end of the road. There are areas in East Africa which are clearly particularly suited to certain crops, and for the full development of the economy a diversity in specialization is ultimately desirable. The contribution of cash export crops in enabling East Africa to reach even its present standard of living has already been emphasized elsewhere in this Report, and clearly one of the most important fields of investigation is the extent to which greater advantage can be taken of using land for these purposes. Not only are the greater cash value and greater employment potential resulting from specialization likely to contribute more to the general economy, but also they may well diminish the need for the displacement of people from the land. A variety of imponderable factors tends to confuse this subject. There is the fear of plant disease and of bad quality products. There is a risk of overestimating a market and of too great a dependence on one product, and there is the fear of a shortage of food. There is also the need to discover and apply the best basis of agricultural fertility, the best combination in a rotation, and the best size of farm unit to get the best results from a particular specialized crop, in place of the haphazard cash crop production which has already come about in response to cash incentives.

71. Cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum, pineapples, vegetables, wattle, wheat and maize are all grown as peasant crops but seldom in a stable economic manner. Tea, sisal and sugar have, until recently, been regarded as European and Asian plantation crops, and understandably so because they are technically associated with expensive capital equipment and their economic production requires a strict time-table. There are, however, a number of areas which are particularly suited ecologically to these crops and there is, moreover, a need to get away from the association of particular crops with racial differences. We have, in chapter 8, drawn attention to feelings of jealousy and resistance among some of the indigenous peoples to foreign capital investment, and to the need to find a bridge between foreign capital and knowledge and indigenous needs, which will give to each side security, equity and self-respect. In some sectors of agricultural production it may be possible for Africans themselves to find capital for processing plants, stores and so on, and to engage staff to manage them, and indeed co-operative societies in certain directions are already doing this. In other sectors foreign capital will still be essential but the initiative taken to associate its activities with the indigenous peoples, and not merely on the basis of a master and servant relationship, will be a matter vital to the security and future of both. A number of interesting steps have already been taken in this direction, where a European firm has not merely given employment and contributed to the production and taxation of the country but has helped to start indigenous peasants specializing in the same sector of the economy. We ourselves visited the site of a proposed co-operative tea factory in the Nyeri District of Kenya which has been temporarily abandoned owing to interference by Mau Mau but which was planned in association with European tea interests. There is alternative scope in the Nandi and Kericho Districts of Kenya, in western Uganda and in southern Tanganyika where European interests have already established tea estates and where adjacent land in African occupation, equally suitable for tea production might, with encouragement, be allied to the existing industry, at first by the sale of green leaf to the European factories and eventually by the establishment of a co-operatively owned factory. Such a scheme would need the same degree of supervision and control as a tea estate, for tea has

to be intelligently plucked, immediately despatched to the factory, and regularly pruned. These are the inherent conditions of success, and many are sceptical whether indigenous peasants are prepared to undergo the discipline for the dividend involved. Only experiment can tell, but it is an experiment in which the community has a vital interest, for the principle can be applied to other areas and other crops. European pyrethrum planters and the Colonial Development Corporation Wattle Estates in southern Tanganyika, and the East African Tobacco Company in north-western Uganda are, in the same way, acting as starters to indigenous specialists, and similar opportunities lie before Asian sugar estates in western Kenya and in Uganda. European sisal growers have been among the most sceptical of such a possibility and have feared damage to the reputation of East African sisal by indigenous sisal of poor quality, a fault which might be cured by better grading and marketing. A surprising indication of what can be achieved from peasant-produced sisal has been afforded, however, by the African District Council at Machakos in Kenya, which, under the inspiration of a determined district commissioner, is producing an excellent quality of sisal marketed under its own trade symbol. There seems no reason why this success cannot be repeated in other indigenous areas where specialization in sisal may afford an income when no other cash crop is suitable.

72. Increasing specialization in cash export crops and increased employment off the land, as well as an increase in population, are nevertheless likely to result in an even greater demand for food crops than there is to-day. This will enable increased specialization in their production for the market. But the development of such specialization is hampered by those factors, such as inadequate transport facilities and attempts at territorial self-sufficiency even within East Africa itself, to which we have previously referred. There is no reason to suppose that by and large East Africa as a whole will not eventually be able to produce all its food requirements. In years of exceptionally bad climatic conditions food shortages will continue to occur as they have done in spite of the present policy of district self-sufficiency; but as the transport facilities are improved and the distribution system is permitted to develop fully, local food shortages will be more easily combated. In the meantime in many districts subsistence food production will have to continue, and East Africa may also have to continue to import food from abroad in periods of exceptional shortage, but this the region can well afford during the transition to higher standards of efficiency in food production.

73. The enormous area of marginal land lying in the 20 to 30 inch rain-belt, unsuitable for maize but suitable, if rains fall evenly, for sorghum, has attracted enquiry into the possibility of producing the latter crop in this zone by fully mechanized methods. We discuss in following paragraphs the economics of mechanization, but we record here our opinion that such a suggestion should be approached with the greatest caution. Experiments in just such a scheme have been conducted continuously during the last ten years in the Sudan in country exceptionally favourable topographically to such treatment, involving the minimum of development expense or erosion control, with a soil of high natural fertility, self-replenishing in nitrogen, retentive of moisture and not subject to leaching. Yet with all these advantages a recent report indicates a very marginal balance in favour of continuing the experiments and then only within twenty miles of the railway because of the prohibitive cost of transport for a low-priced, bulky article. The Mokwa Scheme in Nigeria, started in remote marginal country, has been an economic failure largely because the sorghum produced had to be sold in local markets

at low prices for lack of economic access to wider markets. We are doubtful, therefore, if any confidence should be placed in solving the food problem by large scale mechanization in country of marginal rainfall suited only to sorghum. Apart from the actual difficulties of production there are also problems to be faced in persuading the African to change his diet and to eat sorghum. Some of these are now being overcome by the evolution of more palatable varieties and by improved milling processes.

74. The fully developed European farms in the Kenya Highlands have made very real contributions to the food needs in that country, and this fact has undoubtedly influenced the pressure to alienate land to Europeans which has been a feature of Tanganyika land policy since the war. This solution, however, has given rise to an increase in racial tension, the problem of which we discuss in a separate chapter, and it is from the African sector that it is important to seek for extra food production and not from the European sector alone. It may be that in this connexion the potential of both hill and swamp rice would merit greater research. The continuous cultivation of rice on the same land is a marked feature of the most over-populated areas of the world, and its economical use of land has a *prima facie* virtue in East Africa. To a great extent, however, this solution is likely to be dependent on irrigation or seasonal flooding and also upon public taste, and will be a slow and uncertain process.

75. Maize is, however, the food crop most in use in East Africa and it is to the increased production of maize that the problem particularly applies. The plant breeding station at Njoro in Kenya is engaged in breeding more productive varieties of maize but it is likely that the variety which suits the particular altitude and climate at Njoro will not suit those levels on which most of the maize is grown by Africans. There is a world shortage of trained plant breeders, and to produce fresh varieties of plants is a long-term project. But with the example of what can be achieved by hybrid maize in the United States and elsewhere, the breeding of better varieties for use in native areas must be considered an urgent necessity. Agricultural departments favour self-fertilizing varieties for use by Africans because of the difficulty with hybrid seed which must be carefully grown and cross-fertilized on seed-growing farms. Furthermore the peasant would have to buy fresh seed each year instead of leaving the choice of seed to his wife, as at present. On the other hand, as some considerable time must elapse before a good hybrid maize can be produced, and as European farms would be available in the first instance to multiply the seed, a process which they do for their African neighbours in Southern Rhodesia, the conditions for the introduction of a hybrid maize must be propitious by the time it has been bred.

76. These conditions presuppose the introduction of a better system of agriculture. In the past, maize growing has been officially regarded as a destructive process, and indeed this is the case where proper agricultural practice and rotation are not in use. There seems no reason to suppose, however, that a much larger production of African maize would not result directly or indirectly from the improvements in the basis of African farming which we have been discussing : directly, where maize may be used itself as a primary cash crop as the basis of a sound rotation ; indirectly, where it may be an ancillary product of a rotation wherein another cash crop is the dominant feature. The outcome would seem to depend, once again, on the establishment of proper systems of farming in the fertile lands of the region. The extraordinary extent to which African maize production can be extended was demonstrated by the huge crop produced in Uganda in 1953 in response to higher prices, and it is in that country, with its extensive undeveloped

areas, that the greatest opportunity lies for specializing in maize production as a contribution to the economies of all three territories, and as a complement to those zones which specialize in the products most suited to their particular ecology. A complementary economy of this kind would be the antithesis of the present system of controls and territorial self-sufficiency. It could only gradually take shape. It demands much greater facilities for drying and storing maize and far better communications than now exist. It demands cash in the hands of those who specialize in other crops and a confidence in their minds that they will be able to buy their food needs. But while due regard must be paid to the slowness with which such conditions can be introduced, it does indicate that the right long-term policy in East Africa must be towards the freeing of food controls, the abandonment of territorial self-sufficiency, and the determined encouragement of a greater mobility of all persons and produce. It also underlines once again that priority of basic investment in communications, water supplies, schools, and in all that leads to civilization should be devoted to those fertile regions which can most economically assist the emergence of a complementary economy.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF LAND TENURE AND LAND USAGE: INDIVIDUALIZATION

77. We turn now to the relationship of land tenure and land usage. We have said that it permeates all the faults of the present system. In order to establish a system of consolidated small-holdings the community has to be persuaded to forgo the tradition of running stock communally over all the land, and also the tradition of fragmentation. In order to deal with displacement it has to forgo the tradition of keeping others out of unused land on the plea that the clan concerned has its own responsibility for its future children. In order to promote specialization it has to forgo the tradition of forbidding outsiders to use land to plant permanent crops and build permanent houses. To do all these things it has to be persuaded that the continuation of traditions designed to preserve a clan or tribal security are now leading to a dangerous dead-end and that the road to a higher standard of living for all lies in giving security to the individual stable unit. The greatest allies for persuading the community to make these changes must be those individuals who are convinced that their own personal future is at stake therein. Thus the pressure towards individual tenure which, as we have noted, is increasingly to be observed as the customary system breaks down, and specially where permanent crops such as coffee are introduced, makes it natural to associate a new system with individual tenure. Customary communal tenure is not only African: it is world wide. The trend towards individualization has likewise been world wide and it has the virtue of developing a political as well as an economic sense of responsibility. Individual tenure has great advantages in giving to the individual a sense of security in possession, and in enabling, by purchase and sale of land, an adjustment to be made by the community from the present unsatisfactory fragmented usage to units of an economic agricultural size. The ability of individuals to buy and sell land by a process of territorial law, instead of a process of custom, opens the door to that mobility and private initiative on which a great sector of economic progress tends to depend. The urban wage-earner can sell his homeland plot, which is so often the uneconomic one, confident in the knowledge that he can buy another when occasion demands. The specialist farmer is relieved of the liability of providing a place for the subsistence of his clan relations. Moreover individual tenure should lead to the release and encouragement of new genius and to new experiment in finding the most productive use of land. It is extremely important, however, not to mistake the means for the end. While individual tenure can be the medium for these advantages,

there is no certainty that it will be so. Without taking account of a great weight of experience elsewhere in the world, where the risk of debt, of serfdom to money-lenders and of tension between money-lenders and peasant classes has led many countries to safeguard the position by legislation controlling mortgage and alienation, evidence from East Africa itself is not always reassuring when those areas where individual tenure has proceeded farthest are examined. While undoubtedly some farmers in Buganda and Kikuyu have shown considerable interest in good land usage, others show that the acquisition of land for prestige, or purely for speculation, or for crop mining is at least an equal probability arising out of grants of individual tenure. Moreover, the human problems of displacement which may recur on the individual purchase of land may become no-one's responsibility. Non-African usage of land gives evidence of the same characteristics. The main aim of sustained economic production in a context of social contentment is thus not necessarily achieved.

78. In embarking on this theme we are entering a field for which conflicting ideologies have their own competing solutions. There are some who believe that the traditional conceptions of communal usage could form the best basis of future farming-units. There are others who believe that Africans will wish to get away from communal systems which we do not use ourselves. This is another point at which our main aim may be forgotten. From a land usage angle there is nothing necessarily associated as more beneficial either with a communal or an individual approach. Neither individual tenure nor co-operatives, nor collective farming necessarily make crops grow better. Agriculturally they are not ends in themselves. They are only the social means appropriate to a particular environment, a means which may disappoint and fail if the practical objective, the agricultural basis, has not previously been laid. If a community can collectively reorganize its pasture land and its cultivable land so that fragmentation is avoided and a proper rotation maintained, and can control the number of stock to the carrying capacity, it has moved some way towards instituting an agriculturally satisfactory system, but it is these technical necessities, the control as a consolidated unit, which make it efficient, not the communal outlook. There is, however, the great human difficulty that nobody may care for the common property, and a communal system which permits the individual to run an unlimited number of stock on the common ground, and treats individual cultivation areas as common grazing ground when the crops have been removed, runs counter to these technical requirements and is agriculturally unproductive. This, as we have seen, is the type of communal system prevalent in East Africa. The same conditions determine, from the land usage point of view, the virtue of individual tenure. It all depends on what the individual is permitted to do and what to ignore. The terms 'freehold' and 'leasehold' fall into the same context. Freehold does not imply, as is sometimes supposed, the absence of any obligation to use the land in accordance with land usage regulations, although this misconception has sometimes been given as the reason that on certain freehold European estates in Tanganyika no regulations have been applied. In many countries today usage regulations are applied to any form of tenure, and without this safeguard a community cannot afford to confer freehold to replace the customary system. It is not enough, therefore, to remove those customary restrictions which prevent good usage so that individuals can have freeplay. It is essential also to have some form of control and planning of land use. This becomes even more apparent when we turn from the theme of merely rescuing the family unit, with its woman and hoe basis, from current disaster, to the problem of whether that unit can achieve a much bigger surplus in production with the aid of machinery.

MECHANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

79. Mechanization cannot generally be employed economically on very small farms because the biggest advantage of a machine is that it can bring a larger area under cultivation. Although some advantage may be derived from deeper cultivation or from the ability to plant at the optimum date, operation in small fenced paddocks is not likely to be economic. Small tractors are sometimes advocated for such conditions, but the substitution of a machine for human labour, if it does not create some extra return to pay for its cost, is unprofitable. The invention of a light cheap manure cart which can be pulled by local animals is a more practical example of technical help here. If the extent of grazing area permits, the expansion of ox-ploughing may be valuable and of much more economic aid than tractors. The advantages of machinery are more likely to be of economic application in the uncrowded and undeveloped areas.

Machinery has been on trial in a number of districts in East Africa. It is not necessary to examine all that has been done. The war undoubtedly gave impetus to mechanization, and African farmers with spare land, from maize producers in North Nyanza to rice producers in the Rufiji, have been quick to see the income advantage which an extra area cultivated by machine can bring them. Usually the machine has been used without any thought of the necessary rotational balance, and, although private contractors have played a part in places, the initiative and supervision have usually fallen to the agricultural departments who have not normally been able to cover their costs. Mechanization stands now very much at the crossroads and the tremendous importance of it, as a possible means of attaining a significant surplus per unit family, makes it essential to try and assess what the chances are. Two examples can throw some light on this: the Government's experience in Uganda, and that of the Overseas Food Corporation in Tanganyika.

80. We have already mentioned that in Uganda the Agricultural Department has until now hesitated to interfere with the existing forms of tenure and usage but has, since the war, experimented with the use of tractors in a variety of areas deliberately to find if production could be raised by superimposing this modern conception on the customary system. Various points of importance have emerged from these experiments. The general reaction of the farming community has been to welcome machinery, particularly for the saving in heavy work achieved by the machine in breaking up land. The department has had to resist requests for it from all over the country. The reason for resisting is uncertainty as to the economic results. In a country where knowledge of the maintenance and repair of machinery is still negligible among the people, the initiative in the matter of supervision and maintenance must still lie with the government department. The practice of the department has been to estimate the cost and to obtain prepayment. Unfortunately the estimate has always fallen below reality, sometimes by as much as 50 per cent. One major reason for this has been the unexpectedly high wastage of spares and the high cost of maintenance. Tyres and frames have been ripped because of inadequate stumping by the farmers and maintenance has been exceptionally costly. These difficulties have been at their worst in crowded country of small individual holdings interspersed with permanent crops, as typified by the heavily populated districts of Buganda. We visited a unit operating in such conditions and could see for ourselves how hopelessly uneconomic in operation and supervision must be the use of machinery to plough an acre here and an acre there in a number of different scattered 'shambas'. We asked the local farmers whether they could not plant their arable crops in a consecutive sequence so that the tractors could command the maximum consolidated area with the

minimum of travelling and we were shown in reply the haphazard tangle of maize, coffee, bananas and houses which were barriers to any rational arrangement. An unusually enterprising landowner was endeavouring to rearrange the tenants on his estate so that their houses, coffee, and bananas would occupy the top of a ridge, while the vegetables would be in the valley, and the arable crops would be adjacent to each other in between. This attempt was made especially in order to obtain the maximum economic advantage from machinery by a farmer who realized that the jumble of individual holdings common on most estates hinders optimum land usage. A chief in Masaka District, fully grasping the benefit of machinery, impressed upon us the immediate urgency of planning the layout of undeveloped land, where every day immigrants are paying *douceurs* to the local headmen and settling down in 'shambas' anyhow, and are thus unconsciously blocking the way to optimum production in the future.

81. By contrast, experiments with machinery among communities living in the wider open spaces have been hopeful. In Lango, Acholi, Bunyoro, and even in Singo County in Buganda, there still exist community customs of planting arable crops in one consolidated area, and in places, of working them collectively although they are owned individually. It has been much easier to persuade such communities to adjust their layout to suit mechanization, and it has been possible to build on this collective foundation a co-operative system for financing the machinery and marketing the produce. Parallel with group-farms of this kind mechanical assistance has been arranged on contract for certain individual African farmers who have the space to operate large farms of their own. The communities and individuals concerned in these experiments have been small ones and the charges for machinery have not yet been put upon an economic basis. The Uganda Agricultural Department hopes that from these small beginnings bigger areas will soon develop and that this will be a major factor in reducing costs.

Having reached this stage in its experiments the department has come to the conclusion that it is not the proper medium for continuing the investigation since it does not have the requisite continuity of staff, the workshop equipment or the facilities to give specialized attention to each individual project which the process demands. The department is, therefore, now proposing to hand over the problem to commercial initiative in the shape of a managing company in partnership with government capital supplied by the Uganda Development Corporation.

82. It may be wise to stress some of the more important points from these Uganda mechanization trials. They suggest that there is little chance of any economic application of mechanization to build up that surplus per family-unit on which the future society is very much going to depend, once an area gets overcrowded and degenerates into the now familiar pattern of a haphazard breakdown of customary land usage. If machinery is going to help in that aim it is likely to be confined, until much larger holdings may be developed in the overcrowded areas, to the still wide open spaces; and this makes the planning of undeveloped fertile areas all the more urgent. The need is more apparent since it is clear that success turns on such matters as the length of the period of the working season, the consolidated size of the operating area, and the elimination of wasted time, upon all of which the ability to concentrate supervision and reduce overheads depends. The importance of supervision clearly extends beyond merely the tractor drivers, for, while the machine can add to production by breaking additional land and enabling more timely planting, the extent of the surplus can be critically affected by the farmer's ability to handle weeding and harvesting which may be a matter of getting

credit and labour. The costs and potential profits are finely balanced, and if mechanization is to come out on the profit side it is important that the cash return per acre should be as high as possible, which means that either a high yield or high-priced crop, or both, are likely to be essential. The conclusion is that economic mechanization depends on the choice of the right place and on the concentrated supervision of a correct rotation, of selected seed supplies, of disease control, of cultural practice and of loans. One other point emerging is that an agricultural department at a certain stage ceases to be capable of conducting such an operation, the rôle of which has changed from one of experimentation to that of a commercial undertaking, and seeks to hand over to a specialized organization.

83. The specialized organization would, of course, be faced with the same intrinsic problems, and the experience of two schemes already operating under special organizations in Uganda gives further insight into the economics of this matter, and particularly into the danger of excessive capital and maintenance costs. The Busoga Farms project was started in 1949 in rain forest country previously uninhabitable owing to sleeping sickness. Clearing costs were high and £50 per acre capital expenditure has been required to cover clearing, housing, machinery and general development. The soils were fertile and gave high yields of cotton, maize, groundnuts and sorghum. An attempt was made to mechanize production of these crops as much as possible, but results so far suggest that the returns are insufficient to justify the high capital investment. Consideration is now being given to changing the system and introducing tenants, in order to lower the degree of mechanization and so reduce supervisory and capital costs. The second scheme, that of the Bunyoro Agricultural Company, was started in 1950 in uninhabited tsetse-infested country. Thirty square miles were assigned for the purpose and a beginning was made with a pilot area of 2,400 acres upon the success of which future extension will depend. The Company is sponsored by the Uganda Government which holds 40 per cent of the preliminary capital of £100,000. Two commercial firms hold 40 per cent, and 20 per cent is held by the Bunyoro African Local Government in the form of undeveloped land. While at first the land is being developed on an estate basis, the ultimate aim is to establish a tenancy system with the Company providing mechanical cultivation and crop processing services. In addition to maize, groundnuts and millet, tobacco is being grown and cured and the success of the scheme is expected to depend on the ability of this relatively higher-priced crop to produce a profit sufficient to cover costs. Clearing costs have been considerably lower than in Busoga, but owing to the high cost of buildings the total capital cost per acre is not much lower.

84. It is interesting to find that much the same results—the excessively heavy burden of capital costs when such schemes are put down in uninhabited bush, and the tendency to switch from full mechanization with direct employment to a tenancy system—have been reached by the Overseas Food Corporation in Tanganyika. This organization, whatever its shortcomings in attaining its original objective, is still of great value for experiment in this vital subject of the economic possibilities of employing mechanized aid, and if it did not exist, a similar organization would certainly have to be created. The undertaking has recently been transferred to the new Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, the first objective of which is self-supporting agricultural production on land already held by the Overseas Food Corporation. A second objective is to undertake, participate in, or promote agricultural production and development of other areas in the Territory. The long-term policy is designed in particular to stimulate and assist African farmers to achieve

much higher production and standards of living by their own efforts, suitably guided, and augmented by the provision of mechanized cultivation operations which they, as individuals, could not otherwise undertake. A start has already been made. At Urambo, in the Western Province, in 1953, 11 farms were laid out of from 25 to 100 acres each. These proved too big for competent management by the Africans concerned and it is proposed in future to concentrate on smaller farms suitable to peasants. It is intended to extend the area this year to 60 tenants. The crops include rice, and tobacco which is bought from the tenants as green leaf and cured by the Corporation. These have an economic attraction. Cereal crops and beans are also planted. At Nachingwea, in the Southern Province, the first experiment in 1952 covered 30 farms of 12 acres each. This was doubled in 1953 and expanded to 120 tenants in 1954.

The Tanganyika experiments operate with a degree of control and help to the African peasant far beyond anything previously considered in East Africa. The agriculture is planned by the Corporation and is carried out by the tenants and their families under the supervision of European agriculturalists with trained African assistants. The Corporation undertakes ploughing and, with some crops, planting at the cost of the tenants, and the area is laid out to enable long tractor runs to be made. The agricultural systems that can be produced, and the mechanical aid in the heavy work, enable much larger acreages to be handled by each family than would be possible under customary practices, with a corresponding improvement in standards of living. In addition soil fertility is preserved. There is no dogmatic assumption of what the unit area ought to be. Various areas are tried out to suit different families. The larger unit is not yet a success, but there is no barrier to a man getting a larger holding once he has shown his capacity on the smaller. The farmer at this stage is very intensively supervised with the object of getting as high a yield as possible. His credit needs are attended to, and in order to ensure that he meets his loans he has to hand in his crops to the management for sale. The final aim is co-operative production under the co-operatives' control but a long process of training and education is envisaged. It is claimed that economic self-sufficiency has already been obtained and that, if the scheme can retain its present popularity, its momentum should certainly grow. It would appear, however, that the heavy development cost of clearing has not been charged to this scheme and has presumably been considered part of the original Overseas Food Corporation groundnut plan. This fact is significant, but separate experiments are being undertaken to discover a cheap and simple method of clearing heavy bush, and have led to the evolution of a new technique by chain felling, rest, and burning, which may bring this formidable capital burden within economic bounds.

85. While it is far too early to form any opinion as to the success of these experiments, it would be difficult to overestimate their importance. They bear directly on a main need of East Africa, which is the application of managerial and technical knowledge and of capital in order to modernize the indigenous economy, so that the people are finally left with both the trained ability and experience with which to create their own capital for their own future development.

A justified scepticism is often expressed whether a system of small holdings is a satisfactory basis for a country's agricultural economy. In the United Kingdom increased mechanization tends to locate the best agricultural production in large-scale units which can install and use expensive capital equipment economically and reduce the drudgery of farm work to a minimum. By contrast, the small under-capitalized holding often gives smaller yields and

entails a life of unremitting toil. The problem faces Italy, Egypt, India, the Philippines and many other countries today, and history is full of warning examples where peasant proprietors, falling into debt, have become a poverty-stricken proletariat. In industrial countries the subject can be argued with academic calm, whether the nation is best served by a few large farmers, employing a large number of machines and a few well-paid workers, or by a large number of small farmers 'with a stake in the soil', just because, with all kinds of alternative avenues of employment, the answer can be left largely to individual choice. But in countries where large populations crowd on to the land as their only security it is a matter of importance to discover whether some intermediate technique cannot be found which will give a large number of people a satisfactory living from the land, and at the same time make available to them the machinery, science, and good management usually associated with a large estate. East Africa is such a country, and the experiments now proposed in Tanganyika and Uganda must be viewed in that setting. The egalitarian tradition of the customary system, the habituation to small subsistence holdings, the scarcity of individuals experienced in managing anything but small units, and the general need for a more orderly system of farming, provide conditions which particularly call for this method of development, if only it can be done economically.

Because of the importance of these experiments, and because of the need for care in estimating the conditions which may give them the best prospect of economic success, it may be instructive to describe for comparison a scheme which had very largely the same objectives and which has had a fair measure of success: the Gezira Scheme in the Sudan.

86. The Gezira Scheme is an irrigation project undertaken for the purpose of creating a productive asset in very unproductive land, and at the same time of associating the local farmers as principals in the enterprise. The association took the form of a partnership between the Sudan Government, which raised capital from loans to finance the major irrigation works, the peasant farmers whose lands were incorporated in the scheme, and a private company which managed the undertaking and paid for the supervisory staff. As a controlled layout was essential for irrigation the land was rented by the Government from the peasant owners at the rate current before development and the original haphazard holdings were rearranged to a standard size and aligned to the irrigation contours. Opportunity was also taken to lay out the farms in rotational units according to the best knowledge at that time. The original owners were then installed as tenants of the Scheme in their own reorganized land. A particular social policy was however adopted. Landlords were not allowed to take up as tenancies more than they could individually manage. The disposal of tenancies was thus regulated to prevent excessive accumulation by one person. Speculation was also prevented by the prohibition of any transfer, sale, or mortgage of a tenancy. The peasant's security was thus entrenched by law against the risk of his own improvidence. Correspondingly provision for agricultural credit was made available within the Scheme. As land owners the peasants drew their rent from the Government for the use of their land but had no claim on the product. As tenants they shared in the product, but they came under a contract to follow the agricultural rules under ultimate penalty of termination of tenancy. The partners shared proportions of the cash crop as their reward, and the farmer was under contract to deliver his cash crop production to the management, which marketed it at cost for the partnership. As the cash crop was cotton and no other ginneries were permitted in the vicinity, the risk of it being sold outside this arrangement was reduced to a minimum. The whole economy of the Scheme turned upon control of the cash crop. The site of the Scheme was a

very flat plain giving the maximum opportunity for a consolidated working area to machinery, and the climate was such that machinery could be used during three-quarters of the year, which enabled the heavy breaking up of land to be handled by few machines operating many hours per annum under ideal conditions for supervision. Thanks to this topography, access roads were a negligible cost factor, while a railway, constructed and financed by the Government quite separately from the Scheme, connected it with the rest of the country and the port. The cost of machine work was debited to the tenant farmer who was required to finance or perform all field work at his own expense. In return for this he got his land and water rent-free for his cash crop and for food and fodder crops, which latter were his sole property. The standard unit-holding was deliberately put at a level just higher than a hard-working family could handle without labour to help at the peak of weeding and harvesting, precisely in order to yield a surplus to service the capital cost and prove attractive to the farmer. Although at first this arrangement involved some inefficiency through labour shortage, the momentum of production from the Scheme soon began to attract casual labour from everywhere roundabout. Loans were provided to help the farmer to hire extra labour when needed. Fertilizers, insecticides, seed supplies propagated on a seed farm, joint import of agricultural needs, and concentrated supervision to ensure correct cultural practice were added, to give the maximum yield results. Consultation with the Government and with farmers' representatives was provided for but the management was ultimately the responsibility of the Company. The latter, however, had a time limit of 25 years to their part in the Scheme so that dependence on foreign capital, or indeed on foreign management, was not envisaged as necessarily a permanent feature. Training of the tenant farmers to manage their own affairs and of Sudanese to take over the supervision gradually from the British was incorporated once the Scheme's economic stability had been established.

87. The economic history of the Gezira is interesting. The total capital investment was in the region of £20,000,000, very little of which was required for clearance. The project was originally for 300,000 acres but on prices current 20 years ago it became clear that it would be an economic failure unless investment could be spread over a wider acreage. The size has since been extended to 1,000,000 acres, at which it stands capitalized at £20 per acre. Thanks to very high prices of cotton since the war a great deal of this capital has by now been repaid by sinking funds charged on the profits of the Scheme, very large sums have accrued to the Government, both from direct profits and indirect tax revenue, and the standard of living of the tenant farmers has been appreciably raised. The Scheme has thus very largely fulfilled its original objectives.

88. Enough has been described to show that many aspects of the Gezira Scheme are similar to the new Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation. Both have the basic principles of trying to incorporate in a society of peasant farmers the advantages of a large estate, which are access to credit and to central management, and the application of machinery and science. The significant points that have made the Gezira a success are the control, but not necessarily the ownership, of land and its use under a planned rotation; the security of the peasant against mortgage and sale involving the provision of agricultural credit; a consolidated area enabling the most economic use of machinery and supervision; a low ratio of capital cost to productive area; a high value cash crop; a unit-holding per family large enough to create not merely a profit on the capital investment but a much higher standard of living than that previously enjoyed by the farmer (a point of some importance

in inducing the peasant to co-operate by accepting the regulations involved); a direction permitting the rapid introduction of the latest scientific advances and best available technique; a supervisory staff whose principal value lay in their continuous employment in the area, their knowledge of the language, and their personal acquaintance with each individual peasant. In sum, this amounts to agriculture planned and operated as an industry with all the different factors—security against mortgage, credit, control of rotation, provision of machinery, seed and fertilizer, supervision of cultivation—integrated with each other like the design of a machine to work successfully, and not, as is so often the case, applied without system and individually in circumstances which hazard successful working. There was one other feature of political importance: a time limit to the foreign investment, with the aim that in the end the whole undertaking would belong to the people and to their own nation.

89. Of course there were often offsets on the debit side. These were the inability of the peasant to do what he liked with his land for better or for worse; the reliance on a corporate initiative which, whatever its scientific advantage, paid some penalty in reduction of individual initiative; and a high initial cost in supervisory staff. Nevertheless it is an example of one method of emerging from the chaos of the contemporary scene to a stable system of sustained economic production, with some regard to equality of opportunity in sharing the product, and, unattractive as the centralized direction may be in some ways, it has in the case of the Gezira established a solid base from which to move forward to freer levels within its own organization, and has also provided substantial sums to meet the cost of education, health and development elsewhere in the Sudan. The conditions which made the Gezira Scheme a success are not confined to an irrigation project, but they are confined to wide and open spaces, near to people and communications, where a planned lay-out of units can be consolidated enough to justify intensive supervision, organized credit and supplies, and concentrated machinery, and where development costs are low and the prospect of a good cash crop high. These conditions set narrow, but not negligible, limits in East Africa. They suggest that the experiments in this kind of organization should be made not in uninhabited tsetse country but on the periphery of present crowded areas, and in the vicinity of new roads and railways, where suitable country exists, as well as in future irrigable areas. Moreover, it is essential that they should not be burdened with expensive capital development, such as roads, water supplies, schools, hospitals etc., which are the basic investments which government should supply.

CO-OPERATIVES

90. The ultimate objective of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation's experiments with African tenants is, as we have noted, the establishment of co-operatives which will in the end manage these planned farming-units themselves. It would be a mistake to draw an exact line between development by organization of that kind and development by co-operatives, for the one takes over from the other and there is a field of mutual interest. Generally speaking, co-operatives are at their weakest in capital resources, managerial skill, and in organized systems of training. The sphere for development organizations would appear, therefore, to be where these assets are especially needed, and particularly in new areas, while the field for co-operatives lies more in areas already in use.

In mountainous country where machinery can be of little use but where tree crops like coffee can be grown, where skilled and expensive processing is not necessary, and where, therefore, the particular need and contribution of managerial ability and technical knowledge are much less, co-operative

societies may well be the better instruments as starters in new developments. Indeed, one of the most successful examples of this method is the coffee co-operative organization among the Chagga on Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika. Co-operatives have the advantage of being a movement from the peasants themselves rather than an organization imposed over them. In this sense they represent a form of self-expression at a time when many Africans are looking for a greater share both in deciding their own future and of understanding the processing and marketing of their own products. Under this stimulus they have made great headway in Uganda. It would be wise to give every encouragement to the co-operative movement which should be a dynamic ally in bringing about ordered economic change. Co-operatives have perhaps historically been more concerned with marketing than with the problems of production, but there seems no reason for this limitation and, with control of their own marketing, they should be more easily able to awaken interest in new methods of greater production and put their own extension services on to this job. While in many places the initiative for establishing and nursing co-operatives and organizing credit for them must inevitably come from government, there is a great deal to be said for a transfer, when standards of efficiency are adequate, to some organization which is not a government department, with the retention, however, of audit and registration under government control, to ensure public protection against fraud and inadequate standards. Co-operatives have been less developed in Kenya than in the other two territories, but the introduction of the Swynnerton Plan, with its emphasis on cash crops, will give great scope for their extension there.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE PROGRESSIVE INDIVIDUAL

91. While so much of this analysis has been concerned with how to bring help and order to a peasant system of agriculture, because that is the social state in which most people at present are living and any plan which seeks to affect a large number must take this fact into account, there are, especially in the more sophisticated regions, enterprising individuals seeking to strike out into farming in a bigger way. Very often such men run up against hostility precisely because they want to live differently from their neighbours. There is much to be said for enterprise of this kind and the community will be the loser if over-insistence on uniformity discourages such a minority from pioneering. Even in crowded areas as land becomes available for purchase and sale some individuals more competent than others will seek to increase their land as specialists while others will fall out and take up other work. It will clearly be necessary in such areas for a watch to be kept on the process to ensure that larger users are in fact both using the land productively and are not cornering a scarce commodity and leaving others with no livelihood; but this can be done by setting up machinery to watch over both land use and land tenure, a subject which we discuss in the following chapter. Apart from the crowded areas, there is clearly room for more than one pattern of development where land is plentiful, and opportunity should be provided there for encouraging the lay-out of land for the larger operators, who, as they acquire capacity, will reduce the need for government-sponsored activity and add to the community a leaven of that kind of individual enterprise which has been the greatest source of progress in so many lands.

What is needed is a policy deliberately determined to encourage economic usage of land, and to remove the obstacles which prevent this, but not necessarily wedded to any one solution as a panacea; a policy which stimulates different experiments, not only in the technical alternatives in patterns

of usage, but also in differing human associations, by individuals, by co-operatives, by schemes under government plan, by partnerships with development organizations, or by clans still wishing to preserve their community ties, but ready to forego the faults in them; a policy seeking progress in a new mobility of ideas and people.

RESEARCH

92. Important help towards the discovery of better systems of usage must be expected from research. We have said that the small mixed-farming unit evolved from experiment in research stations, and we have catalogued its uncertainties. We have spoken of the need for a new approach to the use of fertilizer. We have pointed out the need for specialization, to know just what kind of unit and what combination of crops will maintain each particular specialized crop permanently in stable production with the minimum of land use. We have suggested that an alternative to self-subsistence can be found by the use of maize as a specialist cash crop on the basis of a sound rotation, or as an ancillary product with another cash crop as the dominant factor. We have talked of particular places laid out in a controlled manner with a planned rotation. At the start of section B we have remarked that it is necessary to make a cautious approach to the problems confronting East Africa in view of the lack of knowledge as to what really is the best substitute in any particular case for the present state of affairs. There is a great need for a regular sequence of experiment from research plot, to pilot field-unit, to representative test-area, and then to rehabilitation and development plan. In England the Agricultural Advisory Service can probably answer these questions for a farmer seeking to plan his farm to best advantage. In East Africa research to date would rather reveal what variety he should grow and how he should plant and look after it than in what overall system of land use he can best maintain a high income over a long period. The reason for this difference is not far to seek. Under the customary system few farmers are in a position to seek a plan, and research stations have little scope for recommending one. With the introduction of individual tenure and individual unit control, however, the subject becomes immediately relevant, and this may be seen from a few illustrations. Cotton and coffee are the most prominent African peasant export crops, and play a big part in the income economy. Cotton is an exhausting crop. Yields in recent years have not increased, and it is important to know what rotation of crops and what fallow period can produce the best economic result in any particular locality. The mixed farming-unit with a ley may be the best known of such systems at the moment. But there may be others more economical in land use, and this is of vital importance to the problems of displacement. In Sukumaland, which offers scope for considerable development of cotton, it has been found that a ley is of little benefit to the yield although manuring can double it. The possibilities of using fertilizer there may be of critical importance. At the Namulongi Research Station in Uganda, a new line of research has opened up other possibilities. Recent experiments there on methods of preserving soil moisture content suggest that, as a criterion for maintaining fertility, a fallow may be less important than moisture retention. The technique of moisture retention is by mulching, and it may be that the growing of crops to cover the ground may be more productive and more economical in land use to some rotations than a ley.

The same need to discover just what is the optimum technique applies to coffee. Different techniques are praised in the different territories. In Uganda, in the Ngogwe Development Scheme farmers paddocked their animals around their coffee trees and thereby vastly increased their coffee yields. This would

suggest that a farmer specializing in coffee should also have grazing for animals. This technique is one widely followed in Brazil where a herd of milking cows attached to each plantation to give kraal manure has made extraordinary differences to the coffee yields. But in Bugishu, coffee on Mount Elgon is planted on slopes which are too steep for animals and fertility is maintained by mulching with banana leaves. Yet banana cultivation itself requires the mulch of the banana leaves to stop erosion, so there is some danger that coffee growing there is not yet on a stable basis. It is important to know what mulch crop could be grown instead of bananas to keep the coffee productive, and how much land must be devoted to this purpose. In the Chagga country in Tanganyika stall-feeding of cattle on the mountain enables the manuring of the coffee but entails the labour of women, which may not always be forthcoming, to carry fodder from the plain. In Kenya, by contrast, emphasis is placed on the initial planting of the individual tree in manure and on mulching, which has resulted in the best yields in East Africa without any continued association with stock, a system which should ultimately require less land.

We have used cotton and coffee by way of illustration but the problem applies equally to a variety of specialized crops such as pineapples, vegetables, pyrethrum and tobacco, and, in its turn, maize.

93. Our purpose in bringing up the matter of research is not one of criticism of the present research stations, for there are many excellent ones in East Africa. There is the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation dealing with fundamental research for all three territories. There are some good territorial research stations and there are small trial units carried on by agricultural officers in their various districts. There are also special crop research stations dealing with coffee, cotton, sisal, and so on. Our purpose is rather to draw attention to a missing link between what is needed in the field and what is being done at these research stations, not so much in the matter of plant breeding, cultivation practices, pest controls and such like, as in the fundamental question of discovering and applying those new, individual patterns of agriculture upon which the future community has got to depend. In many districts we got the impression, indeed we were told by the district commissioners, that no one yet knew what was the best pattern of future usage to replace what everyone knew was wrong in the present; while in other districts a certain readiness to disbelieve any new idea was attributed to the farmers' past experience of every new agricultural officer bringing new ideas of his own. What is missing is a continuous link between fundamental research at one end and the emerging individual peasant at the other, together with a general continuity of policy.

94. A few examples with which we happened to come in contact may illustrate our impressions in this regard. The first comes from the region of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. It is a region where the topography of rivers and land suggest the possibility of a number of small irrigation schemes for the growing of rice and possibly other crops, and it is a region surrounded by overcrowded populations in the Parc and Usambara Mountains. A fairly large area is involved and the opportunity of settlement of some of the people from the mountains may be of critical importance to the chances of agricultural rehabilitation there.

On the Kenya side an irrigation scheme has been started but the technique of dealing with the soil was not known. Salts have appeared, crops have failed, the land looks ruined and the scheme is in abeyance.

On the Tanganyika side also salts have appeared in a few test areas, but resolution of the problem has been left to the initiative of district agricultural officers, one of whom, working on his own, has tried to find a method by flooding and drainage, of combating the salts and has had a fair measure of success. Such men are liable to be transferred or diverted on to other district work, and have not easily at their command the experience of other countries in such a problem. It seemed to us that here, surely, was an opportunity for a multi-pronged attack with the resources of the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation and of the territories geared to a continuous plan to find the answer to a problem of no small importance in both territories.

In the adjacent Usambara Mountains we found the district team wrestling with a baffling technical problem and fighting a losing battle, for they were trying to get accepted a new pattern of living which caused great disturbance but unfortunately brought little benefit. The soil in the Usambaras is for some reason unresponsive to ordinary mixed farming techniques and requires investigation beyond the resources of a district team alone. The East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation is not handling it. There is a missing link. Yet the present condition of the Usambaras is, from the human point of view, disastrous and the discovery of a more satisfactory way of life is critical.

A similar problem was occurring in the Bukoba District, where a local agricultural officer was trying to discover why, in country which in pockets is remarkably fertile for coffee and bananas, surrounding areas of grassland appear unable to support crops. This area, which is one of the most fertile undeveloped areas in East Africa and is beginning to fill up, would seem to merit the assistance of a planned scientific investigation.

Our last example is taken from Kigezi in Uganda where a remarkable resettlement scheme was carried out by the local officials. Unfortunately it has proved a palliative only and not a cure, since the families which remained in the original areas, although given an opportunity to rehabilitate their land by the departure of the excess population, failed to take this chance. No programme, capable of being carried out under supervision, existed to stop the reversion to fragmentation, the renewed loss of fallow and the re-emergence of excess stock, all of which are features of the district again today. Two other difficulties are also present. The actual pattern of usage chosen by the agricultural officer concerned has been one of horizontal, alternate, strip cropping, a system which makes the integration of stock and cultivation, to achieve mixed farming, rather difficult. Secondly, the fallow strips, eroded and exhausted, are providing no adequate pasture and, invaded by noxious weeds, give no advantage in subsequent yield from the rest period. How to pull this land round to fertility and how to use it in future to keep it fertile, is far and away the most important problem facing a big community and clearly requires for its solution a great deal more than just the resources of a district team.

It is with examples like these in our minds that we have referred in an earlier paragraph to the need of a regular sequence of experiment from research plot, to pilot field unit, to representative test area, and to rehabilitation plan, to find out the patterns of usage most suitable and profitable for each locality.

95. It has been suggested to us, by observers very well qualified to judge, that both governments and technical departments in East Africa have been under a misapprehension that land usage problems there can be solved in an easy way. The basic consideration of all such problems is the relation

of soil and water, but the factors affecting these elements are still very much unknown. We have traced in this Report the ever-present process of change from shifting cultivation to closer and closer usage leading all the time to deterioration, and have high-lighted, as a priority research need, the discovery of whether, and how, continuous profitable use of land can be attained. In temperate climates methods have been found of producing a crop from the same land every year. In tropical climates this has not been achieved. The factors governing the success or failure of leys seem to be wrapped up with the mystery of soil and rainfall, and rainfall not merely in terms of averages but in distribution as well as in reliability. In temperate areas the clover in a ley has a value derived from the nitrogen which it fixes, but in the tropics leguminous plants do not do the same nitrogenitive work to soil as they do in temperate zones. The reasons are obscure and the understanding of them is a field for joint work by the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation and local trials.

96. We have used the example of the ley to illustrate the integral interaction of basic research with practical social and economic problems. Another example of critical importance because of the contribution it may make to overcrowded areas concerns the forests. The case for forests on very steep slopes is unassailable because of their virtue in holding land against erosion. But the claim is also made that climatically forests attract rain and that the elimination of them will cause desiccation. The need of the community for something other than trees is often opposed to this claim. But little experiment appears to have been done to prove whether deforestation necessarily means desiccation or not. The boundaries of state forests have often been drawn historically according to the altitude line which tribes had reached at a time of survey, because of the accepted contention that trees protected the water supplies, and because of the justified fear of invasion by crops without erosion control. There are areas in East Africa today, however, where the possibilities of growing coffee or other crops, under circumstances which control erosion, need to be investigated to make sure whether or not such usage would deprive lower lands of water. Such crops so developed, if this penalty has not to be paid, may play a critical part in helping to solve a human problem, and the best disposal of the water may be a matter of priorities. Each case wants consideration on its own merits. Such problems cannot be left to a stalemate battle between foresters and agriculturists. It is a very practical field for basic and applied research.

97. The basic research institute in East Africa, the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation, abbreviated to E.A.A.F.R.O., comes under the High Commission. It is a recently established body and the relationship between it and the governments and technical departments of the individual territories is bound to take time to develop into full usefulness. There is some risk, however, that the centrifugal political force which pulls the three territories apart at present will leave E.A.A.F.R.O. too weakly equipped financially, and too remote administratively, to make its full contribution to the problems of the region, but there is no other basic research station available. The continued operation of E.A.A.F.R.O. is dependent on the vote of funds by the legislatures of the territories, although half of the current and most of the capital cost is being financed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Experience has shown that the E.A.A.F.R.O. vote is subject to considerable risk in the legislatures. Few appreciate the importance of basic research or that so much which is known in temperate climates has to be re-examined in the tropics at high cost with no regular dividend. The connecting line between basic research and immediate practical problems is not easy to define, and in an atmosphere of territorial

separation it is easier to follow a dividing line which leaves the basic research institute to an esoteric programme of its own and the territorial agricultural departments to solve their own local problems. Efforts have been made by co-ordinating committees to bridge the gap but the matter is not entirely resolved. There needs to be a greater flow of two-way traffic. On the one hand E.A.A.F.R.O. groping with its difficult basic problems needs to be more strongly equipped. It requires adequate and unquestioned facilities at lower levels to try things out. The present methods of dealing with the three territories are too complicated and their reception of E.A.A.F.R.O. is not warm enough. Its administrative contacts need to be simplified and its finances made more certain. The territorial departments are often badly in need of help from E.A.A.F.R.O. which has not the staff strength to give it. It was hoped when E.A.A.F.R.O. was set up that its staff would handle the research for all three territories. This has not proved possible and the territories have extended the scope of their own researches, with the result, as we have shown in our examples, that local agricultural officers without the knowledge, time or scientific supervision, are left to try their own solutions to problems of great complexity which should be part of a long-term programme which concerns all East Africa.

98. The matter is so urgent that we have considered various alternatives. One would be to accord separate financial provision from the United Kingdom, from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, direct to E.A.A.F.R.O. to provide the personnel and continuity for such a problem. Regard must be had, however, to the fact that E.A.A.F.R.O. is in essence a team of experts in basic research, in viruses, soils, water, and so on, but not a team experienced in development. As a great deal of the programme would be of the nature of administrative development and so pass out of the natural range of E.A.A.F.R.O., we have given consideration to the possibility of establishing a new regional organization to provide the continuity and assurance of finance which such a policy demands, rather on the lines of the Regional Development Organization in the West Indies. Such a solution has all the drawbacks, however, of a new and possibly superfluous instrument and would be likely to incur resistance to an imagined *imperium in imperio* in the present atmosphere of East Africa. We return, therefore, to the position that the matter must be handled by the instruments which exist, that is by the central basic research institute and by the territorial departments, and that a solution must be found in a better liaison between them. Fundamentally such a state can only be attained when the legislatures and the technical staffs are united in a clear view of the objectives and a desire to reach them, and certain changes may help to make this easier.

99. In the first place the staff of E.A.A.F.R.O. needs to be strengthened so that it can make available scientists, free from the need to do basic research, who can travel in the territories, and who can specialize in bringing the central research institute's basic findings to particular local problems.

100. Secondly, within each territory there needs to be a special officer in control of research to be the contact man facilitating the free flow of information between E.A.A.F.R.O. and the territory. He should be responsible for seeing that there is a continuous progress from research to development in those problems concerning how the people can best live from the land, which we have outlined in this Report. There is such a post in Kenya and we understand that there is a prospect of creating similar ones in Uganda and Tanganyika. A post of this kind is required not merely to solve the problems of today, but to be the link through which new discovery can continue to reach practical application. At a certain stage in the process from research to

development, the management of trials passes to the ordinary officers of the agricultural department. Here again there should be no separate compartments but a two-way flow between the officer in the field, working with the knowledge of all the human difficulties of the community around him, and the planning and execution of the research trials which aim to enhance the peoples' patterns of living.

101. Although we have devoted so much attention to government research organization it would be wrong to exaggerate its range or to underestimate its limitations. The community cannot stand still and wait for research. In many areas urgent action is needed both in regard to rehabilitation and to penetration of new areas. This does not mean that the matter should be left to blind forces, but practical development in the light of present knowledge in avoiding what is known to be harmful must go on. Indeed, it would be quite wrong to suppose that discoveries have always come by way of government research institutes. They have come mainly by private experiment and experience. Government institutions have other handicaps. They are seldom able to test the true economic utility and profitability of a system. They cannot view the matter from the peasant's angle, take account of his difficulties in getting labour, assess his real budget, or foretell the aptitudes or tastes which often determine his ultimate reaction to new ideas. They are liable to ignore these matters and also to overlook market considerations which do not come within their purview but which affect production and income. To say all this is not to rule out organized government research but to put it in perspective as only one of many instruments, but a very vital one, contributing to a new economy.

THE COLLECTION OF BASIC INFORMATION

102. It is natural that governments should have knowledge of the resources at their disposal and one of the first requirements in each of the East African territories is to have a survey, district by district, which will describe, in factual terms, the available land, the topography, the soil, rainfall, population and the means of communications of each district. Much of this information already exists scattered through files and records in district and provincial headquarters and in the central secretariat. But it is seldom available in a complete and systematic form to provide a convenient picture of the territorial resources. It should be possible, and we think it desirable, to prepare a gazetteer of this nature.

103. There is, however, another type of survey—an ecological survey—which, if prepared with knowledge and interpreted with caution, can make an important contribution to the formation of policy. This would indicate the kind of agricultural specialization which, on the basis of existing knowledge, might be expected to give the best results from the available land; the kind of farming system which, in the circumstances of the district, might be expected to be most advantageous; and the suitability of different types of farm organization, individual, co-operative or corporative. From a survey of this type some reasoned judgment could be formed of the most appropriate type of future development to pursue, as well as of the gaps in existing knowledge which research should endeavour to fill. With this information at the disposal of government it should be easier to assess the balance of advantage in the alternative methods which might be adopted to deal with the special problems of over-crowded areas or the problems arising from the displacement of populations. But surveys of this kind take time to prepare and cannot be made quickly except at the risk of committing serious errors of judgment. And they have their special dangers when they are made by persons who, however qualified they may be in a technical sense, have

acquired their technical knowledge in another country where ecological problems appear in a different guise. There is no lack of evidence of the errors which can be made by persons who are not well acquainted with the local situation and who assume that a reaction which is obtained in one ecological setting will automatically occur in another. But, subject to this warning and qualification, we think that the formation of public policy requires whatever help it can obtain from available scientific knowledge and research. We do not suppose that a survey of this kind can be attempted for the whole of each territory; nor do we think it necessary. Priorities can be established in the light of the general territorial picture. But having regard to the urgency of the existing situation we think that a survey of the kind which we have described should be embarked upon as soon as circumstances permit.

Ideally what is wanted is a redistribution of people from over-crowded areas into uncrowded districts so that each individual unit, both in the original area and in the new area, can become a stable and productive contributor to the economy as a whole, for everything which continues the present congestion and enlarges unproductive usage is lowering the standard of living. The test of good government in East Africa, as elsewhere in the world, must increasingly lie not in how it preserves the *status quo*, but in how it stimulates production and provides social contentment. Only by relieving the congestion can a new diversity of occupations be created and people begin to find security in employment without holding on to land.

LAND DEVELOPMENT BOARDS

104. The need for a territorial rather than a district approach to development and the interaction of the problem of displacement and development, suggest the need in each territory for some supervisory body to ensure the effective evolution of policy towards a consistent objective. We have in mind territorial Land Development Boards, rather on the lines of the African Land Development Board in Kenya. This latter is at present concerned only with African lands and has the further limitation that it cannot get access to the best areas for its purpose because of the tribal and racial controls over land. We discuss the question of the Kenya Highlands elsewhere. Here we need only say that in our view the Land Development Board should not be representative of any sectional or racial interests, nor should it be precluded from considering any land in the territory. We regard it rather as a committee specializing, on behalf of the whole community, in the execution of the main aim outlined in this Report—the encouragement of production from the land in a way that is economically and socially satisfactory. The African Land Development Board in Kenya is a blend of officials of the administrative and technical departments with a few outside members prominent for their personal experience and interest in the subjects concerned. We think that this kind of composition has advantages because such membership is clearly functional, and a great deal of the work will lie in co-ordinating an approach and overcoming differences of opinion. We attach great importance to the posts of chairman and of managing director to this body. The chairman should be a man whose reputation and position in the community will carry due weight with the central government and with the legislature. The managing director should spend a great deal of his time on tour and, conversant with all that is going on, should be the chief instrument in maintaining a momentum of development, and in bringing into resolution departmental or central government policies or local attitudes which may be adversely affecting development. For this purpose he should not merely be a man of outstanding ability and energy but should also have a status

superior to the provincial or local authorities. During our visits to the rural areas in East Africa we were impressed by the lack of planning assistance and direction from above and by the numerous headquarters authorities with whom the provincial officials had to deal. Too often schemes had been started without a proper background of research or provision for necessary preliminary staffing and propaganda. Too often we found that provincial and district teams felt that there was no one man at headquarters who had a full knowledge of their problems and difficulties. No doubt this was largely due to the fact that high officials are much too busy on committees and in the legislatures to give sufficient attention to agrarian reform in the field. The appointment of a managing director to the Land Development Board should go a long way to fill this gap.

105. We also consider that there should be a special committee of the unofficial members of the legislature whose duty it should be to be acquainted, through the minister to whom the Land Development Board would be responsible, with the progress of the policy of dealing with land development so that the interests which stand in the way of its attainment can be exposed in debate, and the problem of dealing with it can be weighed with due responsibility to the community as a whole.

106. The first task of the Land Development Board would be to see to the territorial survey which we have just described, and from this survey to make out an order of priority in development based on an examination of those areas which are best situated, from a point of view of fertility, climate, communications and economy of cost, to contribute to a rise in economic production. It would then be their task to work out a plan of appropriate land usage for this objective. Part of this plan would be concerned with how to get areas now in use rehabilitated, and would involve facing up to the problem of displacement; and part of it with how areas at present sparsely inhabited or undeveloped could be opened-up for development without repeating past misuse. This plan would at once run up against vested interests. An early step would be to attempt to resolve these conflicting interests within the land units and the various clans and tribes in which people are at present accustomed to associate themselves. There will come a point, however, when no amount of internal adjustment within some units can result in usage that is both economically and socially satisfactory, and when access must be had to the undeveloped land of other units. It would be the duty of the Land Development Board to appraise this situation and to determine where such undeveloped land can most appropriately be used to relieve it. Having made this decision it would be for the Land Development Board in the first instance to try and negotiate arrangements for the satisfactory development of such land with those who have interests in it at present. While all communities have roots in the past all are also looking to the future, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of them at any rate will weigh the advantages which would accrue to them from the selection of their particular area as a development site, earmarked for governmental help by means of roads, water supplies, schools, extension services, and will also realize the wealth and advancement which would accrue from the concentration of all these resources there. The Land Development Board should have the support of government in order to be able to determine the priorities with which assistance is to be extended to those communities which are prepared to co-operate with it and to withdraw assistance from those which will not do so. While we visualize that the Land Development Board will encourage the development of land by purchase or lease on the basis of willing buyer and willing seller, there may be places and occasions when no progress can be made on this basis and yet where an

urgent need remains to deal with the rehabilitation and displacement problems of the particular area. In such cases the Land Development Board will act as the agent of the government when the latter takes powers to acquire land by compulsory purchase or lease. It would be particularly important in such instances to satisfy the public that there is an economic necessity for such action, that the selection is not an arbitrary one, and that the resultant use of the land in question will be of greater economic and social benefit than the use to which it is at that time being put. These are matters which call for special machinery and we consider them in the following chapter.

The Land Development Board should not seek to rely only on the power and resources of the central government. It should set itself out to be the champion of individuals looking for personal security and economic opportunity in land, and in its sponsorship of extension services should endeavour to have African personnel trained and associated with its purposes so as to promote among the community a sense of sharing in the build-up of a modern economy that will be their own. With this conception in mind it should associate itself not only with district teams and local governments but, where appropriate, with the co-operative movement and with specialized development organizations of the nature of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation.

SOME POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT AREAS

107. While progress must be expected to come slowly from small units to big, from location to clan, clan to tribe and tribe to territory, from trial area to pilot scheme and from pilot scheme to development project, the ideal of new economic and social development must emerge at some stage into a wider setting, for the more the fertile areas of the region as a whole can be opened to planned economic use by people from any of the three territories, the quicker and the greater will be the spread of higher standards of living. There are thus two levels of the problem: the territorial and the regional, and at each level the solutions are similar. In each territory it is necessary to get public opinion away from seeking unreal solutions in costly and marginal relief measures, and ready instead to promote access to fertile areas not too remote, to which they have a natural attraction, and in which they have a chance of economic success. It is necessary for this access to be made under systems of economic land use and to be integrated to the rehabilitation of over-crowded areas. This is the least that each territory can do for itself. Similarly, throughout the region it is necessary to get public opinion away from a belief in progress in territorial isolation, and ready instead to concentrate attention upon developing first those parts of the region which offer the best result at the least cost.

108. A glance at map 3 will show that there are outstandingly two such areas. The first comprises the greater part of Uganda, the environs of Lake Victoria, northern Tanganyika, and the high inland areas of Kenya. It is as a region that all this fertile country demands basic investment in roads, railways, water supplies and schools, in proper land usage and, above all, in mobility of persons so as to become an inter-dependent economic whole and the heart of a modern civilization in East Africa. The second of such areas is the large southern and western block of fertile land in Tanganyika. The problems of displacement and bad usage are less urgent in this area than in the Lake Victoria basin, and it has not even the partly developed railway and road framework which exists in the latter area, but it contains the greatest alternative mass of fertile land in the East African region. We envisage that the

development of this area will go on *pari passu* with that of the Lake Victoria basin. We judge it important not to suppress the regional level of the problem in spite of the formidable parochial and racial fears which everywhere confront it; for the choice lies between finding some way round these fears and towards all the benefits that a wider economy can bring to the people, or enjoying separatism and forfeiting so much else. We discuss this problem in chapter 25. Before that, we must consider in more detail what new procedures would be needed in each territory for changing the present land tenure as harmoniously and fairly as possible, for facilitating the change from a clan and tribal to an individual conception of security, for providing safeguards to ensure that this change does result in economic and social advantage, and for providing machinery against arbitrary action if, as a last resort, compulsion should become necessary.

109. It is naturally beyond the scope of our knowledge to suggest in detail what the Land Development Boards ought to do. The working out of such a plan is a matter for each territory. Nevertheless we deem it expedient to set down shortly here the most important priorities and possibilities which seem to us evident from the general conclusions of our Report, although the particular places which we have chosen to emphasize should in no way be regarded as exclusive of other areas which the territorial authorities, with their greater knowledge, may feel deserve concurrent attention. It is assumed throughout that the general principle which territorial Land Development Boards would seek to operate is that expansion into new territory should be made under a controlled form of usage obviating the faults of the past, and should be accompanied by rehabilitation of existing badly used areas. These two aims, operating side by side, are at the basis of future economic development on the land.

SOME DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES IN KENYA

110. In Kenya the Kamba, Kikuyu and Nyanza areas are the most overcrowded. Their rehabilitation involves the greatest displacement and from them comes the biggest danger of large numbers of landless unemployed. The chief trouble in the Kamba areas is gross over-stocking although the number of stock units per family is not high. Expansion could be made in the Ithanga hills district of the Highlands which is undeveloped, in the Yatta plateau, particularly if water can be diverted there from the Tana river tributaries, and south-eastwards down the railway to the coast. The possibilities turn on control of tsetse and provision of water. Very little of the area is fertile, except in the Shimba hills and the country behind Kwale, which fall in the coastal rain belt and could form settlement areas for the Kamba. As economic production for export increases inland, the environs of the port of Mombasa may be expected to become more heavily populated and industrialized, increasing in this district the demand for food, milk and meat and affording new openings for employment. It is a zone for particular attention.

111. The problem of the three Kikuyu districts of Kiambu, Fort Hall and Nyeri is not stock, but people. The congestion near Nairobi needs planning as a peri-urban problem. The surrounds should be a dormitory area and the city itself offers an increasing market for specialization in the vicinity in vegetables, milk and other products needed by the urban population. If roads were properly developed the whole of the Kikuyu country is singularly well placed to take advantage of an increased economic momentum. The area is generally very fertile and is bisected by a railway and numerous rivers. It ought to be the main productive zone in the country. Coffee, pyrethrum, pineapples, dairy produce, maize, pulses and wattle can all be economically produced in their appropriate ecological altitude. Expansion could be made within the district

by a change in usage of some of the areas now unsuitably under wattle, by using the high bracken zone, and by reviewing the forest boundaries. Expansion could be made into extensive but more marginal country, at present undeveloped, all round the slopes of Mount Kenya, in Embu and Meru Districts which lie in the Kikuyu Land Unit. There are also possibilities of irrigation from numerous streams from the mountains. Few of these command anything but small areas of land except in the Mwea plain where some 30,000 acres could be developed. Expansion outside the Kikuyu Land Unit could be made into similar country in the Mau district of the Masai reserve.

112. In Nyanza Province congestion is very uneven but very heavy in places. Expansion could be made within the Province in the under-developed northern district and in the south. Adjoining the south-eastern boundary is the fertile Transmara district of the Masai reserve, given over to nothing but grazing. There are possibilities of irrigation on the Kano plains near Kisumu and in the Yalu swamp. The fertile Kisii highlands are a feature of the southern part of the Province and adjoin under-developed areas now being filled up without any pattern in the North Mara and Musoma Districts of Tanganyika. New and better communications linking all this region with the railway which runs to Kisumu are needed. Kenya has very little other uncrowded fertile land, except those under-developed parts of the Highlands at present retained for European use. On the coast there are small areas enjoying a fair rainfall near Lamu, and there is some scope for irrigation by pumps in small areas along the Tana river, and at least the possibility of a larger scheme on the middle reaches of the river. These districts are, however, very different in ecology to the interior areas and are far more exacting in climate, very poor in communications, and cut off both from the main fertile zones of the high altitudes and from the centres of activity near Mombasa. They clearly belong economically and socially to a second category in priorities. The total area of fertile land in Kenya is very limited, and the possibilities of a better future for its peoples cannot be divorced from the opportunities for additional employment and industry which would result within Kenya, through which runs the railway to the coast, from the general economic development of the whole Lake Victoria basin.

SOME DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES IN TANGANYIKA

113. The tasks facing the Land Development Board in Tanganyika are the development of the over-crowded mountain areas which rise out of the great dry plain, the exploitation of the Lake Victoria basin, and the development of the large fertile areas in the south and south-west. On Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru the introduction of coffee has stimulated individual tenure and its growth might be extended to the Pare range, and further explored in Usambara. In all these mountain outcrops over-crowding is leading to subdivision and to the risk of lower peasant incomes. The problem of displacement is more difficult to solve because there is no fertile land in the vicinity. The possibilities which have to be explored are the potential, under planned usage, of the marginal plains at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, in the Handeni District and near the Pangani river. Heavy capital expenditure on roads, water supplies, and on bush clearance is inevitable in such country, and clearly progress can only be step by step as knowledge is obtained and the possibility of any economic crop ascertained. Another possibility for dealing with displacement from these mountain regions lies in irrigation from the mountain streams and from the Pangani and other rivers. Some of the land is salty, and a programme of experiments is needed to see if they can be made usable. In such marginal country it must remain a matter of some doubt whether any

extensive solution to the over-crowding on these mountains will be found except in the increase of the general regional productivity of the fertile lands which will entail new openings of employment. There are, however, certain small matters which would repay attention. The northern section of the Mbulu highlands is ecologically similar to the alienated Oldeani district which successfully grows coffee and wheat. The adjacent African lands are undeveloped and they would appear to offer an opportunity for planned African development by some organization like the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation. A review should be made of the land on these mountainous areas of northern Tanganyika, including the alienated estates, in order to see whether they are being productively used or could be better used. A similar review should also be made of the forest boundaries for the same reasons. The boundaries of the sisal estates are also in places a source of irritation and should be clearly demarcated.

114. The Lake Victoria shores in Tanganyika are much drier than those in Uganda and their problems are urgent. South of the Lake lies Sukumaland, a marginal country but capable of growing cotton. The area is over-crowded and over-stocked and needs rehabilitation. The process will involve displacement and many are already emigrating to the Geita and North Mara Districts which are also being entered from other quarters. The whole of this part of the Territory needs attention with an eye to planned usage both of the lands to which the people are going and of the original Sukumaland plain. New roads and increased lake transport are needed to bring this area into closer contact with Uganda and Kenya, and to extend openings to undeveloped fertile land which is suitable for coffee and tobacco cultivation. Such land is to be found, for example, in Biharamulo and Kasulu.

115. The greatest possibilities in Tanganyika lie in the development of the large fertile region in the south. Pyrochlore deposits have been found near Mbeya and a large coalfield in the Songea and Njombe Districts. Coffee, pyrethrum, tobacco, wattle, rice, maize and vegetables grow well. But the whole area is remote and almost utterly lacking in communications. The short section of railway line between Mtwara and Nachingwea has already stimulated unexpected production from the adjacent Newala plateau and other areas of marginal country. The extension of this line to the coalfields and its junction with another new line, running from Morogoro through the Kilombero valley and via Mbeya to the Copper Belt in Northern Rhodesia, was the subject of a recent survey and report. Although the conclusions of this report do not suggest that investment in the rail link will prove an economic proposition for many years, in terms of interest on capital, it must be remembered that the same can be said of the Kenya and Uganda railway without which both Kenya and Uganda would today be in an entirely primitive state. This large fertile zone in southern Tanganyika, in a region as generally unfertile as is East Africa, must clearly be a priority for those improvements in present usage and those experiments in new techniques with which this Report is so much concerned so that proper planned use can be made of the land, based on the experience of pilot schemes. The Iringa District, adjacent to the first stage of the proposed line, has been the site of considerable African immigration from other parts and is immediately in need of such planning. Farther away present usage is already causing damage and erosion. The irrigation possibilities in the Kilombero valley and in the Mkata and Usangu plains must await the results of pilot schemes and it is to be expected that it will only be gradually that the area will reveal its productive possibilities. The railway is, in our opinion, bound to come, and how best to use the lands through which it is likely to run, is, therefore, a priority task of highest importance to the whole region.

SOME DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES IN UGANDA

116. The most crowded areas of Uganda are the Bugishu District on Mount Elgon, the Eastern Province generally, the environs of Kampala and Kigezi in the south-west corner. The problem in Bugishu is similar to that on Kilimanjaro. Coffee grows on the mountain and, although there is need for a more stable pattern of usage, the effect of present usage on the soil is not so much a danger as the extensive sub-division with risk of declining individual incomes. Expansion into the plains at the foot of the mountains, some of which can be irrigated, offers an outlet and needs to be planned, for here misuse can cause exhaustion and erosion. Teso District is being over-crowded with stock and if planned mixed farming is to be introduced here, the establishment of minimum holdings would result in fewer farmers and some displacement. The immediate surroundings of Kampala are a peri-urban problem, but apart from this many estates within 50 miles of the capital are encumbered with tiny uneconomic holdings of tenants protected by the Envuju and Busulu laws against eviction and their presence hinders landowners from developing their estates on economic lines. There is no shortage of land for expansion and the problem in Uganda is not, as in Kenya and Tanganyika, so much concerned with a search for land for people to go to, as with the establishment of conditions in alternative areas which will attract people away from over-crowding to the detriment of good usage. Kigezi illustrates this aspect and also the need to discover and retain a suitable pattern of usage in the relieved areas.

117. The chief problem of a Land Development Board in Uganda is thus primarily to ascertain how the present undeveloped land ought best to be used, to lay down a variety of experiments to gain this knowledge and to choose a number of areas for pilot schemes. The extent of available land gives an opportunity for a wide range of such experiments, by co-operatives, by individual larger holders, and by organized arrangements for peasant holdings assisted by mechanization. The general problem of displacement is the need to attract people away from the east of the Protectorate and towards the west, and the priority areas for such experiments are along the new railway to Lake George; in the Ankole area which, until now mainly pastoral, has an excellent opportunity for planned crop production; in Toro and Bunyoro; and in the northern part of Mengo. Another area which suggests itself, and one in which costs of bush clearance are less formidable although the soil and climate are not quite so favourable, is along the line Soroti, Lira, Gulu, into Lango and Acholi in anticipation of the possible extension of the rail head from its present terminus at Soroti. One particular aspect of development in Uganda which the Land Development Board should study at an early date is how best to use the extensive swamps. Such a study would be particularly relevant in Kigezi where the discovery of the economic usage of the swamps would materially assist the local displacement problem.

CHAPTER 23

Tenure and Disposition of Land

PREAMBLE

1. For the reasons developed in Part II and in the earlier chapters of this Part we conclude that policy concerning the tenure and disposition of land should aim at the individualization of land ownership, and at a degree of mobility in the transfer and disposition of land which, without ignoring existing property rights, will enable access to land for its economic use.

This chapter is concerned first with examining the more important circumstances in East Africa which must affect the form and application of any law designed to achieve these aims of policy, and later with describing broadly the substance of the law recommended, the manner in which it should be applied and the agencies required to implement it. Next, by contrast with the conditions of land tenure and land disposition which we advocate, there follows a description of the basic position in each of the territories today; and finally we return to the need for the governments to face up to the changes necessary to accelerate the pace of economic development.

*A. Existing circumstances in East Africa affecting
the Form and the Application of Measures to
Implement Land Tenure Policy*

2. In the East African scene attention is focussed on certain existing circumstances, some owing their existence to physical conditions and some to historical events and policies, which cannot be ignored in considering the form of a land tenure law and the manner of its application. These circumstances are the existing variety of physical and human conditions, the inherent nature of customary land tenures, the parochial nature of the administration of customary tenure, the insecurity of tenure in the light of changing economic conditions, and the racial tension arising out of the disposition of land. Each of these is examined briefly in turn.

VARIETY OF CONDITIONS BOTH PHYSICAL AND HUMAN

3. In chapter 2 we describe the great range of physical conditions found in East Africa and also the origins of the people which have affected their natural propensities and which, in combination with the environment, have brought about the differing customs of a great diversity of tribes. At one extreme we find extensive areas of land where the response to capital and skilled management will not justify their application, and where the most economic use of the land may be a continuation of the shifting agriculture practised. At the other extreme we find areas suitable for the growing of long-term high priced crops or for irrigation which will repay a considerable expenditure of capital, provided undivided control can be exercised in management, and provided undisturbed possession of the land is secured.

On the land, at the one extreme, changes in the current tenure may not materially affect production, while, at the other extreme, the replacement of

customary tenure by individual ownership may yield considerable productive results. Clearly a land tenure law designed for the one set of conditions will not suit the other, and it must therefore be both adaptable in form and capable of *ad hoc* application.

Again, we find variations in the response which differing peoples make to economic incentives. On the one hand the pastoralists, who respond but slowly to opportunities for monetary gain, remain intent on applying the land to maintaining their herds without regard to more economic uses; and, on the other hand, individual members and sometimes groups of cultivating tribes are found who, given security of tenure, are anxious to put land to its most productive use. A tenure law which compels may be required in the first case, whilst a law which facilitates may serve in the second.

THE NATURE OF CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

4. Most of the land in East Africa which is in African occupation is held on customary tenures, the substance of which is not embodied in statutory law. The fact that customary tenure is deep rooted in African society, and is by its nature resistant to radical change, must be taken into account in devising and applying new land tenure laws. The rights in land which the African enjoys in his tribal society depend largely on his continuing position as a member of that society, and on the rights and obligations which he has towards the society and its members. He cannot escape from the latter without surrendering the former, and escape means the abandonment of everything held by the society as a whole to have importance and meaning in life.

Although we observed a desire on the part of an emerging section of the African community to cast off customary restraints on the effective use of land and although we recognize the advantage of enlisting the support of this element of the population in achieving our central objective, it would be quite wrong to convey an impression that the mere removal of traditional encumbrances would release a flood of enterprise. It would indeed be surprising if the vast majority of Africans who have grown up in the atmosphere of a subsistence communal society, in which nearly all action is determined by conventions, rules of behaviour and common agreement, could meet with equanimity and success the conditions of a modern exchange economy which requires day to day personal decisions. We should not, therefore, underrate the strength of resistance to change nor the fact that the change which we wish to achieve confronts the African, nurtured in a traditional society, with great difficulties.

5. Although contact with a modern world has revealed for some African farmers weaknesses in their customary systems, it is undoubtedly true that the majority of East African tribal communities today still believe that their security lies in the maintenance of their rights as communities in the land or as individuals protected by a local customary tenure. Particular tribes or groups have regarded the alienation of land to non-Africans, or to government departments and schemes for the resettlement of Africans alien to their group, as an actual or potential threat to their exclusive security in what they regard as their own land. Similarly, the individual African sees any attempt to interfere with the traditional rights which he enjoys within the community as a threat to that security which is guaranteed to him by custom. He will not easily and quickly appreciate the fact that new horizons are open to him because land can be freely purchased and sold, or because former exclusive boundaries are removed.

The important place of customary land tenure in African society and the real difficulty in accepting changes, combined with the fact that traditional

authorities may have important personal motives for resisting them, means that land tenure law cannot simply be left to evolve under the impact of modern influences. A lead must be given by governments to meet the requirements of the progressive elements of society by applying a more satisfactory land tenure law wherever a fair measure of support exists. So also the breaking down of exclusive tribal and clan boundaries cannot be left entirely to a process of evolution under economic pressure. Positive action must be taken by governments to induce these exclusive communities to put land within their boundaries to full use themselves, or to make it available for others. This should clearly be done on a basis of free negotiation and association of the local people in proposed land use development projects whenever this is possible, but, as a last resort, the central government must seek powers as occasion arises to evaluate and compulsorily acquire land to put it, or enable it to be put, to productive use.

THE LOCAL NATURE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF CUSTOMARY TENURE

6. The advent of British administration found well entrenched local land authorities controlling rights in land in accordance with accepted custom, and there can be little doubt that the British administration, acting in accordance with the principles of indirect rule, believed that through the recognition of native courts, native authorities or other traditionally composed local councils they were upholding the traditional land authorities. But no very great researches were made to ascertain precisely where the land authority lay and it is probable that as much authority was transferred as was upheld.

7. The central governments exercised some indirect control by approving or disallowing native authority rules relating to land tenure, such as the provision made for land transfers in Nyeri and the rules determining succession to land in Bukoba. Some influence has been exercised through the judiciary by the determination of appeals in land cases heard in the native courts, but, by and large, governments have left land tenure matters in the hands of local authorities. The indirect rule theory of native administration, as propounded by Lord Lugard and later modified by Sir Donald Cameron, envisaged a traditional chief, a traditional chief-in-council, or a council of traditional elders as self-governing local entities with clearly defined responsibilities—judicial, legislative and executive. These were seen to be the obvious authorities to control land tenure governed by native law and custom, for if they were not themselves the repositories of traditional authority in the matter of land they were clearly in the best possible position to know who held the real authority and to act through such persons. During the inter-war years the emphasis was changed from preserving and crystallizing indigenous institutions in their traditional form to directing their evolution towards representative machinery of democratic local government, but the emphasis was still on preserving the traditional form, made more representative. After the war, however, came a third stage, the local government stage, which aimed at transforming the old traditional native authorities into fully democratic, local, self-governing bodies of the English type. This process is now proceeding rapidly, especially in Tanganyika and Uganda. In Kenya, where there were less highly developed traditional structures of an adaptable kind, the stage of indirect rule was missed, and the process of developing local government on the English model is consequently more advanced there than elsewhere in East Africa.

8. In this process of changing local government institutions the control of land tenure has remained with local authorities, most of which are no longer constituted as satisfactory instruments for making and administering

land tenure law. Governments have not, however, on this account abandoned their past policy of leaving responsibility for African land tenure in local hands, for as recently as 1950 the Uganda statement on land policy includes this paragraph:

'With a view to ensuring the security of tenure of the individual African under the authority of his African Local Government, the District Councils of those Governments are being asked to draw up bye-laws governing land tenure in accordance with tribal customs, such bye-laws being subject to the approval of the Governor.'

In fact the control of African land tenure is traditionally a matter of local concern and the governments of all three territories have to this day fostered local control. It follows that the complete transfer of control over African land tenure to the central government is unlikely to be an immediate practicable and acceptable step. But the analogy provided by the separation of the administrative and judicial functions of local governments and the central control exercised over them, through the power to disapprove by-laws and through the determination of cases on appeal, suggests similar action in the field of land tenure by establishing separate local land boards, controlled in the exercise of their powers, by the requirement of central government approval.

INSECURITY IN LAND TENURE

9. A lack of confidence in the secure holding of land is an important circumstance to be taken into account in East Africa when devising a land tenure policy and the methods of its application. Existing fears are derived from the failure of customary tenure to meet satisfactorily circumstances of land shortage and of demands on land for certain forms of economic use; and from the manner in which the governments have assumed and exercised legal rights over land already subject to customary rights.

10. Both these causes of feelings of insecurity require examination. The first arises from the fact that customary subsistence society only provides really satisfactory safeguards for the individual within the conditions which were necessary to its maintenance, namely an abundance of land. When there is an abundance of land conflicting claims can always, as a last resort, be settled by opening up new land, and the need to have an unchallengeable title is not great. As land becomes scarce, however, and as either the possibility of an alternative livelihood to that derived from a particular piece of land recedes, or the desirability of a particular piece of land for economic purposes increases, the need for a secure title arises.

The second cause of feelings of insecurity arises out of the land policies pursued by the governments. The policy of leaving African land tenure to continue, unguided for the most part, under customary influences has not always led to the individual security demanded by modern economic conditions. In addition, conceptions of 'Crown land' and of 'Public land' which relegate the customary right holders to the legal position of occupiers at the will of the state have often, and particularly in so far as the state's powers have been exercised for the purpose of disposing of land to non-Africans, or for what the African regards as purposes of non-African profit, given the African a sense of insecurity in his land holding, notwithstanding the statements of policy and the complicated administrative machinery designed to reassure him.

We received much evidence of African fears on both these counts, and it is essential that the land law should be specifically designed so as to dispel them.

RACIAL TENSIONS ARISING OUT OF LAND DISPOSITION

11. Reference is made elsewhere in this Report to the historical circumstances of the disposal of land to non-Africans and of the existence of grievances, often enlarged and distorted over the years, in certain areas, notably in parts of the Kikuyu districts. There is no doubt that suspicion and bitterness, bred of small beginnings, has affected African minds in varying degree in all three territories ; and in these circumstances, and until confidence is re-established, it is necessary to provide a control over the transfer of rights in land between persons of different races.

B. The General Form of the Law required to Implement Land Tenure Policy

12. Land tenure laws, aimed at achieving the fullest possible continuous production by furthering the individualization of land ownership and enabling access to land, would be unrealistic unless they take account of the circumstances referred to in the previous section of this chapter. These require that at the outset the law should establish grounds for confidence that existing property rights will not be arbitrarily disturbed. It should then provide for a process whereby exclusive individual ownership of land can be registered where it already exists, and helped into being where it does not, and for the application of this process in specific areas. Existing circumstances next require that the law should empower the governments to take direct action as a last resort in certain cases. Provision for the control of land transfers will also be necessary ; laws should be devised to permit the establishment of landlord-tenant relationships suited to modern economic requirements and finally, land tenure rules to meet varying circumstances of a local nature will be required.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONFIDENCE

13. A single legislative act converting all existing rights into full ownership in land would undoubtedly destroy more confidence than it would create and its implementation might well be quite impracticable. Throughout East Africa interests in land which have been established by custom or by statute take a diversity of forms, some of which are inimical to the use of land in its most productive manner. But these interests exist and to refuse to recognize them would shake the foundations of the confidence which it is so necessary to strengthen.

14. It is also necessary to re-establish confidence which, in all three territories, has already been shaken over the years by the action taken in the disposition of land and the extinguishing of existing interests. We believe that this can best be done by providing in the law that government shall not exercise any right to dispose of land without an established legal process of adjudication and registration of all interests in the land in question first being carried out. The recognition of all existing interests in land does not mean that they should immediately be adjudicated and recorded everywhere. Such a task would be impracticable and it would, indeed, be undesirable to register, and thus crystallize, customary rights which take a form which inhibits economic land use and which, but for the act of registration, might change under the pressure of economic forces. The guarantee that existing interests would be recognized would lie not so much in the act of their registration as in the fact that no land could be disposed of by the government

until interests in it had been adjudicated and freely purchased or compulsorily acquired by the government under a statutory procedure.

INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP OF LAND

15. It should be made clear that in using the word 'individual' we mean to include any association of individuals which can act as a single entity. It would include such associations as co-operatives and companies, and it would not exclude any customary associations of Africans which in fact enable a single and undivided control to be exercised over the use of the land in respect of which the interests are held.

16. Where individual rights of land ownership exist these should be confirmed by a process of adjudication and registration. But where interests in land do not amount to full ownership we visualize that the facility which will be accorded to the purchase and sale of land interests by their registration will help to bring into being full ownership interests. In addition, legislation must be enacted which empowers government to dispose of all residual interests in land which has been subject to a process of adjudication and registration. This will enable governments to confer residual interests on individuals, thus converting the interests which they already hold to a more satisfactory form.

17. The process of adjudication and registration may be carried out in respect of either individual holdings of land or in respect of a whole area. The sporadic adjudication of individual holdings has many drawbacks, and we would advocate the application of the process of adjudicating rights to especially selected areas in their entirety, partly on the grounds of reducing expense, but more especially because individual adjudication lacks the general publicity which is the greatest safeguard against fraud and corruption afforded by systematic adjudication. Also, adjudication of individual scattered holdings may make consolidation into sound economic units more difficult in the future. In a note submitted to us, Mr. V. L. O. Sheppard, a leading expert on land registration, wrote:

'Sporadic introduction of registration of title is vicious in principle, as it means that each property is given isolated consideration when it happens to come up for registration instead of conflicting claims of neighbours all being thrashed out at the same time. Unco-ordinated work of this character is considerably less worthy of confidence, as well as being much slower and vastly more expensive than investigation and settlement of boundaries and title systematically conducted plot by plot throughout the district.'

We commend Mr. Sheppard's advice in general to the East African Governments but in order to avoid delay there should not be too rigid an adherence to the principle. In the course of our tours our attention was directed to numbers of isolated progressive African farmers who would welcome a final adjudication of rights in their holdings and the opportunity for having their titles registered and thus confirmed as a basis for effecting permanent improvements and sound farming practices on their land. In these cases the additional expense and difficulty of individual adjudication and registration would be justified and would be likely to stimulate local support for carrying out a systematic adjudication.

18. Provision should be made in the law for scheduling areas for the adjudication and registration of interests in land, and for the appointment of adjudication officers. The officers appointed must have the confidence of the local people. They should also maintain standards of wide humanity and understanding and, whilst it must not be forgotten that it is a judicial process which they are required to carry out, they should grasp the opportunity of

assisting individuals to consolidate their holdings by helping to sort out the exchange and purchase and sale of plots and by facilitating access to credit facilities and to the help of technical officers in the farm planning of consolidated units.

After giving full publicity they should adjudicate in open *baraza* with the neighbouring landholders and notables present, and where the consolidation of holdings is being urged, much time and patience will be required in assisting the process with the aid of the local men of standing and influence. The process of systematic adjudication necessitates an examination of all the interests in land in the area selected, and we believe that time and expense at a later date would be saved if all land interests within the area are registered at the time of the initial process of adjudication.

The area selected will have been one in which a fair number of people already own their land and the adjudicating officer, together with the local people, will have encouraged exchanges and the purchase and sale of interests in order to bring into being as many consolidated holdings in which there is full ownership as is possible. In other words, a general process of bringing about the individual ownership of land in the area will have been set in motion, and the registration in such circumstances of interests which do not amount to full ownership should facilitate their transfer.

19. The interests adjudicated, whether conferred on individuals or retained for disposal by the government, must ultimately be recorded in a Register of Rights which, for ease of access, should be maintained by the central government on a district basis. It is, of course, essential that the register be kept up to date and for this purpose the law must provide for the compulsory registration of transfers including successions, gifts, exchanges, sales and mortgages. The register must indicate the parcel of land to which it refers and a cadastral plan is essential for this purpose. The degree of accuracy of the plan must depend largely on the purposes to which the land is put, for obviously the same degree of accuracy would not be necessary for extensive grazing land of low value as for valuable market gardening land or land in residential areas. Furthermore, the difficulty or ease with which adequate maps can be prepared must depend on the nature of the terrain and on the existence or absence of permanent marks or features on the ground.

The means of carrying out cadastral survey and the degree of accuracy required are matters for determination after taking expert advice. In view, however, of a tendency to demand unduly high standards of accuracy we would suggest that the advice on which decisions are taken should be tendered in the light of the purposes to be achieved, and should not be based on perfectionist survey considerations.

20. In 1937 Sir Ernest Dowson and Mr. V. L. O. Sheppard proposed to use air photography for cadastral purposes throughout East Africa. It was suggested that decisive tests should be made in the Kenya coastal belt and in Uganda, but the war intervened and the proposal was not followed up. We have been given to understand, however, that cadastral survey on the basis of aerial photography is being planned in part of the Nyeri and part of the Kericho districts. It is of great importance that this start should be extended by trial surveys in a number of areas. These trials should be conducted on a definite plan designed to determine the cost and limitations of the use of aerial photography for the type of cadastral work required in the varying conditions to be encountered in the regions where the adjudication and registration of land rights are at present, or may in the future

become, desirable. We have been able to study aerial surveys recently made for other undeveloped areas, and have been impressed with the precision and the recording of detail which is now possible by this method.

21. Whether aerial photography is used or not it will be necessary to have available teams of men trained in simple survey work, operating under trained surveyors, to complete the groundwork and the final cadastral plans and to keep them up to date. The Agricultural Department in Kenya has demonstrated that Africans can without great difficulty be trained in the simple survey work required for farm planning, and at the Makueni Settlement Africans have prepared the plans on which holdings in the Settlement are identified. There can be no doubt that the training of Africans in sufficient numbers for this work is perfectly feasible; and it should be integrated into a definite plan for progressively undertaking the work of registering African land rights in the manner which we have recommended.

22. No method of preparing plans for the purpose of registering land interests avoids the necessity for boundary identification marks on the ground and such is the atmosphere of suspicion, regarding the possible consequences of any survey work on the ground, that the most careful preparation and the full support of leading local Africans is essential before work commences. This may well prove a stumbling block at first, but we believe that as the advantages of assured exclusive registered interests in land appear, the difficulties will diminish.

23. The selection of areas to be declared for the purpose of carrying out the process of adjudication and registration of interests in land is of importance, and governments should consider the matter in relation to both heavily settled areas and unsettled or lightly settled areas. The object to be kept in mind must always be that of increasing the economic use of the land, and consequently to apply the process in areas where there is little prospect of expanding economic production would be a waste of time, staff and money. Furthermore, since economic production depends on access to markets, attention should first be directed to areas served by adequate communications.

In heavily settled areas of high economic potential the process should be applied where production is stultified by fragmentation of holdings, by conflicting interests in holdings and by litigation over the ownership of interests; but even in such areas it would be unwise to proceed without a fair amount of support by the people in the area. The environs of townships should obviously be included, even though the land in question may not be agriculturally productive; for the advantage of securing private titles in land in a negotiable form in such areas are, for the reasons given in chapter 19, essential to healthy urban development.

In the lightly settled or unsettled areas of high economic potential, a process of adjudication and registration of land interests is desirable to prevent an unregulated assumption of customary rights and to enable government to dispose of residuary interests in the land concerned in a manner likely to achieve full production. It would probably be unwise for the government to declare an area for this purpose of preventing a haphazard settlement of the land on customary lines without, at the same time, having plans for the ordered development of the area after the adjudication and registration process has been carried out. Government should obtain some measure of public support by associating the local people and authorities in the form of development proposed whenever this is possible.

24. Whether the interests confirmed for registration should be freehold or leasehold will depend on circumstances. It follows from acceptance of the principle of recognizing all existing private interests in land that the *de facto*

interests should not be diminished by registration. For example, a government should not take advantage of the fact that the *de jure* position of Africans holding land in customary tenure may be that of tenants or occupiers at the will of the state. It should be for the adjudicating officer to assess the actual customary interests exercised in a holding and if, in his opinion, these amount to a freehold, then they should not be arbitrarily reduced to a leasehold. This would not preclude the holders of land interests in an area being adjudicated from agreeing to the conversion of a variety of forms of customary interests into leaseholds held from the government, should they wish to do so.

25. To assist the process of the individualization of the land ownership the possibility should not be overlooked of enacting laws of prescription and limitation. In all land tenure systems sooner or later a *de jure* recognition is eventually accorded to a *de facto* position, and the manner in which such a step or progression of steps are taken, and their timing, must be a matter of political judgment. A law prescribing the acquisition of a right to property by uninterrupted possession for a stated period, and a law laying down a time limit within which an action or claim in respect of interests in land must be raised, will greatly simplify a territory's system of land tenure. In particular the existence of such laws would greatly assist the process of adjudicating rights, and they would also give a greater security to occupiers of land in which the interests are not adjudicated, since ancient claims would not be upheld by the courts. But the circumstances permitting of the application of laws of prescription and limitation undoubtedly vary throughout the three territories depending on the nature of customary tenure laws and the strength of opinion supporting them.

It is not common African practice to debar claims to land on account of lapse of time, but on the other hand the acquisition of a right by long user is not unusual. It is in fact the fear of an outsider acquiring rights by long user that accounts for such safeguards as redeemable sales and prohibitions on permanent crops and buildings which are features of many systems of customary tenure in East Africa. It would not therefore be taking an entirely alien step forward to formalize the acquisition of rights by prescription.

The matter must be judged by the governments concerned but we would strongly advocate having laws of prescription and limitation on the Statute Book for application wherever and whenever it is possible to do so without upsetting public confidence.

THE COMPULSORY ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES

26. If public confidence is to be maintained, any powers which the government has for the compulsory acquisition of land should cover only the acquisition of registered interests in land. In other words, if the government intends compulsorily to acquire land in respect of which the interests have not already been registered, it must first carry out the process of adjudicating and registering the land interests in the area concerned.

Governments must, of course, have powers to acquire land compulsorily for public purposes; but if the exercise of such powers is not to be a continuing source of friction with the public it is important that 'public purposes' should be clearly defined in the law, or that, in the absence of specific definition, the Governor-in-Council should be empowered by the law to certify that any given project is a 'public purpose'. It is equally important that the manner of making the equitable valuation of the rights to be acquired and the basis of valuation should be clearly laid down and should not be left to assessment on a variety of ever-changing principles or to the

arbitrary judgment of some public officer. We were struck by the fact that officers carrying out acquisition proceedings have in the past received little guidance in the matter of assessing the value of the land, and instances have occurred where the procedure was for the occupant to name the sum he wanted, for the acquisition officer to name a lower figure, and for settlement to be somewhere between these amounts, neither of which may have any reference to the actual present value of the land. Any instructions must make it clear that the object is an equitable valuation based on the current market value of the land.

THE COMPULSORY ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES

27. A problem confronting governments will be how to give access to land for productive purposes which do not fall within the definition of 'public purposes'. The necessity to take powers for the compulsory acquisition of land for productive purposes will only arise when all attempts to negotiate a purchase or lease of the land in question have failed. The local control of customary tenure and the tribal or group exclusiveness which have continued to the present day, and which have been fostered and protected under the law, make it probable that free negotiations to obtain access to land will not always prove successful. In such an event we consider that the need to obtain access to a particular area should be decided as a national issue, and that each case should require a special ordinance giving powers to the government to acquire the land compulsorily.

CONTROL OVER TRANSFER OF INTERESTS IN THE LAND

28. The form of the proposed land tenure law has been conditioned by the existing circumstances, but the individualization of land ownership will itself give rise to circumstances which must affect the form of the law.

Elsewhere the individual ownership of land in peasant communities has sometimes led to the emergence of a chronic state of indebtedness, the continued fragmentation of holdings and the unproductive accumulation and holding of land by a few individuals in circumstances of little alternative income-earning opportunity for those who have parted with their land.

(i) *Avoiding a State of Chronic Indebtedness*

29. In many countries where standards are not far removed from those of East Africa, peasant land ownership has resulted in a heavy burden of unproductive debt. When land has become a negotiable security which can be used for raising loans there are always those who, in times of prosperity, wish to borrow and those who are prepared to lend money on a scale out of all relation to the value which the land offered as security will assume in times of depression. The result is the creation of unsupportable burdens of indebtedness in which debt charges swallow up the income earned from the land and so eventually destroy incentive to further effort on the part of the cultivator. The land either gets into the hands of a money-lending class who are not farmers, or else the peasant is kept on the land by the moneylender at the limit of subsistence and in a state of hopelessness in which he will make the minimum effort to farm his land properly. Alternatively, the land is acquired by a few wealthy individuals who, frequently as absentee landlords, employ rack-rented tenants. Again, the peasant proprietor is very liable to apply the money raised on the security of his land to purposes other than the improvement of the land itself.

It follows that restrictions must be imposed in the present interests of the African on the mortgaging of his land and on the recovery of a debt through the sale of his land, and provision for this should be made in the law.

But in order that the progressive African farmer should not be wholly debarred from offering his land as security for the raising of development capital, the lending agencies in the form of land banks, to which we refer in chapter 9, should be exempted from the general provisions of the law in this regard. The land banks operating on commercial principles, but on capital provided on the favourable rates commanded by government guarantees, will be selective of their clients and will have an interest in ensuring that the loans are expended on the purposes for which they are made. At the same time they will be able to lend money at rates more favourable than those which could be extended by the commercial banks or the private money-lender, and thus the charge of a discriminatory imposition imposed on a racial basis could not be sustained.

(ii) *Limiting the Fragmentation of Holdings*

30. Fragmentation, in so far as it results from the operation of inheritance laws, takes place under systems of customary tenure and will not be arrested by the emergence of individual ownership. But the law which we have proposed for the registration of interests in land at least provides an opportunity for limiting future subdivisions of such land, by including a prohibition on the registration of subdivisions below a certain size. At the same time, in order to enable the continued operation of customary inheritance laws, it may be necessary to provide for the registration of shares in the ownership of subdivisions; and in this connexion the law should include provision for a minimum share and for an agent or trustee to be appointed on behalf of co-owners.

It is doubtful whether a more positive approach to this important matter of preventing fragmentation of land-holdings can be made by governments at the present time, but every opportunity offered should be taken to demonstrate the disadvantages of inheritance laws causing subdivision and dispersal of holdings, and we would not rule out the possibility of a local demand arising for legislation changing inheritance laws as the advantages of maintaining economic agricultural units become more apparent to the African.

31. We considered the desirability of furthering the consolidation of fragmented holdings by a policy of registering only exclusive interests in holdings judged to be economic units, but this posed the difficult problem of determining what constitutes an economic holding, for what may be scarcely an economic holding for mixed farming today might provide ten such holdings for intensive coffee production or for building sites tomorrow. On balance we rejected the idea for this reason and also because, in an area in which a process of systematic adjudication and registration of interests is carried out, the registration of interests in units of land which are not themselves economic holdings will make such interests easily negotiable and thus facilitate the consolidation of holdings.

(iii) *Limiting the Accumulation of Large Land Holdings*

32. Once titles to land become negotiable the possibility arises of large holdings of land accumulating in the hands of a few people with the danger that some of these holdings may remain unproductive.

The accumulation of land holdings for non-productive speculative purposes is not a problem peculiar to East Africa, and many governments have considered the alternative expedients of land taxation, and of the application of severe sanctions, even extending to the compulsory acquisition of the land itself, to enforce proper land use. But in chapter 8 we point to the paucity of local savings in relation to the need for capital investment, and a general

land tax would, we consider, further reduce the available local savings of individuals for application where they are most needed, namely for reinvestment in the land.

Furthermore, there are in our opinion insuperable difficulties in collecting a general land tax in the conditions of East Africa today. The variety and lack of recorded information regarding customary land interests, and the absence of knowledge of produce yields on which values might be based, render the equitable collection of a general land tax impossible. The situation may be changed in years to come when the registration of interests in land has proceeded a long way, and it might be desirable then to consider a system of land taxation based on potential productivity on the Indian model, but any association immediately of land registration with land taxation would certainly impede the process which we are anxious to encourage.

33. We also considered the prevention of the unproductive holding of land by means of a tax on undeveloped land. But the determination of what constitutes undeveloped land is in any country difficult, and in new developing territories in which agriculture is in no small measure experimental, it becomes almost impossible, excepting in the most glaring cases where there has quite obviously been no development at all over a period of years. Even in such cases it may well be that the owner of the land is building up development resources gradually out of farming profits from part of the land, and this process might be arrested by taxation without, in all cases, a readily available alternative means of developing the land. It appears to us that the most effective way of preventing the unproductive holding of land is through the enforcement of land use laws and through the use of the powers of compulsory acquisition which we have described earlier in this chapter.

34. What of the fear that large numbers of African peasants might be encouraged to part with their land if they obtained exclusive individual titles, notwithstanding the absence of alternative means of livelihood? The strongly ingrained incentive of both the community and the individual to cling to the land would not disappear overnight, and the opportunity which the individual African would have to buy land, as well as to sell it, would to some extent be compensatory. But in general the African holds relatively small cash reserves, he is inexperienced in saving and in applying savings to a productive use, and whilst the danger that he would part with his land to persons who have greater cash resources and business experience should not be exaggerated, equally it should not be ignored.

35. The change from a traditional communal system of land tenure, embodying an egalitarian conception of land use, to a system under which the individual ownership of any quantity of land may depend simply on the possession of a quantity of money, is of a drastic nature and it might lessen the disintegrating effects of the change if local communities were brought into consultation. In particular, regarding the effect of the accumulation of large land holdings by individuals, with the possible emergence of increased numbers of landless people, we would recommend that the government should, either on the representations of local communities, or acting on its own initiative, prohibit land holdings above a certain size in any specified area. The representations of the local communities in this matter should be made through the agency of local land boards, the constitution and functions of which we discuss later in this chapter.

It is not suggested that as a general rule and in all areas the size of land holdings in the hands of any individual should be limited; but it is necessary to recognize that undesirable social and economic consequences

may arise from the free negotiability of land titles. A watch should be kept on the situation and government should have the power to impose restrictions when it is clearly in the general interests of the country to do so.

(iv) *Transfer of Land between Races.*

36. We consider that it will be necessary to exercise control over transfers of land agreed between persons of different races. This control should be exercised by provisions in the law :

(a) to render null and void all transfers of interests in land other than interests which have been registered,

(b) to ensure that transfers shall take the form of *leases only* and that reversionary rights remain with the seller, and

(c) to ensure that all such *leases of land* are subject to the Governor's approval.

We consider that the Governor's approval to leases of land between persons of different races should be freely given, and in respect of specified areas the consent might well take the form of a general approval of leases of holdings smaller than a stated size and for periods less than a stated length. This would have the effect of encouraging economic mobility which is so necessary, particularly in urban areas.

LANDLORD-TENANT RELATIONSHIPS

37. As local land shortages have arisen in the lands customarily held by a family, clan or tribal group in circumstances where the traditional method of moving on to new land is not open to the community, the landless individuals have sought the right to use spare land held by other groups. In some areas it has become customary to allow these 'strangers' to use land but to prevent them acquiring permanent rights in the land. Resort to such expedients as redeemable sales or prohibition on the growing of permanent crops and the erection of permanent buildings has become customary. We are concerned with this development in so far as it often prevents land being put to economic use.

It is clearly undesirable to attempt to impart to these quasi landlord-tenant relationships a rigidity imposed by a general statutory law laying down the defined rights and obligations of the parties concerned. Considerable variations exist in the form which the relationship takes in different areas, and even in the precision with which the parties to the arrangement can be identified. Also, the practicability of applying generally laws, providing for such matters as compensation for permanent improvements or the removal of prohibition on the growing of permanent crops, is doubtful in existing conditions. We consider that the matter can best be dealt with by enabling rules to be made to meet the particular circumstances of differing areas.

38. In areas where the individualization of land ownership has proceeded far and where simple contractual relationships between land owners and tenants are developing, flexibility in these relationships could best be maintained by rules which preclude the inclusion of specified deleterious conditions in the contracts. It would also be helpful to have readily available simple model forms of contract adaptable to varying conditions, and for local agencies to foster their use. In areas where the terms on which persons from outside a community are admitted on to the community's land are of a general nature, the rules made might well take a more positive form.

Where any uncertainty exists regarding the security of interests in land, however, it will undoubtedly be difficult to persuade local communities to

accept rules, or to impose rules on them which may remove what they regard as customary safeguards against the assumption by strangers of permanent interests in the land. The fear of losing permanently interests in the land will only be effectively dispelled as individual interests are registered and as the substance of agreements to transfer any such interests is also recorded.

39. In Buganda the position is complex and requires special consideration. The statutory rights and obligations fixed by the Busulu and Envujo laws are based on the fact that persons living on land which became 'mailo' estates had customary rights in the land. Mr. A. B. Mukwaya says in his publication on land tenure in Buganda:

'The main effect of this law was to consolidate whatever customary rights were covered by it into legal form. But where the law is silent, and it is silent on many points, ancient custom, or whatever is considered ancient custom by the judges, has been followed.'

In Buganda the fact that the landlord is an African, frequently with an accepted status and recognized function in the society which may embrace his tenants, has helped to avoid a direct conflict of interests, but as land becomes scarce and increases in value the permanent occupation rights of tenants against fixed payments of 'busulu' and 'envujo' dues will become an increasing embarrassment to the landlord. On the other hand, as the conversion of customary rights of occupancy on Crown land to rights of ownership proceeds, the tenants of 'mailo' land are bound to regard their obligations as unjustly onerous. It is obviously desirable to get away from the present position and to establish a state of affairs whereby all land in Buganda is either owned by the occupier or is held on a normal tenancy in which the rent is related to the value of the land and the conditions are established by agreement. But the present statutory relationship cannot be removed merely by repeal of the law and the substitution of contractual tenancies without doing an injustice to the tenants who, today, have permanent rights of occupation over a certain amount of land on payment of what is in fact a very small rent. The position under the law is that undisturbed occupation of an area of land sufficient to support a man and his family is guaranteed, provided that a specified sum of money and certain other specified dues are paid to the landlord. Also, further specified areas of land, up to a maximum of three acres, can be used for the growing of certain economic crops against payment of additional fixed sums. Many tenants also make contractual arrangements with their landlord for the use of additional areas of land over and above those areas in respect of which they exercise statutory rights and pay statutory dues.

40. It is not unusual for the purchase and sale of these tenancies, known as 'bibanja', to take place and, in addition, the subdivision and sale of 'mailo' land itself is proceeding apace. The whole situation is further complicated by the fact that the registration of transactions in 'mailo' land is not up to date, the survey of holdings is far from complete, and paper transactions in land interests have been taking place over the years which bear no relationship to the actual extent and situation of the land to which they purport to refer.

41. In respect of 'mailo' land it is essential as a first step that the unsatisfactory state of the land registrations should be rectified and that the cadastral surveys should be completed, and we believe that steps are already being taken to this end. We would also commend to the Buganda Government the suggestion that the Busulu and Envujo laws should be

made inapplicable to all future settlers on 'mailo' land and that the conditions of occupation of future settlers should depend solely on contractual arrangements with the 'mailo' owners. They should also consider making provision that the Busulu and Envujo laws would cease to apply to any 'mailo' estate on which both landlord and tenants agree that their statutory rights and obligations should be replaced by a contractual tenancy.

Further, to facilitate the process of turning over the landlord-tenant relationship to a contractual basis there should be model forms of agreement available for those who wish to make use of them. Also we think that in any settlement schemes started on what is now Crown land, the Protectorate Government should consider the possibility of allowing tenants from 'mailo' land to participate, in cases where tension or unsatisfactory land use have developed on the 'mailo' estates in question.

42. On Crown land in Buganda a rent is charged by the Government for temporary occupation licences for areas not exceeding five acres on the basis of the 'busulu' payment on 'mailo' land. Here the alternatives which present themselves are to treat occupiers of 'bibanja' in exactly the same way as we have recommended in the case of customary interests in general, or else to take steps to get the 'bibanja' holders on to a proper contractual tenancy basis.

The 'History of Uganda Land and Surveys' by Mr. H. B. Thomas and Mr. A. E. Spencer referring to the ultimate result of settling claims to 'mailo' land arising out of the 1900 Agreement and the Supplementary Agreement made in 1913 states :

'... it became impossible to state that any land was Crown land until, survey having passed over the area, it was ascertained that no Provisional Certificate holder desired to mark his claim therein. Thus at the conclusion of the original survey, in 1936, the British Government's share was for the most part confined to the swamps and to tracts in the outlying counties which by lack of water or on account of tsetse fly are under prevailing conditions uninhabitable.'

43. The Crown land within Buganda could, we believe, be treated differently from Crown land outside Buganda, on the grounds that the former is in the nature of a Crown estate, acquired by virtue of a definite agreement which placed the Crown's interest in the land acquired on a par with that of any 'mailo' owner in his land. The Crown estate was, as distinct from much 'mailo' land, unoccupied, and thus any Africans who subsequently took up 'bibanja' on Crown land in Buganda have not got the same customary occupation rights which justified tenants on 'mailo' land being accorded a privileged position under the Busulu and Envujo laws. It would, therefore, appear that no injustice would be perpetrated if long leases were substituted for the present holdings on the Crown land in Buganda.

LAND TENURE RULES FOR LOCAL APPLICATION

44. So far in section B of this chapter we have been concerned with aspects of land tenure policy which can be given effect by basic legislation for general application, or for application when certain specified circumstances arise. In addition to this basic legislation, however, land tenure rules to meet changing local needs will be required.

Any land tenure rules which are made must command a measure of local support, but it is of vital importance that the rule making machinery should be so devised that no rules can be made which are out of line with the territory-wide land policy and which may obstruct the eventual individualization

of land ownership and the application of the law enabling access to land in the interests of the inhabitants of the territory as a whole.

The participation of local communities in the making of land tenure rules may be secured by either of two methods :

(a) by empowering locally constituted land boards to make rules with the approval of the central government, but subject to an over-riding power of government either to make rules where a local board has failed to do so or to prescribe new rules in cases where the local board persists in proposing rules which are inconsistent with central government policy, or

(b) by empowering the central government to make rules after consulting the local land board concerned.

In either case the law should permit the initiation of the rules either locally or centrally ; but the decision whether procedure (a) or (b) is adopted must depend on the assessment of local circumstances.

C. The Agencies required and the Implementation of Land Tenure Policy

45. In a review of Lord Hailey's 'Native Administration in the British Territories in Africa', Sir Philip Mitchell, then Governor of Kenya, wrote¹ :—

'Every Dependency in which I have served has had a Department of Lands, and in all it ought really to have been called the Department of Non-Native and Urban Lands. . . . It is a sobering reflection that the whole of the land administration in respect of African occupied land in East and Central Africa . . . is carried on without any participation by the Central Government except at the stage at which Provincial or District Commissioners may be involved in their capacity as revisionary or appellate authorities from native courts. We have, in effect, adopted a wholly "indirect" method in the matter and left the traditional agencies without supervision or guidance, in conditions in which it is unwise and unrealistic to pretend that they will be adequate for the task. In the meantime processes—economic and social—are going on, often at a great pace, which are radically changing conceptions of tenure, while agriculture and animal husbandry are being directed by the extremely competent staffs of the departments concerned into developments which must inevitably have a profound effect, since many common features of the tribal land tenure and permanent agriculture or stock raising are incompatible . . .'

We agree with this assessment of the position, and the immediate task in hand is to establish central government and local agencies which will ensure that the central objectives of land tenure policy are consistently and rigorously pursued.

46. We attach such importance to the reform of land tenure that in each territory a minister should be charged with the duty of formulating land tenure policy and obtaining the advice and co-ordinating the activities of all the agencies concerned with land policy and land development.

LAND TENURE OFFICERS

47. Under the minister there should be appointed a land tenure officer charged with the duty of establishing liaison between the minister and the local land boards to which we refer in paragraphs 49 to 51 of this chapter.

¹ Journal of African Administration Vol. III, No. 2, April, 1951, p. 55, et seq.

It is to the land tenure officer that the local land boards should turn for a clear understanding of the government's land tenure policy, and he should be the channel through which local circumstances and local feeling and opinion are conveyed to the minister. He should also be responsible for setting in motion the land tenure processes necessitated by government decisions.

In order to perform these functions the land tenure officer will require a clear understanding of land tenure policy, of land tenure legislation and of the technical procedures and processes involved in implementing policy under the law. It should not be forgotten that, although within the African territories experience in this field is limited, much invaluable knowledge applicable to African territories is possessed by officers who have served elsewhere particularly in India and the Far East.

ADJUDICATION, REGISTRATION, BOUNDARY DEMARCATION AND CADASTRAL SURVEY OFFICERS

48. The administrative machinery of governments must ensure that the action to carry out policy decisions is quickly initiated and that the technical staff is available to carry them out. The land tenure officer will require the services of officers of a number of technical departments. The services of officers familiar with the technical processes of adjudication of interests in land, of registration, of boundary demarcation and survey and of land valuation will all be required. Without wishing to go into detail we would suggest that the most convenient way of effecting this might be for the establishments of such technical departments as those of the Registrar of Lands and the Director of Surveys to be augmented by the inclusion of officers to be made available exclusively for this work. The separate technical functions to be performed by the officers concerned acting as a team are quite distinct in character, and we would not recommend that they should be included in a single new department. At the same time the augmented staff of the various departments concerned must be earmarked for the particular purpose of implementing the land tenure decision of the government taken on the advice of the Land Development Board. Such continuing functions as the maintenance of land registers should, however, become the responsibility of one department.

LOCAL LAND BOARDS

49. In every step taken in pursuance of the aims of land tenure policy it is essential that the people in the area concerned should understand, and be closely associated with what is being done; for land tenure cannot be effectively changed and access to potentially productive land cannot be gained against the overwhelming opposition of the local people affected, and, as we have explained earlier in this chapter, land tenure in most of the land in East Africa has been in the past, and is today, left in local hands.

To assist in the process both of interpreting and of guiding local views and actions concerning land tenure, we recommend that local land boards should be established throughout the three territories.

50. The composition of the boards might well vary to meet differing circumstances, but elected boards might not contain all the essential elements, and we would therefore recommend that the boards should be appointed so as to contain effective representatives of the local people, including some of the traditional land authorities, representatives of progressive land users, and the minimum number necessary of the officers of the technical departments most concerned.

The local land boards should for the most part be constituted to deal with matters affecting the tenure of agricultural land. Matters affecting the tenure of land within urban areas, which we have recommended in chapter 19 should be placed under a form of special administration, should be the responsibility of the authorities concerned with the administration of such areas; for the disposition of land within these areas is so intimately connected with the close administration directed towards their development that the relegation of responsibility to a separate local land tenure board would be impracticable.

51. The main functions of the local land boards would be:

(a) initiating proposals for the systematic adjudication and registration of land interests and for ordered resettlement, and the submission to the central government of recommendations for the declaration of areas for these purposes;

(b) examining proposals emanating from the central government for carrying out the same purposes as in (a);

(c) drawing up detailed plans for the emergence of satisfactory economic land holdings both in areas subjected to adjudication and registration, and in areas for resettlement and opened up to use—these plans should be prepared in conjunction with the Land Development Board and with the help of the land tenure officer;

(d) explaining all adjudication, registration and settlement schemes and all land tenure rules proposed to African district councils and to the local people, and enlisting and stimulating their support;

(e) initiating land tenure rules and examining proposed rules emanating from the central government, enacting land tenure rules in cases where they are given this power; and

(f) keeping in touch with the local land boards of adjoining areas and with the Land Development Board, which is referred to in chapter 22, in order to enable the integration of plans in the furtherance of a country-wide policy.

D. The Contrasting Position of Land Status and Tenure in the Three Territories To-day

52. We have recommended that the land tenure laws of all three territories, though adaptable to local conditions, should be based on a uniformity of principle and a consistent aim of policy which contrasts sharply with the existing position outlined below.

Governments in East Africa and successive governments in the United Kingdom have taken the view that it would be imprudent to disregard the ingrained traditional African conceptions of security in land, and they have sought to foster an atmosphere of confidence and contentment by guaranteeing the perpetuation of those forms of customary security in land which most of the African people themselves have been anxious to maintain. The object of land policy has, therefore, been to afford African communities security in the sense that their customary land rights, whether these be the rights of particular tribes, clans, families or individuals, would not be interfered with either by governments or by immigrants.

Policy regarding the disposal of land to non-Africans and the conditions of their tenure has been determined by the differing historical, political and economic circumstances in each territory. But in all cases land is held by non-Africans on forms of tenure, such as freehold or leasehold, which follow the pattern of tenures in the United Kingdom, and all matters concerning the holdings, such as their grant, registration and disposition, are determined by the statutory laws of the territories.

Briefly the basic position in each of the three territories is as follows.

UGANDA

53. The Uganda Order in Council of 1902 gave all land not held in private title the status of Crown land, and provision for the administration of Crown land was made in the Crown Land Ordinance of 1903 and subsequent amendments to that Ordinance. In order to ascertain what land was Crown land, or conversely what land was held in private title, the Crown Land Ascertainment Ordinance of 1912 established a procedure for the claim and recognition of rights and interests, African and non-African, against the Crown; but in 1922 the Crown Land Declaration Ordinance was passed which limited to twelve months the period within which claims could be submitted. African claims were not in fact submitted and the lapse of the statutory period in effect excluded them from legal recognition.*

The position today is, therefore, that the private titles legally recognized consist of grants made prior to 1902, mostly to non-Africans, the 'mailo' titles in Buganda and elsewhere, and all grants in Crown land made after 1903 in accordance with the provisions of the Crown Lands Ordinance.

54. Land in African customary occupation and subject to African rights under native law and custom is not, under the legislation, recognized as in private title; but the policy has been to hold this land in trust for the use and benefit of the indigenous population and, although its ownership is legally vested in the Crown and not in the African community or the individual Africans holding it in native law, the Africans' rights of occupancy in it are administratively respected and protected. The most recent declaration of the policy of protecting the rights and interests of Africans in Crown land, notwithstanding their strictly legal position as tenants-at-will of the Crown, was made in 1951. This recognition and protection of customary African rights and interests in land is applied in all Crown land with the exception of that within Buganda and within townships. No African may hold Crown land in Buganda or in a township except on a lease or licence from the Governor, and no non-African can hold Crown land anywhere in the Protectorate except on a lease or licence from the Governor.

55. The position regarding the transfer of land rights is that in Buganda 'mailo' land cannot be transferred to non-Africans except with the consent of the Governor and the Lukiko, and outside Buganda land held in registered title by Africans cannot be transferred to non-Africans without the Governor's consent. The Africans' customary occupancy of Crown lands throughout the Protectorate is, in effect, similarly not transferable to non-Africans except with the Governor's consent, by reason of the fact that it is unlawful for a non-African to occupy any Crown land except under a lease or licence from the Governor.

* The main object of the 1922 Ordinance was to expunge the many claims which were being pressed by Africans for 'mailo' estates on the Buganda model. The Government's policy was to preserve as much land as possible for direct peasant occupation and the status of 'Crown land' was conceived as a guarantee of this.

KENYA

56. The land is divided into Native lands which are administered in accordance with the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, and Crown land which is covered by the Crown Lands Ordinance.

The Native lands, which are comprised of nine Native Land Units, are vested in the Native Lands Trust Board which, to quote the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council, 'shall hold the areas comprised in each Native Land Unit in trust for the native tribes ordinarily resident in those areas at the coming into operation of this Order.'

In addition to the safeguard of their exclusive tribal interests afforded by the Order in Council the Masai possess additional security in the greater part of their Land Unit under the terms of a treaty.

57. The Crown Lands Ordinance* makes provision for the following categories of Crown land: Native Reserves, Temporary Native Reserves, Native Settlement Areas, Native Leasehold Areas, Communal Reserves, the Highlands, the Northern Frontier District and the Turkana District, and Crown land not falling within any of these categories. In each of these categories the disposition of land and its administration is different: in the Native Reserves and Temporary Native Reserves the exclusive rights of particular tribes are maintained; the Native Settlement Areas are reserved for the purpose of settling thereon African groups, families or individuals; the Native Leasehold Areas are reserved for the granting of leases to Africans; the Communal Reserves are reserved for the joint benefit of 'the Arab inhabitants and an African tribe or African tribes'; the Highlands is 'subject to the protection and control of the Highlands Board in accordance with the provisions of any Order in Council and of this Ordinance, and of any other law for the time being in force in the Colony'; the Northern Frontier District and Turkana District are areas in which 'the African tribes at present residing therein shall have a prior interest'; and in the remainder of the Crown lands no particular racial or group interests are safeguarded. In short, the position is that in the Native Land Units and in all the categories of Crown lands, with the exception of the Highlands and the residual Crown lands, some specific race or tribe is given an exclusive interest in the land.

58. In the Highlands the control of the Highlands Board, as determined by the Highlands Order in Council, extends to 'protecting the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands' and to 'advising the Governor in all matters relating to the disposition of land within the Highlands'. The Highlands Board does not have legal powers to prevent the holding of land by non-Europeans in the Highlands, but transactions in land in the Highlands require the consent of the Governor† and in every lease granted to a European in the Highlands there 'shall be implied a covenant that he shall not without the consent of the Governor in Council appoint or allow a non-European to be manager or otherwise to occupy or be in control of the land leased'.‡

The Highlands Board, which is constituted by the Order in Council with a majority of members elected by the European Elected Members of the Legislature, has, in tendering its advice to the Governor, consistently pursued a policy of restricting the holding of land interests in the Highlands to Europeans, and the Governor has always accepted their advice which, over the years, has on frequent occasions received the support of both Her Majesty's Government and the Kenya Government.

* The Kenya Crown Lands Ordinance, Cap. 155 of the 1948 Revised Laws of Kenya.

† The Kenya Crown Lands Ordinance, section 88.

‡ The Kenya Crown Lands Ordinance, section 36.

59. The Native Lands Trust Ordinance contains provisions for 'setting apart' land within the Native Lands for a number of specified public purposes and also for private purposes, and for the granting of leases of land which has been 'set apart'. The land so 'set apart' and leased remains Native land, and an elaborate procedure, varying with the extent of the area and the purposes for which it is required, is laid down for local consultation with the people in the area concerned and the local district council, and for consideration of all applications by the established local land boards and the Native Lands Trust Board. In the event of the rejection of an application by the Trust Board the Governor may refer the matter to the Secretary of State for final decision. The same procedure for the 'setting apart' of land is applied in the Native Reserves and the Temporary Native Reserves.

It should be borne in mind that the machinery has been designed to safeguard African interests in the land and that the 'setting apart' of any part of such land must be for purposes which are in conformity with the general requirement of the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council.

60. Land is held by non-Africans in both freehold and leasehold in the Highlands and in Crown lands which fall outside the specified categories. No leaseholds have in fact been granted to anyone in the Native Leasehold Areas, and in the other categories of Crown lands and in Native lands all land is held by Africans in accordance with native law and custom, apart from the relatively small areas which have been 'set apart' and leased.

TANGANYIKA

61. The Land Ordinance* declares the whole of the lands of the Territory, whether occupied or unoccupied on the date of the commencement of the Ordinance to be Public lands, 'provided that nothing in this Ordinance shall be deemed to affect the validity of any title to land or any interest therein lawfully acquired before the date of the commencement thereof and that all such titles shall have the same effect and validity in all respects as they had before that date'. The Ordinance goes on to state that 'subject to the foregoing proviso, all public lands and all rights over the same are hereby declared to be under the control and subject to the disposition of the Governor and shall be held and administered for the use and common benefit, direct or indirect, of the natives of the Territory, and no title to the occupation and use of any such lands shall be valid without the consent of the Governor.'

In addition to the interests referred to in the proviso which we have quoted, and to the rights of occupancy granted by the Governor under his powers to dispose of Public land, land throughout the Territory is held in accordance with native custom, and as regards land so held the preamble to the Land Ordinance states 'it is expedient that the existing native customs with regard to the use and occupation of land should as far as possible be preserved.'

62. The policy regarding the grants of rights of occupancy to non-Africans has been reflected in the interpretation placed by the Governor on what is 'for the common benefit, direct or indirect, of the natives of the Territory'. There is no provision in the law which prevents the free purchase and sale by persons of any race of rights of occupancy subject to the fulfilment of their conditions.

THE BASIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE RECOMMENDED POLICY

63. A policy of 'land reservations' and of safeguarding sectional interests, even when these may conflict with those of the community as a whole, is the antithesis of what we have recommended. But we recognize that it will

* The Tanganyika Land Ordinance, Cap. 113 of the 1947 Revised Laws of Tanganyika.

not be easy to eliminate the idea of security based on a 'reservations' policy fostered over the years and for so long generally accepted, and to replace it by the conception that greater security rests in the guaranteed recognition of private interests in land.

64. Confidence in the land tenure policy which we have recommended will only grow if the policy is consistently pursued and in particular if there is a rigid adherence to the safeguard under the law that the powers of disposition of land interests shall be exercised subject to recognition of *de facto* private interests in the land. If this is accepted it follows that the governments of the three territories must demonstrate their intentions by divesting themselves of powers to dispose of land otherwise than in the manner which we have proposed, because retention of the power to regard persons holding *de facto* private interests in land as occupiers at the will of the state or of a Trust Board of Crown lands, Public lands or Native lands, is inconsistent with the expressed intention to recognize and respect existing private interests. This involves that such terms as Crown land, Public land and Native lands will no longer have statutory significance.

65. Furthermore where a 'reservations' policy is not supported specifically by provisions in the law, but has been supported by declarations, the change in policy must be demonstrated both in word and in deed.

66. We are aware that present policy is supported in certain instances by treaties, agreements and solemn declarations. We have, however, been charged with the duty of pointing the way to improving the standard of living of the people of these territories, and we have suggested the land policy which we consider is most likely to enable the achievement of this aim. We do not believe it to be part of our duty to consider how, and when, the barriers to the implementation of that policy can be removed. We would say, however, that in so far as they are not removed, to that extent will the possible overall prosperity of the peoples of these territories as a whole be retarded.

CHAPTER 24

Agrarian Administration

THE PROBLEM

1. In the previous chapters we have emphasized that if the standard of living of the people of East Africa is to be raised, confidence established and the source of wealth safeguarded, the best use must be made of the land and obstacles to this must be cleared away. These obstacles are customary land tenure systems, unsatisfactory farming, and other practices which, though perhaps appropriate to past conditions, no longer meet present needs. In fact, something in the nature of an agrarian revolution is essential, a revolution in outlook and in practice, and one in which all the people of East Africa are personally involved. The problem is bedevilled, particularly in Kenya, by old grievances, real or imaginary, and, while this legacy of the past cannot be ignored, it is urgently necessary that there should now be clear, unprejudiced thinking and the formation of a realistic policy for the future.

2. The problem was well summarized by Sir Philip Mitchell in the paper he wrote on 'The Agrarian Problem in Kenya'.* After referring to African grievances, he went on:

'These are things of which we must take account, for collaboration and confidence are indispensable if we are to find solutions for our pressing difficulties; and even if we have to agree to differ about the justification for some of the things which have occurred in the past, we have got to find common ground in a joint effort to secure the future. I believe that we shall find that common ground and that to find it is the most immediately urgent problem today alike for the Government and for the leaders of the communities concerned with these grave problems: but we shall never find it by fixing our attention solely on the past.

It should be noted that the tenure and use of land (including often watering places and salt licks for stock) and the ownership of stock are a part of the fabric of all African society and at present inextricably interwoven with clan and family obligations, with birth, marriage and death, and with the beliefs and observances of each tribal community. These things are far more than merely property rights, as in our conception, and no approach to the problem which neglects that consideration can hope to succeed. We have got to get the people and their simple but remarkably effective indigenous authorities and institutions as well as their newly developed political leaders with us, or we shall all of us pay the price to nature. It is idle to suppose that what we have to do can be done by unreasoning and unexplained compulsion, by punishment or the use of force, except in the limited sense that in appropriate circumstances and with public opinion behind us, individuals can be prosecuted and punished for breach of rules of good husbandry.'

THE DIFFICULTIES

3. The African's way of life, sense of security and livelihood are indeed, in his view, bound up in the land and stock and in the manner in which he uses them. His traditional methods of husbandry have evolved through the centuries as a result of hard experience and trial and error. Memories of famine are always with him, and it is no wonder that he is reluctant to change his way of life unless a better one is demonstrated to him. He knows that if he adopts new ideas and they fail to produce the promised results he will suffer real hardship. A change which has everything to commend it technically may not appear to the peasant to meet his needs. The growing of a new and more productive type of grain, for instance, may give more food but it may not be the kind of food which he needs, or it may involve problems in harvesting or preparation with which he cannot deal. A new form of landholding may give better economic results but it may not provide for the varying needs of a family as it grows larger or smaller. Where people are living at a subsistence level there is little or no margin for experiment. Failure may mean not only loss of wealth but starvation.

4. In these circumstances it is essential that any new methods which are demonstrated must have been proved in conditions which are familiar to the peasant and which he can imitate with the means at his disposal. It is of no use demonstrating improved methods of husbandry which involve the use of buildings, machines, labour or techniques which are beyond the capacity of the people who are being urged to adopt them. Individuals, moreover, are not only influenced by prospects of becoming richer: an increasing number want to escape from the communal life with its ties and restrictions, and many want only a peaceful life and to live well with their neighbours. They value leisure for its own sake and this must be taken into account.

* Sir Philip Mitchell, *The Agrarian Problem in Kenya*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1948, p. 14.

5. These are some of the main causes for resistance to change and they are not peculiar to Africa. They are difficulties which must be recognized and overcome because changes there must be, and it is the duty of governments to assist the process. It has been the general experience in East Africa, as elsewhere, that the difficulties of achieving change are not insurmountable once the people understand the reasons for change and appreciate that they will profit by it and not have it forced on them, except as a last resort. This is a subject which has been confronting the administrations for many years and, since the war, increasing attention has been paid to it as the problems of Africa accumulate in ever-increasing complexity. That so much has been achieved in areas where there has been concentration of effort, such as Mbulu in Tanganyika, Machakos, Kikuyu and Kipsigis in Kenya, and Kigezi in Uganda, is a tribute to the devotion and persistence of the officers concerned and to the good sense of the people. It also shows that, if conditions are right, changes which are necessary can in fact be carried out.

THE CHANGING SCENE

6. Generally speaking, until about twenty years ago, and in many places until very recently indeed, the African villager was little affected by social services and the work of the technical departments. Administration was confined largely to the maintenance of law and order, the collection of taxes and the administration of justice. But with the ending of the war the momentum of government activity increased: plans designed to develop the natural resources of East Africa were everywhere drawn up, giving promise of greater prosperity and a rising standard of living, and in their train came the technical officers. They and their assistants penetrated to the remotest villages preaching the conservation of water, soil and forest, the planting of more cash crops, mechanization, fertilization, immunization and mass education. They came and they went, and too often as they came and went so did the gospel change. Should a certain tree be felled? The representative of the forestry department would say 'No', but the representative of the agricultural department might say 'Yes'. Instead of having to deal only with administrative officers, and with the chiefs and their staffs, the villagers had to deal with a multiplicity of personnel who were ever-changing, as were only too often the administrative officers themselves. Demobilized African soldiers returned to their homes changed men after serving with people of many races in far countries, and new ideas and doctrines were disseminated. Nationalism, too, was becoming a potent force. Thus confidence in the good intentions of the administrations was shaken just at a time when these were making a special effort to improve the lot of the African by saving his land from destruction, by raising his standards of living and by extending social services. Yet this is a temporary phase. As the help and teaching of technical officers bears fruit and as the villager increasingly responds to economic incentives, so will he come to appreciate the technical officer more, even perhaps at the expense of the missionary and the administrator. At present, however, suspicion remains a great deterrent to progress, and if East Africa hopes to win the battle to create a prosperous community on the land everything possible must be done to overcome it.

THE APPROACH

7. At first the peasants do not consider plans for education, health or improved agriculture as their own concern: these are things thrust upon them by an outside, though benevolent, power which protects them and to which they must submit. They do not at first consider that they must themselves make an effort to better their own conditions with the new techniques

which are being urged on them. Unless direct stimulus is brought to bear they do not respond. The desire to move from a communal society to western individual society grows slowly. This is the first stage; the stage in which the district commissioner and technical officer must persuade, cajole and if necessary impose. It is, however, a stage which has been passed through in the spheres of education and health until now the more progressive people clamour for the services which at first they were reluctant to accept. In agriculture, too, it has been passed in places where the immediate advantages of improvements have been demonstrated. Coffee-growing in the Chagga country and elsewhere, which at first had to be imposed, is now developing of its own momentum and the people are eager for more. The same applies in some degree to cotton in Uganda and to other cash crops. But the less spectacular side of agrarian change, which is even more important in the long run but of which the advantages are less immediately obvious, is still for the most part seen as a tiresome and unnecessary innovation by meddling outsiders.

8. This is the problem with which the administrations are now confronted. How can the need for change in such important matters as land tenure, cattle, and land use be accepted and recognized as essential by the people as a whole rather than as something thrust upon them by government? The objective is to teach the people not only to appreciate the need for these changes but to bring them about themselves; to employ their own technicians and advisory services; to regard the agrarian revolution as their own affair to be achieved by themselves with government assistance where they want it. This process has gone some way in education and health because the benefits are more immediately apparent. On the land results are slower and less spectacular. A man can learn to read and write in a matter of weeks, but it takes him many years to improve his herd.

9. We believe that governments should now consider this as a long-term problem as well as an immediate administrative question; that they should, in their training institutions, teach Africans to lead their own agrarian revolution; and that they should initiate and encourage the activities of non-governmental advisory and extension agencies in suitable areas now. They should regard existing departmental measures only as an important but temporary means of improving agrarian conditions while they are helping Africans in every possible way to make the changes themselves with the assistance of non-governmental agencies such as co-operative societies, specialized agencies and independent experts.

COMPULSION

10. There are those who hold that when some measure is considered necessary in the interests of better land usage, be it the consolidation of fragmented holdings, the redistribution of population, soil conservation measures or the culling of stock, the need for reform is so urgent that it is the government's duty to enforce it in the general interest by compulsion without more ado. They can point to instances where innovations have been introduced by compulsion in the past which have greatly benefited and, in the end, been welcomed by the people concerned. Outstanding instances already quoted were the introduction of cotton to Uganda and of coffee to Kilimanjaro. In the latter case, Sir Charles Dundas induced the Chagga to grow coffee against their wishes when he was their district commissioner. He succeeded, and many years later a grateful tribe invited him to visit their country at their own expense to be fêted and acclaimed as the founder of their prosperity. But reliance on compulsion cannot achieve the wide-spread changes in land usage which we believe to be necessary. Apart from

other considerations such as the obvious desirability of avoiding compulsion wherever possible, it would require an enforcement staff quite beyond the resources of the administrations and, except where the direct results are strikingly profitable, as in the cases cited, the effect would rarely last once sanctions were removed.

11. We have had much opportunity for study of different methods in different areas and for hearing the opinions of those who have had practical experience of the problem, and we are convinced that the best results can be achieved at this stage only by patient propaganda, including demonstrations, and by persuasion. Where the best results have been achieved, these are the methods employed, but their effectiveness varies with the quality and number of staff available and with the degree of continuity of posting and policy, as well as with the nature of the people and problems concerned. A robust approach by men of character and personality who are individually known to the people, and especially to their leaders whether of the new or old schools, is the key to success. The more Africans who can be trained for this work the better. Peasants are more likely to be converted to new land use and land tenure practices by men of their own race, but they must be well-trained men who can win the respect and trust of the people. Finally, where compulsion is unavoidable it should be exercised by the enforcement staffs of the administration or of the local authorities and not by the extension staff, for once they have had to compel they may no longer be able to persuade.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

12. In recent years colonial policy has come to regard the raising of the standard of living of people in under-developed territories, including agrarian reform, as a two-way process; first, the encouragement and stimulation of local initiative rising from the individual, the family or the clan unit; and secondly, the introduction of advanced techniques, guidance and direction by teams of specialist officers through extension services. To this end governments have established community development organizations. We do not wish to consider their general objectives here, but we would point out that, to be successful, all attempts to propagate new concepts of social behaviour must have a clear aim which is intended to be an answer to specific problems facing the individuals concerned. Vague projects of rural betterment in general, or attempts at 'social uplift', will simply lead to a dispersal of much well-meaning effort.

13. We believe that increasing provision should be made for the training of leaders and field staffs in methods of persuading people to take their own initiative in the better use of their land and in adapting themselves to modern living standards. The fullest possible use should be made of the public relations or information departments and of trained community development officers. These are specialists in the art of inducing people to adopt changes and they can contribute much by way of advice and by conducting propaganda through the media of literature, cinematographs, demonstration teams and other techniques. The field work, however, must be an interdepartmental operation designed to achieve certain specified objects.

PROVINCIAL AND DISTRICT TEAMS

14. There are two main official agencies for improving rural living conditions, including better land use. These are the provincial and district teams and the local government bodies. It is now common practice in East Africa for the central governments to work through teams at provincial and district

levels. The typical arrangement is for the district commissioner to be chairman of the district team and for all the district heads of departments to be members, as well as representatives of the public of all races. Often members of local government bodies are also members of the team, and thus liaison is maintained between the two principal agencies for development.

15. While the organization described is typical, it is by no means to be found everywhere. In smaller districts interdepartmental liaison is informal and this is usually quite satisfactory, but there is often scope for more co-operation with local leaders of all races. It may be that the work of the team is mainly concerned with predominantly African areas, but even where this is so, it would be useful to bring leading and interested Europeans and Asians, including farmers and missionaries, into the teams. They will often have an intimate knowledge of the farming potential of particular areas and give much valuable advice. In some districts of Kenya especially, non-officials have contributed much to the development of African areas but much more use should be made of them everywhere, because it is of fundamental importance that the people should play the fullest possible part in planning and stimulating development. We therefore recommend that, where possible, leading non-officials of all races should be invited and encouraged to sit together on district teams. In particular, it is important that local government bodies should be represented at team meetings to procure co-ordination of effort.

THE RÔLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

16. Parallel with the district team is the local government body, whether it be a native authority or district council, which is very much concerned with all aspects of local betterment, including land usage. As local government develops, so one will expect to find natural resources committees and social services committees concerning themselves particularly with such matters as proper land use and social services. In Tanganyika the natural resources committees of multi-racial county councils will play a very important part in the conservation and development of natural resources at the county level. The division of functions between central and local government should be clearly defined and will vary in accordance with the circumstances. We recommend that both at the county and district levels local authorities should be encouraged to co-opt technical officers on their natural resources committees until they have themselves built up efficient technical staffs. This will necessarily be a slow process.

RULES

17. In most places land usage rules are needed. They will continue to vary considerably according to local needs. They should commonly be made by local authorities, but only where the local authorities are persuaded of their need. Where local authorities cannot be persuaded of the need for rules which the central government considers to be essential it is wrong for the central government to direct the local authorities to make them. If they do not believe the rules to be good they will not enforce them. In such a case the central governments should, in our view, make and enforce the rules themselves under powers conferred by a natural resources or other appropriate ordinance.

DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE AND VETERINARY SERVICES

18. Another aspect of the problem of co-ordinating extension work in the districts is that of the respective functions of the officers of the departments of agriculture and veterinary services. The present position is that the

departments of agriculture are responsible for purely agricultural activities and the departments of veterinary services are responsible for all aspects of animal husbandry as well as animal disease control. This division of responsibility is liable to lead to some confusion in the field where, as in the case of ley farming, animal husbandry and cultivation are complementary and inseparable. Some reallocation of the duties of the two departments might well be advantageous.

19. The present arrangement dates back to the early history of the departments. In those days the first veterinary priority was the control of epizootic diseases. Members of veterinary departments were therefore widely distributed to control these diseases, but as they were the only people on the spot they concerned themselves also with animal husbandry. They retained their responsibility for this side of farming when departments of agriculture extended their activities to the improvement of peasant agriculture. The possibility of wires becoming crossed has been appreciated by the governments, and in all three territories we found that at headquarters there is close co-operation between the heads of the two departments. In the districts, however, where the officers of the two departments do not always see eye to eye, the position is sometimes less satisfactory. This difficulty is bound to occur and it prejudices the maintenance of a firm and certain policy in the teaching of mixed farming. We consider that the time has now come to revise the division of responsibility between veterinary and agricultural officers. We recommend that the veterinary departments should now normally confine their activities to the pastoral areas and also to disease control anywhere, leaving the agricultural officers to concern themselves with all aspects of cultivation and animal husbandry in the agricultural areas.

EXTENSION STAFF

20. Having reviewed the organization for effecting agrarian change at the district level, we must consider how that organization should be staffed. First, we quote from an article recently written by Mr. D. J. Penwill, District Commissioner, Machakos, which sets out very clearly the staff problem as it strikes an officer who has had current practical experience in an important district and has already achieved a large measure of success in difficult circumstances. After describing the agrarian problem in the Machakos District of Kenya and the steps taken to deal with it, he writes:

'The whole of this, when added up, represents our local attempt to do what the Colonial Service everywhere else in the world is doing: to accomplish a social revolution; to try to help the transition from the Iron Age of 1889 when Machakos Station was founded, to standards of life and social behaviour which are set by the immigrant European community, and to effect this—which can only be most painful and difficult—without imposing intolerable strains on the social fabric of the Kamba tribe with resulting violence and sorrow. We speak of schemes and plans, and money, but all this is something that is being done by people, to people. We shall fail or succeed by the measure of the quality of our officers in the field, and above all on the quality of the district officers, who are the leaders and co-ordinators of the officers of the other departments. Few Africans can read, and no blueprints and paper can be published that they will study; they will believe and accept only if they are convinced by someone whose face they know well, who is thoroughly familiar to them and whose more striking personal characteristics are probably the subject of amused if tolerant comment.

The field officer's task is to improve the standards of husbandry in every way, guide the communal effort, organise nurseries for new cash crops, and generally to implement the betterment schemes, in detail, on the ground. They cover activities which, departmentally classified, are administrative, agricultural,

veterinary, and forest; hence their inter-departmental titles. In principle they do not have to be Europeans, but for the time being in practice they are, (if only Africans knew how much we yearn for them to produce men of character and energy who can truly take over what they covet!) These field officers have no paper work, save to write a longhand report each month and pay out staff on vouchers prepared in Machakos, which should not take up more than two days. The rest of the time they spend out in their locations, which they soon know in intimate detail. Each has a Land Rover and tent. Even at home in their sub-stations, their activities and interests, outside the family circle, necessarily fit into the pattern of life amongst an African people. There are not enough of them for social clubs, and tennis where it takes place is just satisfactory exercise. The evening walk brings them into contact with Africans. Their wives encourage the women in their homecrafts work, help with girl guides, and join in most of the other activities. Sometimes there are misfits, but they come everywhere, and usually both husband and wife move on. In this work, under these conditions, husband and wife must both be interested in what is going on, for their own sanity and wellbeing; a wife cannot treat Africa and its population outside her door as a giant "office" to which her husband goes each day and which can be shut out once he returns at night.*

21. We have quoted Mr. Penwill because what he says represents the view of one who is successfully tackling this important task in the field, because it accords broadly with the evidence we received from many other experienced officers, and because it expresses the views which we have formed ourselves. The needs are continuity of posting, sufficient staff and close personal contact with the people. If these requirements can be fulfilled, if land to take the surplus population while the congested areas are being rehabilitated can be found, and provided that the policy to be followed is clear and understood, we believe that the changes can be brought about on sound lines until they are taken up and achieved by the people themselves.

22. Where a district is big and densely populated it is desirable to place sections of it under the control of different district officers, as has been done at Machakos and in the Kikuyu country. In this way the administrative officers can become thoroughly acquainted with the people and with their problems, and, what is perhaps more important, the people can get to know the administrative officer as a human being. The importance of this personal factor was brought home to us repeatedly and, mainly for this reason, all classes of witnesses urged the importance of continuity of posting and of the learning of vernaculars by the officers concerned. Although we consider that local government and non-governmental agencies should play an increasing part in achieving agrarian change, we have no doubt that in present circumstances the main burden will in most parts of East Africa continue to fall on the administrative and local field staff. Apart from continuity of service, it is on the quality and supply of such men that much will continue to depend. We are well aware of the difficulty of recruiting and the high cost of employing a sufficient number of key men of the quality needed, but we urge that no effort be spared in attracting and paying for more men of the right type of all races, and in training suitable Africans to assume increasing responsibility. We were impressed by the very high quality of the men now in the districts. They are doing a magnificent job, but they have too much to do and almost everywhere more of them are needed if the agrarian problem is to be effectively tackled as well as the numerous other important tasks which they are called upon to perform.

23. Qualified technical officers, though necessarily mainly employed to give technical advice and supervision at district level, also do much direct

* D. J. Penwill, *Paper—The Other Side*, Journal of African Administration, Vol. VI, No. 3, July 1954.

extension work in the villages themselves, and the many keen and able departmental officers whom we met have brought about much striking improvement in farming methods. But administrative officers and technical officers can never hope to accomplish unaided all that must be done and it is here that we must look to the field officer.

FIELD OFFICERS

24. We have stressed the importance of personal contact between individual officers and the people whom they serve. Instead of there being, for example, five departmental field officers all dealing with the whole of an area from five different angles, each should deal with, say, one-fifth of the area from all angles, guided by district technical officers. It may be objected that one man cannot possibly be an expert in all aspects of development, but the repository of the specialized knowledge is the supervising trained technical officer whose duty it is to guide those who are in more intimate contact with the people in the villages. If the work required of the field officer of the kind we recommend is too specialized and difficult for him to learn, then it is certainly beyond anything the average African farmer can at present be expected either to understand or carry out. Indeed the field officer should have the all-round qualities of the successful farmer. We obtained many views on this subject during our travels and, in the light of the evidence we received and of our own observations, we recommend that governments should gradually build up a field staff, where it does not already exist, on the lines we describe in the following paragraphs.

25. Below the district level it should not normally be necessary to employ highly trained technical officers except for special purposes, such as a veterinary officer for dealing with the outbreak of a disease or an agricultural officer for doing research or experimental work. What is needed is a cadre of good field officers working for the district organization. First, the district should be divided into areas, each with a field officer, and each area should then be sub-divided into sub-areas, under assistant field officers. The size of the areas allocated to individuals must depend on such factors as the density of population, the staff available, and the nature of the problems. But it is better to have adequate staffs in the more important and limited areas than inadequate staffs spread too thinly on the ground.

26. This will be much more effective than the departmental system which has grown up in so many districts. A senior administrative officer who has had experience of both the departmental and the field officer systems summarizes the advantages of the latter as follows:

(a) The peasant has a better knowledge and understanding with the officer through whom all instructions emanate.

(b) A better co-ordinated programme of work is achieved.

(c) Many small desirable projects are achieved, which would otherwise be overlooked, because they are no department's responsibility.

(d) The peasant can get a balanced understanding of the government's policy and so public relations are improved.

(e) A general balanced advance in economic development is achieved.

Apart from these advantages, a man who is concerned with every side of development is more likely to obtain a true picture of the needs of a rural community than one whose interest lies only in one aspect of them.

27. A field service of this kind, dealing with all aspects of agrarian development under the district team, will play a very important part and the qualities most needed for the work are those of character and leadership.

Academic or technical qualifications will not matter so much. The conditions of service should be such as to attract good men of all races and to give them good prospects of advancement. There is no fear that the growth of non-government agencies will render the field officer redundant. For many years there will be more vacancies than suitable men to fill them. The field officers will be in the front line of progress and, if the service is to attract the right men, they must be able to reach a high level of remuneration in it. We envisage a service which would be built up gradually as suitable men become available, and no doubt it is one which many of the existing members of the departments will wish to join. For example, the existing field officers (agriculture) of Tanganyika, instead of being 'field officers (agriculture)' should become 'field officers', and instead of confining themselves to agriculture they should concern themselves with all aspects of land use.

28. While it is on the expansion of an efficient field staff that the governments must largely rely to maintain the drive for better land use, it will take time to build one up. The employment of unsuitable and inexperienced men may do more harm than good. A reliable African assistant agricultural officer attributed the disappointing progress of an agricultural development scheme in one area to inefficient and inadequately supervised field officers with untrained assistants. Such a service should attract some of the best men of all races, but it is mainly to the Africans that the governments will have to look.

29. Professor Fergus Wilson, Vice-Principal of Makerere College and in charge of agricultural training there, who has had much experience as an agricultural officer in the field, expressed the view that the best hope of achieving agricultural change was to train locally-born field officers in the School of Agriculture at Makerere. He foresaw no difficulty in attracting the very best students to the School, provided that adequate facilities for teaching were maintained and extended. The School of Agriculture at Makerere is planned to provide both diploma and degree courses. Suitable men who have taken the diploma course at Makerere could find excellent careers as field officers. Not every man who has a diploma or degree will be suited to be a field officer for he will need something more than technical training. He will have to be carefully selected. Professor Wilson emphasized that his students would have to be trained in the field to take full responsibility. Indeed, one of his main reasons for wishing to retain the diploma, as well as the degree course, in agriculture was to give an opportunity to students who might not obtain a degree but who would be likely to become good field officers. He emphasized the importance of including agricultural economics in the curriculum.

30. We agree with these views and recommend that the governments should support the development and extension of Schools both of agriculture and natural resources at Makerere, which should include the teaching of agricultural economics and which should play an increasingly important part in providing the staff needed for both government and non-government services. A most important function of Makerere should be to inspire leaders with a sense of mission; to make all of them appreciate the realities of East African life and its problems, especially those of economics and the land.

FIELD ASSISTANTS

31. Below technical officers working in the field there are at present field assistants employed by the departments and by the local government bodies. Their duties often include the enforcement of usage rules, a function which should be performed by agents of the rule-making authorities. They

vary very much in quality and effectiveness, depending on their personal qualities and the adequacy of their training and supervision. We had evidence which indicated that while in some instances such men were doing very valuable work, others had not won the confidence of those among whom they worked and were, therefore, of little value. Men of little education or standing, unless they are working under the close supervision of more senior staff, cannot be expected to exercise much influence in inducing peasants to change their ways of life, and most of them probably serve little purpose except perhaps in enforcing regulations. Those who should, and in many instances do, exercise considerable influence are the men who have position in tribal society, such as chiefs, elders and leading farmers. These are the leaders who can, and do, profit by courses in natural resources training institutions. What the best agencies are at the village level, however, depends largely on the social and political conditions in an area. In some, the formation of young farmers' clubs may prove a useful medium for propaganda, in others the traditional chiefs and elders, and in others again, co-operative societies. In any case the field staff must work in close collaboration with chiefs, elders and other leaders and obtain their confidence. They must never usurp their functions but always enlist their support. Where the co-operative movement is strong, the leaders and members of the societies can be particularly useful.

32. We have referred at some length to the importance of field officers because we believe that in this lies the best immediate hope of maintaining an effective instrument to achieve agrarian change in the field and because we believe that it is in this sphere that Africans will have an opportunity to play an important part in the process, provided that proper training facilities are expanded. We emphasize that the work of the district teams and field staff must be complementary to that of the local authorities and must at all times help the individual farmer on whom, in the last resort, all progress will depend. We stress that, at the same time, non-government agencies should receive every encouragement.

TASK CAN BE ACHIEVED

33. We were impressed by the fact that those officers who were in the best position to know the difficulties of accomplishing important changes were confident that they could be achieved within a few years, if the necessary high-quality staff and continuity were available. The District Commissioner, Kisii, in a memorandum prepared for us, after acknowledging the magnitude of the task of replacing traditional systems of land tenure and farming by 'a system of economic, demarcated smallholdings cultivated according to the accepted principles of good husbandry, precluded from fragmentation and subdivision', wrote: 'given adequate funds and adequate staff, but above all given staff of the right calibre and determination, directed with energy and imagination and reinforced where necessary by the law, I believe the desired results could be achieved in a reasonably short time.' Similar optimism was expressed by other experienced officers.

EXTENSION WORK AMONG WOMEN

34. It is just as important to obtain the confidence and co-operation of the women in the villages as that of the men. Women, indeed, play a major part in cultivation and all the efforts to teach the men the benefits of better farming may be frustrated if the women are not converted too. This is an aspect of extension work which presents peculiar difficulties, due partly to the backwardness of women's education and partly to the inferior status of women in many tribes. We were impressed by the success which had attended the efforts of the agricultural department of Kenya to

employ local women of standing to instruct their neighbours in better methods of farming. Women of standing in a location are instructed in their own areas and are then employed to go from garden to garden giving advice. They do this while still living in their own homes. It is a method which might well be extended to all areas where the population is not too scattered. It is by personal instruction by someone she knows and looks up to that the woman with the hoe is most likely to accept changes in her time-honoured way of cultivating. Much can also be done through women's institutes and clubs, which at present often tend to neglect agriculture even though it fills such an important place in the lives of the women concerned. In devising new farming methods it must be remembered that unless the matter is properly explained to them women cannot be expected to understand the necessity for changes which often give them more work to do and, at first, bring them little profit.

35. It is repeatedly stressed that there is great scope for the education of women in East Africa and for welfare work among them. In certain areas, such as the Kikuyu country, women have a very heavy burden of drudgery, and the division of labour between them and the men, however suited it may have been to past conditions, is now certainly weighted heavily against the women. Missions and welfare workers are doing much to help, but they are still hardly touching the fringe of the work which is urgently necessary if families are to be enlightened and progressive. There should ideally be at least one woman in each district organizing welfare work among the women through women's clubs and women welfare assistants, and we recommend that the attention of local government bodies should be drawn to this need. Some of the more wealthy local government bodies should now be able to pay for the training and employment of women social workers. In some districts it should be possible to bring women into the district teams and also into the natural resources committees of the local government bodies, whether by co-option or otherwise. Witnesses with whom we discussed the matter stressed the need to raise the status of women and their importance in every sphere of family life, not least as the trainers of children.

36. Female education is making some headway now and plans are everywhere in train for its extension, but there is so much leeway to be made up that this work must be supplemented by mass education among adults. Instruction should include the teaching and demonstration of the benefits of improved methods of farming. It should be possible, for instance, to enlist some of the women to support campaigns for the consolidation of fragmented holdings, as this would save them much tramping to and fro. We recommend that in each territory efforts should be made to obtain the services of a trained woman agriculturalist to pay special attention to organizing the education of women in the basic principles and economics of agriculture, not least in the schools and teacher training colleges.

37. In the foregoing paragraphs we have discussed administrative arrangements for achieving changes in land use at the district level, and we envisage that there will be co-ordination and direction at the provincial level through provincial teams as at present. The work at these levels should be co-ordinated, and continuous help, advice and impetus should be given by the executive officers or managing directors of the territorial Land Development Boards to which we have referred in chapter 22.

PART VI
Race Relations

CHAPTER 25

Race Relations

1. In chapter 21 we explain how, under contemporary systems, the outward pressure upon fertile land is resulting in conflict wherever land is scarce. The worst effect of this conflict is between African and European, for in this relationship it has an influence beyond the immediate locality and affects the whole range of confidence between government and people in the region. The latent conflict over land is not caused by non-African settlement and if there was no such settlement it would still be present between African tribes themselves. Indeed, from one aspect it can be said that it is by external contact, including settlement, that a way of escape from the conflict originated, for it is only by the stimulus of foreign demand for East African products that there has occurred any raising of the standard of living above that yielded by a subsistence economy and any development of alternative occupations. At first, inevitably, such contacts have been made by those themselves in contact with foreign markets and these, mainly Europeans and Indians, have by their skill and knowledge laid the foundations of new wealth. But from another aspect non-African settlement aggravates the situation. Where fertile land is scarce and is still sought as the only form of security for living such settlement appears not as the harbinger of greater wealth and better jobs but as an intruder. Particularly is this the case when there is an immense disparity between the size of the settler estates and the overcrowded holdings of indigenous cultivators about them, especially if the estates are undeveloped. This is also the case when opportunities of secure well-paid employment have not yet eventuated. In a similar way, in the search for jobs and higher incomes, the higher pay of Europeans or Asians, their higher standard of living and their access to wealth as entrepreneurs, sometimes give rise to feelings, however misguided, not of admiration but of frustration and do not act as a spur to attainment.

2. This indigenous antipathy to non-African enterprise may constrict the very expansion which is needed and drive away to alternative investment funds and skills which might contribute to raising the standard of living. It cannot be ignored, for expansion of the economy through non-African enterprise, without particular care to make its value understood and accepted, is certain to increase racial conflict. The historic process up to date has been one of communities for the most part living separately and not one of partnership in development. The value of efficient European ranches and farms as a guide to right usage by Africans has been submerged in a resentment that, unalienated, such lands might have eased their own grazing and cultivating problems. The European settler himself, busy with the pioneering task of discovering how to farm efficiently in an untested environment, has had little time as an individual for considering his African neighbour and, when challenged as a class by African claims that his presence is restricting their means of survival, feels that these claims are unjustified when the Africans do not practice proper farming in the land which they have. Very considerable changes in the attitudes of all concerned will be needed or these differences will paralyse future progress. For on the one hand the administrative tradition of 'reserves', or of special areas for tribal units, suggests the continuance, without interference, of the customary way of life, while on

the other hand, the immense gap between that way and modern farming and ranching encourages a belief that it is only by European settlement that undeveloped land can be brought into economic production. Fear and distrust are engendered by these opposing conceptions of the use of land.

3. Initiative to try and bridge the gap is being increasingly taken and its value is very far from insignificant. Marked appreciation of individual settlers who have given a lead in this matter was made evident to us in parts of Kenya and Tanganyika ; and how strongly the attitudes of individual personalities matter in this whole challenge of modernizing African customary agriculture was brought home to us in a number of instances of which two may be quoted as typical. In the Machakos District of Kenya a reconditioning committee has been set up to try and improve the Kamba reserve. Certain European settlers, who have developed efficient farms in the same environment nearby, serve on this committee, and such has been their reputation, not merely for success in their own field but for their interest and sympathy with their Kamba neighbours, that representatives of that tribe when meeting us, although full of complaint of insufficiency of land, expressly emphasized that they laid no claim against these individual settlers who were of real help to them. We quote a second instance from the Mbulu District of Tanganyika. At its northern end excellent agricultural land, at present uncultivated, adjoins a European farming area at Oldeani. Under need during the war, the local tribe was persuaded to lease this area to European farmers for wheat cultivation, but subsequent pressure by the Europeans for its alienation for a much longer period, on the grounds that the tribe did not make adequate use of it, aroused anxiety. The District Commissioner has recently pressed the tribe to experiment in the area with planned African settlement under a stable rotation but the project required machinery which an adjacent European settler kindly offered to provide. It was expected that the offer might be declined owing to local feeling. In the result, the tribesmen's reply was that they welcomed the help of this particular man because his competence as a farmer and his attitude of interest in helping them forward was already well known to them. We show no diffidence in quoting these small examples which can be matched all over East Africa, for few matters can be more important than the stimulation of a public spirit of co-operation and this must have its origin in the seed of personal behaviour.

4. By contrast, it is very apparent in Kenya how conflict and resentment have been promoted, and not only in its place of origin, by group attitudes arising from the regard of each race for its supposed security in defined land boundaries. This result we also illustrate from examples given to us.

The Machakos District of the Kamba tribe in Kenya is grossly over-stocked, and the adoption of proper usage practices in place of customary common range is a matter of crucial importance. A compulsory destocking campaign in 1938 provoked the risk of violence and was cancelled. Later a pilot scheme was worked out to teach the Kamba controlled ranching. With the reserve overcrowded, the plan depended on leasing empty unalienated Crown land in the Ithanga hills adjacent to the reserve but within the Highlands boundary. The lease was opposed by the Highlands Board on the grounds that some Europeans were interested in the area. As a result the scheme fell through. The racial reserve principle prevailed. The national need to teach modern ranching to a pastoral tribe was subordinated. The matter continues so today. Need is not treated as a criterion nor is use of land. No common interest is identified between European and African. Recently 16,000 acres of pastoral land in the Ithanga hills has been released for African use but only in

return for making 1,800 acres of national forest available for European use. The criterion, almost inevitably as long as racial boundaries are held to determine security, is a group bargain.

5. Not all pastoral tribes are as overcrowded as the Kamba but there are others, such as the Kamasia living in the Baringo District, whose economy could be vastly improved by the leasing, under control, of additional grazing which may be available in higher altitudes of the Highlands. In this way a balanced pasture rotation leading to modern usage could be introduced to rehabilitate the present destructive conditions prevailing on the Rift floor. Next door, at the northern tip of the Highlands among the Samburu can be seen one of the few instances in the whole of East Africa where a real effort is being made to teach a pastoral tribe to ranch properly,* thanks to the award of the Leroghi plateau made to this tribe by the Kenya Land Commission. It may well be advantageous as African ranching develops there under proper control, for the Samburu to lease adjacent ranches which are now empty and undeveloped but which are within the Highlands boundary. Provision for arrangements of this kind was envisaged by the Kenya Land Commission but proved unacceptable to the European community there. So strong was their determination to keep everything within the Highlands boundary to themselves that even the temporary use of the empty Kuruman ranch in this area by the Veterinary Department as a holding ground to quarantine African sale stock was bitterly opposed. Apart from the pastoral tribes, African leaders of cultivating tribes surrounding the Highlands, and particularly those from the overcrowded areas of Kikuyu, Kamba, Nyanza and of the small communities like the Elgeyo, clinging to the walls of the Rift valley for their livelihood, have been anxious to lease for their people undeveloped areas within the Highlands, and have been prepared to accept proper conditions of agricultural control. Instead of considering whether such arrangements can be utilized to assist the rehabilitation of lands in these reserves the Highlands Board has preferred to preserve the Highlands intact for Europeans and government policy has been to bring out additional European settlers.

6. It is appropriate here to illustrate also how damaging preoccupation with racial segregation has been when held by African minds. During the war a dried vegetable factory was built with European capital and management at Karatina in the Fort Hall District in Kenya to supply vegetables to the army. The African farmers in the vicinity derived an immense benefit from it. At the end of the war the Kenya Government proposed to hand over the factory to the local African farmers co-operative society, subject to the retention of European management to ensure efficiency. The offer was rejected by the Africans on the grounds that European management was not desirable in an African reserve; as a result the factory was removed and a stable and growing industry destroyed.

A further illustration is provided by an occurrence in the development of a piece of land known as Kimulot in the Kericho District of Kenya for settlement by people of the Kipsigis tribe. Here the provision by a European estate of a tractor to assist in road making work in the new area for African settlement had the effect of arousing African suspicions and stimulating opposition to the work being undertaken by the Government for their benefit. We ourselves came across instances of the same reaction when meeting the chiefs of the western Masai District. This district contains immense forest resources at present being destroyed by fire and by uncontrolled grazing

* Another example is at Simba Emali in Machakos District, an area recently cleared of tsetse at considerable expense and now operated with rotational grazing and stock control.

but capable under proper management, we were told, of producing timber to the value of £2,000,000 annually for the benefit of the district treasury. The Masai consistently refused to accept professional European forestry officers to attain this end, and confirmed their refusal to us, giving as their reason fear of further alienation and resentment at past treatment in matters of land.

7. We have given these examples from Kenya, but the same aspect of water-tight compartments between the indigenous people and the settler is apparent in Tanganyika. The Tanganyika Government has since the war pursued at one and the same time a policy of rehabilitation in African areas, and of alienation, where land seemed abundant, to European and Asian interests to increase the production of the territory as a whole. Although there is no segregated European area there, the interaction of these two policies has not been entirely harmonious. The position was particularly illustrated to us by the excisions of 400,000 acres of customary Masai country at Essimngor for European ranching and dairy farming. Only 166,000 acres were taken up but, whatever the financial dividend to the country from this action, the main need of the future—that the Masai (or the Arusha, nearby and overcrowded on Mount Meru) should be taught ranching and dairying—was not a feature of the proposal, while the psychological reception to such teaching, difficult enough already with the Masai, has been made harder by resentment at the alienation.* A similar and more severe psychological reaction was observed by us in the area between Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru to the creation of a consecutive block of European ranches, involving a rearrangement of land which has appeared prejudicial to the Meru tribe and this has caused them to be particularly resistant now to any form of outside instruction. European freeholds, alienated long before present conditions applied, ring the tribal lands on the fertile south side of Mount Meru. In the latter there is the familiar picture of overcrowding, of families with very small 'shambas', and no land for the coming generation. There is the usual jealousy that Europeans have big farms. Where these are undeveloped there is a feeling that they could be used for a larger number of African holdings and there is also resentment that, after the war, ex-enemy estates were not all earmarked to meet the tribal population problem but were divided as if European and African had an equal claim to consideration, a process which in some cases added further estates to those who already had them. In the Usambara mountains the same kind of problem is repeated. In such a setting individual Europeans and Asians who ignore conservation rules which are pressed on the African peasant, or who do not develop their land but sometimes hold it for speculative purposes, increase the difficulty of getting co-operation for improvement in land usage from African tribes in a degree harmful out of all proportion to the actual acreage involved. In the Pare and Uluguru mountains, where there are no significant alienations but where overcrowding is reaching chronic proportions, we were told that rehabilitation and resettlement schemes would need to be handled with great care for there were always fears which associated them with European settlement and negatived co-operation. Anxiety on the subject of any further alienation was expressed to us by Africans in a number of parts of Tanganyika. In places there was fear of a repetition of events in Kenya, of the dominance of a settler group, of land being acquired by such a group, and of land later becoming insufficient for the needs of Africans. Some of these fears appeared to be coloured by events in South and Central Africa and some of them by the sheer human difficulty of having a customary tribal

* We understand that the Tanganyika Government has recently decided to establish an African ranching experiment on this land.

economy operating harmoniously adjacent to an alienated estate. In north-western Tanganyika are some of the best potential expansion areas in the East African region and these are thought to be capable of carrying three times their present population when tsetse, lack of water and communications problems can be overcome. No alienations of importance have been made here but, nevertheless, representatives of the district councils expressed fears to us that the Governor might exercise his right to alienate land to Europeans and so leave their posterity no place for expansion. For fear of this they wished the land in their district to be registered as tribal land, as indeed did other representatives in southern Tanganyika. When pressed they agreed that the Governor must make the final decision as to what was best in the interests of the Territory as a whole, but they pointed out that this was easier to accept in countries where the central power was elected. They agreed that sometimes people objected to new things which later they found very good, but impressed on us the need for great care in explanation and consultation in gaining the support of the people to-day. Our interview with them is an illustration of the close relationship between land, local parochialism, and national politics apparent in more sophisticated districts, which we found prominently in central Uganda.

8. It might be thought that in Uganda, where alienation has been negligible and strong reassurances have been given concerning land, racial fears would not be an irritant, but in our meetings there with many African representatives of district councils and other organizations we encountered very considerable unease on the subject of Crown land and a good deal of parochial desire to decide all land matters on a local basis. Criticism was made of the granting of rights for mineral survey and development by the central government. Towns were thought of as non-African centres and their spread increased the feeling among Africans that land was being taken from them. While some of the comment was due to inadequate compensation, an underlying fear of alienation not unconnected with the history of Kenya, accompanied it, and some frankly related their parochial feeling to the political scene and said that the problem of the land was connected with their degree of faith in the central government which, in contrast to the local government, they regarded as a European affair in which they did not feel they had an adequate share.

9. We have quoted these examples not for the purposes of criticism—for those who can follow the whole history of land disposal in East Africa can understand how strong a sense of rightness is derived from achievement on the immigrant side and from checked customary expansion on the indigenous side—but to illustrate how inimical the present position is to the co-operation essential to increased productivity. However misguided these fears may be they are there, and their presence confronts most of the proposals recommended in this Report. Although we place great weight upon the registration of individual title in land so as to give a greater sense of security, this alone will not guarantee greater production. Very big changes must be made in present methods of land usage. These will involve strict measures of control, and their success will turn on convincing African public opinion to support them as correct developments for the community, and on dissipating beliefs which may be opposed to them on the ground that they are somehow connected with racial competition for land. These changes will also involve displacement and necessitate access to fertile land. But this at once challenges all sectional interests including the European in the Kenya Highlands. We draw attention to the lack of local capital and to the fundamental poverty of the region and so to its continued dependence upon foreign capital, skills, and experience: yet these are feared because they may combine to form a dominant interest as they

have in Kenya. We advocate encouragement of mining surveys and development, for mineral discoveries have been a great source of wealth in many countries: yet these are feared for the same reason and distrusted as if they would somehow take away the wealth before the African comes of age in his own country. We have advocated regional machinery in certain technical matters and have gone further in suggesting that a regional approach to the problems will bring the quickest hope of a higher standard of living to all. But this at once raises fears of racial domination. In Kenya political power is still largely in the hands of the European settlers. Declarations have been made that both Tanganyika and Kenya should develop as multi-racial societies.* Uganda has been declared to be primarily an African state. These differences may be contrasted with the similarity of the problems under discussion in this Report in the three territories and with the regional nature of their solution, and they play no small part in contributing to a state of uncertainty which makes the feasibility of the solution more difficult. Unless these differences can be overcome the economic development is certain to be jeopardized. Our analysis of the land problems and economic needs of East Africa leaves no doubt that there are great material deficiencies which require outside help. If this is to be effective there must be stability of government and time for people to learn new techniques. The parochial isolation, the lack of communications, the fundamental poverty, the dearth of education and experience are practical facts which underline the need for time if a competent régime is to be built up. Yet in the coming generation there is bound to be an increasing desire among the people for political self-determination. The crux of the matter is whether the economic help is regarded as something that competes with, or something that strengthens, political responsibility.

10. A policy without the co-operation of the indigenous people is no policy at all, and the difficulty about these differing political conceptions and their historic association with alienation is that they tend to present the European as an element seeking to maintain and further only its own political power. This produces a sense of conflict and opposition rather than of co-operation. It must be a first duty of statesmanship to seek out the possibilities and ways of making adjustments so as to avoid a clash of culture and race. Future policy needs to be associated with an ideal which can command general allegiance and can inspire a new confidence in joint endeavour. In this respect the retention of land in the Highlands of Kenya for purely European use, however much it may be justifiable on the grounds of past hopes and promises, has very serious limitations. It makes the Europeans appear as a tribe hanging on to their tribal territory instead of pooling it for the common territorial need, in contradiction to that inter-penetration of lands which we advocate as essential to economic production. And it depicts the Europeans as a political *bloc*, a picture which causes a phobia against any further alienation however much this may, in its particular instance of mine or sugar estate, or factory, be needed for the common weal. This in turn affects the confidence between European and African throughout the region upon which success in rehabilitation and resettlement depends. The phobia is exaggerated but it needs killing. In the present position, in Uganda alienation for settlement would be contrary to public policy statements; in Tanganyika it is now subject to local consultation with the tribes affected; and a similar system applies in Kenya outside the Highlands, except in the remaining Crown lands which are very marginal country. We advocate a loosening of these restrictions, approaching the matter not as seeking to protect Africans by excluding

*House of Commons Official Report, Vol. 502, No. 116, column 2250, and Vol. 530, No. 154, column 1638.

non-African skills which may help them, but we also recognize the sensitivity of this issue and recommend only leases of land between the races, Governor's approval and other safeguards.

11. Other indications help to clarify the necessary direction of policy. The figures we have given of the population percentages of the races show beyond doubt the urgency of the problems of the indigenous peoples. We show how small the immigration figures are and we stress that all who come are clearly going to live in an environment which depends on the solution of these urgent problems. We show that the great need of the region is to change African methods of land usage and to bring Africans into a modern exchange economy. This is as much to the European interest as to that of the African, for European farms cheek by jowl with African lands under customary African usage, with its inevitable dependence upon more land for subsistence, are insecure. The resulting frictions carry a risk that Africans will revert to an isolation which can benefit neither them nor those of other races. The situation both makes demands upon and offers the opportunity to the non-African of being the bridge to African economic development for his own safety and his own material interest.

It follows that the policy needed is one which will suit the economy to the people as a whole, and one which will invest in the African and build up with him an economy which is stable and sound. Doubts will naturally arise whether the simple customary society can be changed in an effective manner to build up a modern country. There is already ample evidence that where cash crops can be grown Africans are both willing and competent to participate; and it must be remembered that the conception of reserves and the attitude of protection for customary ways has diminished the sphere of stimulation and help which has been given to the process.

12. We have said that East Africa needs the skill and capital of the non-African more than the non-African needs East Africa and this is true in economic terms. But other satisfactions are often thought more important than material progress. Allowance must be made for changing ideas; for a desire to participate more as an equal. We were told that institutional arrangements, for example in some aspects of administration and government which emphasize differences in racial status, cause a sense of inferiority and injure self-respect. These are as much a cause of racial friction as is the land. We have made clear that, in our opinion, there is no gain in glossing over real differences in capacity, but it is evident that if the enthusiasm of Africans is to be awakened it is likely to be attracted to an increasing extent by the principle of giving a service rather than of issuing an order. This is not to say that disciplines are inessential, for the land reform will depend upon them, but they need to be made evident as the conditions demanded for the success of a process, for the smooth running of a machine in industry or for a productive rotation in agriculture, and they must carry technical conviction based on demonstrated experiment and trial. Our western civilization is not likely to be accepted unquestioningly, for Africans will wish to bring some contribution of their own to its transference to their environment. Its appeal will be tested by the contentment as well as by the economic advantages which it brings.

13. In the spirit of this policy every encouragement should be given to evolving new ways of association between Europeans and Africans to counter the so easily gained impression of European enterprise as an alien exploiter. It should in fact be building up African enterprise. We mention in paragraph 71 of chapter 22 the rôle which can be played by plantation companies as starters, and we think that organizations which can be built up as a

permanent African asset will meet the psychological problem by providing a bridge between European capital and experience and African aspirations. We would also advocate European and African partnerships and joint directorships. We have suggested that European estates should take on African tenants under proper supervision. We should also like to see African pupil farmers. Encouragement should be given, where enterprising individual African farmers emerge in sufficient numbers, to an African farmers' union which could employ its own European advisers and run its own extension service, to get away from the constant identification of these activities with government orders. We have expressed an adverse view on the artificial promotion of Africans to a certain percentage of managerial posts within a certain time. Arbitrary rules of this kind represent uncertain hazards and give a basic unreality to costs. In the same way we consider that insistence on standards of housing and welfare which are so extensive that they discourage investment, are premature ideals and should await the profitability of a business. There is one function, however, which we have repeatedly mentioned and which is indispensable to policy. This is the training of African personnel throughout an organization and their promotion, as opportunity and merit permit, to posts of responsibility. Timidity in this matter is a common error. A sense of responsibility can only come with experience of office. The cost of this function can be partly offset by an eventual reduction in the need for expensive expatriate staff. The great trouble taken by some companies to acquaint both their workpeople and the public with the costs and distribution of the profits of their undertakings is also a practice which can play an increasing part in African confidence in the value of foreign investment.

14. By far the greatest part of a new policy will be concerned, however, with African farming. Our approach here has usually been associated with a tribal conception which may develop into a local patriotism which should not be discouraged so long as it does not become a vested interest conflicting with territorial needs. Moreover, in the passage from tribal forms of society to a wider modern economy, individuals may feel a sense of being lonely and lost unless an organized form of economy is there to help them. In this respect planned settlement schemes, and the work of such bodies as the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation and of co-operative societies, may fill a very general psychological need. Our meaning is not that Africans are hopeless and need control but that the road forward needs planning. We judge it essential in this planning that the people themselves should feel a sense of participating in its creation and administration, and we think that African local governments should be associated in the selection of pilot areas. Both within the framework of such schemes and outside them, however, it is vital to take cognizance of the emerging African individual and to help him to develop his sense of leadership and initiative. Nothing can be more important in this regard than personal acquaintance and friendship.

15. It is impossible not to be aware that the problems before East Africa are part of a wider context. The essence of them is not intrinsically different from that of the general problem facing the world of finding a bridge between under-developed poverty-stricken territories and those countries with technical knowledge and capital. At the heart of both is the same great difficulty of finding confidence and security for one side, self-respect and efficiency for the other side, and success and contentment in the outcome. It demands a policy which can replace mutual fear by mutual hope. We view it as a new challenge in the world, demanding new approaches. We think that our recommendations fit in with this wider context and we hope that other nations in the Commonwealth, and indeed in the world, will contribute their personnel and their resources to the developing peoples of East Africa.

PART VII
Conclusions

CHAPTER 26

Conclusions

1. The purpose of this final chapter is to present in broad outline the conclusions which we have reached and the policies which we think should be adopted. In submitting this summary statement we are deeply conscious of the dangers which attach to simple generalizations. The many problems which we have been called upon to examine are highly complex, and throughout East Africa they appear in a variety of settings. Nevertheless, it may be helpful to present a general outline unencumbered by the many qualifications with which it has been necessary to burden the main body of our Report. We think it is important that certain of the main issues which have emerged from our study of the matters which have been referred to us should not be obscured by the attention which, for other purposes, it has been necessary to devote to the minutiae of particular problems and situations.

2. The various problems with which we have been concerned are set against a physical and economic background which, at least by western standards, is of unusual harshness. It is true that some areas of great potential productiveness exist but these are seldom extensive and they are widely dispersed over a region approximately equal in extent to the whole of western Europe. Throughout most of East Africa agricultural development is impeded on the physical side by inadequate or unreliable rainfall, by soil deficiencies and by the scourge of the tsetse fly. In addition, on the basis of present knowledge there are few of those exploitable mineral resources which have contributed so largely to the greater national incomes of a number of other African territories. In these circumstances economic development and the prosperity of the local populations must depend in the main upon the capital and knowledge which are brought to bear upon the limited natural resources which exist rather than upon the persistent bounty of nature.

3. The capital, knowledge and enterprise which have contributed most to the economic expansion which has occurred in East Africa have come almost entirely from outside the territories. But the period within which the indigenous populations have had close and intimate contact with western civilisation has been short and the majority of Africans are still ill-equipped to grapple with the complexity of problems which confront a people which has so recently entered into the intricacies of the modern world. The tensions which are thus created penetrate deep into the texture of the social order. To some extent this may be the result of an educational disability which may diminish with the passage of time. But more profoundly perhaps than any educational disability, the African has also been handicapped by his traditional form of society which has sought its security and stability in a mode of life which has had little specialization on the side of production, few opportunities for the exchange of goods, and few human contacts with the outside world. Fear of the unknown rather than a curiosity about what it contains is not an attitude of mind which makes for human progress, whatever the level may be at which that progress is sought.

4. Contacts with the outside world came through the missionary, the trader, the planter and farmer, and the administrator. More recently they have been intensified by African participation in two world wars. With these new contacts there emerged new wants and a new desire to provide for their satisfaction. This phase, moreover, coincided with an increasing inability on the part of the traditional African society to support a growing population even at the low level of subsistence which commonly prevailed. Hence the partial disintegration, in varying degrees throughout the region, of the old order of society, coupled with an incomplete adaptation to the new order, which alone could make possible the attainment of higher living standards, or even, in some cases, the maintenance of the old standards.

5. This is no new discovery. But it is probable that its implications have been insufficiently appreciated and understood. Those who have been responsible for policy in East Africa have always been alive to the importance of introducing the capital, organizing ability and technical skills which progress requires. But they have also been alive to the economic weakness of the African when confronted by enterprising forces emanating from other more developed regions; and as part of a policy designed to safeguard and protect the indigenous populations they introduced a land policy which preserved the customary rights in land which the African enjoyed. In other directions, too, they endeavoured to insulate him, in the spheres of commerce and industry, from vigorous external competition.

6. The dilemma which thus confronted official policy lay in the fact that the desire to protect the African against the impact of modern influences conflicted with the desire to create the new income which alone could make possible a rise in his living standards. The African, from a different angle, was confronted by a similar dilemma. His newly aroused desire for progress involved an active participation in the modern exchange economy but that in turn, conflicted with his desire to retain his traditional sense of security and stability. To remain in, or to revert to, a subsistence economy on the traditional lines was increasingly impossible for growing populations competing for limited areas of fertile land. But it was equally impossible to make progress without modifying, and in some cases abandoning, many of the most important features of the tribal system. Prominent among those features of the tribal system which called for revision were the customary forms of land tenure.

7. The combined effect of a strong resistance to change on the part of the African, modified by an increasing desire to participate in the advantages which are derived from the ideas and practices of the modern world, and of a strong protective urge on the part of official policy, has been to create a network of restrictions and controls which impede the progress which it is sought to attain. It would be an error to attribute these hindrances to progress exclusively to official policy or to the customary practices of African society. Both tended in the same direction to inhibit progress. But the removal of these restrictions would not by itself secure the desired result. What is important is to create conditions favourable to the exercise of those activities which make for progress, and to substitute for policies which hinder change, policies which will facilitate those modifications of traditional African society which are necessary to enable the requirements of the modern economy to be met.

8. These are general considerations which relate to the East African situation as a whole, but they also have a close bearing upon the various particular problems with which we have been concerned. To most observers

the central issue appears to be one of population growth. Whatever uncertainty may exist about the actual rate of growth of the African population there is a widespread apprehension that numbers are increasing at a more rapid rate than can be supported by the land, even at the low standard of life which generally prevails. To many of these observers it would seem that either some means must be found for checking the growth of numbers, or access must somehow be found to new areas of land so that larger numbers of Africans might practice their traditional, and often destructive, methods of cultivation. Neither of these apparent solutions, however, does anything to raise the living standards of the African population above their existing levels. At best they might check a deterioration which would otherwise occur, but even of that they could afford no guarantee.

9. Our approach is different. In our examination of the population problem we have focussed attention on the conditions under which the African may participate in the advantages which a modern society has to offer, including higher material standards of life. This means that we must concentrate on the possibility of raising income per head of population in an environment which perhaps offers more discouragements than assistance. There are no short cuts to the results which we are anxious to attain and there is no escape from the necessity to transform the traditional methods of production and exchange if the result is to be secured. Fundamentally, the creation of larger incomes per head of population means greater emphasis on specialized production and greater facilities for the exchange of goods and services. It also means a greater mobility of economic resources so that new forms of production are made possible. And it means greater access to supplies of capital and the acquisition of new skills and new knowledge. If these conditions can be fulfilled the fear of over-population which dominates so much of the contemporary debate may prove to be illusory. Indeed the economic development of East Africa which is essential if living standards are to be raised may require an even larger population than that which now exists.

10. The attainment of greater income per head of population is made difficult by reason of the basic poverty of the region and by the harshness of the environment to which it is subject. This basic poverty leaves little overall margin out of which to provide the new capital which is required for future development. Even if it were possible to impose upon the local population a high rate of compulsory saving, the aggregate of resources so obtained, apart from any undesirable consequences which the process might inflict upon the economy and the activities of the people, would still be small in relation to what was necessary for the purpose. From this it follows that it should be a prime object of policy to husband with care the resources at its disposal and to avoid the dissipation of scarce means in ways which, however commendable they may appear, make no significant contribution to the main purposes which are: to create conditions favourable to the fullest exercise of the income-producing activities of the populations, and to ensure the most productive employment of whatever external supplies of capital, skill and knowledge may become available.

11. Greater specialization on the side of production makes possible, but is also conditioned by, the expansion of markets and we attach great importance to this mutual dependence. Here again the notion of self-sufficiency which has exercised so great an influence over both the traditional African economy and the dominant public policy of recent years must be replaced by a recognition of the importance of increasing the level of incomes. In the expansion of markets improved communications play a vital part and merit

more attention in the future than they have received in the past. Freedom to trade is no less important and is an essential corollary to improved communications. This does not mean that the whole elaborate network of restrictions and controls which now dominates the distributive system should be indiscriminately removed. But it does mean that the system should be re-examined with a view to discarding those administrative devices which serve only to perpetuate an obsolete conception of self-sufficiency or which merely promote a sectional interest.

12. We see few grounds for supposing that, in the foreseeable future, any great expansion of manufacturing industry is probable other than that which may be the natural accompaniment of an enlargement of the domestic market. But in so far as we believe that a considerable enlargement of the domestic market is possible, we also believe that the prospects for industrial expansion are not unfavourable. In that connexion the re-organization and development of agriculture are essential to the enlargement of the domestic market. We do not look upon industrial development as a means of providing relief from the pressure of over-population in particular rural areas. We look upon it rather as a complement to agricultural improvement, without which we have no hope for the future of East Africa.

13. These several changes provide new opportunities for African participation in the economic development of the region. It would be idle, however, to suppose that the African can participate effectively without the means of acquiring the skill and knowledge which at present he lacks, or without access to the kind of resources which have contributed so much to the material advancement of more advanced communities. But whether in the domain of education, in the supply of credit facilities, or in the acquisition of technical skill, two considerations are important: the expenditure of resources in providing these aids should be concentrated where they are likely to be most effective; and there should not be undue disappointment if positive results are often slow to appear.

14. In the development of East Africa which has so far occurred a major contribution has been made by external capital, skill and enterprise. We do not think that in the years which lie ahead it will be possible to dispense with this external contribution, but we think that the stage has now been reached when a more direct contribution from the African is both possible and desirable, even if progress in this direction should be slow in the first instance. The problem here is complicated by the growth of a new awareness on the part of many Africans that this external influence exists. In many cases and for a variety of reasons, some of which have no logical foundation, it is viewed with apprehension. In some instances the suspicion which exists is based upon the idea that the non-African contribution is of a kind which the African is not permitted to make. We think it important to dispel these fears both by removing those which have no legitimate foundation and by removing the grounds of those which have some measure of validity. We are firmly of the view that this should be done not merely for the sake of social and political harmony, but also because we believe that without this co-operation the most effective development of East Africa cannot be accomplished.

15. The development of the East African economy entails the growth of urban areas and of a mode of life which is very different from that to which the African is traditionally accustomed. Here the problem is complicated by the migrant character of most of the labour which finds its way into these urban areas. We consider that settled labour, both in the rural and in the urban areas, is essential to the most effective use of productive

resources and that it should be a principal object of public policy to realize that result. In this connexion it is important that a new sense of security and stability, appropriate to his participation in a modern economy, should replace, in the African mind, the former sense of these values which was associated with his tribal order of society, and which cannot be reconciled with the material progress which is now devised. For this purpose it is important that the African should be able to earn an income, either from the land or from urban or other employment, which will enable him to support himself and his family. For this purpose, too, it is essential that his productiveness in both spheres should be increased so that such an income may, in fact, be obtained.

16. But in the general scheme of reconstruction and development agrarian policy must occupy a key position. East Africa is at present predominantly an agricultural region and the income produced by the agricultural industry seems certain to remain a major ingredient in the geographical incomes of the territories. Land policy must be directed towards the removal of those conditions which prevent the available land from being effectively utilized, and equally towards the creation of conditions which will facilitate the application of technical knowledge, labour and capital in proportions suitable over the long period to the generation of maximum income.

17. In much of our Report we are concerned with the conditions in which the agents of agricultural production can be obtained and effectively applied. Customary systems of land tenure are not conducive to this effective application, mainly on account of the multiplicity of interests which are involved in the use to which a given unit of land may be put. In our view it is essential for the productive use of land and the growth of a healthy and profitable agriculture that the choice of the manner in which land is used should be exercised freely by a recognized entity, whether this be an individual, a corporation or a co-operative association, unencumbered by the conflicting interests of other similar entities. What may be called individual rights of land tenure must replace the tribal controls which now exist.

18. Here again we have a conflict between the basic features of the traditional tribal economy and the requirements of a modern and more productive system. Many Africans have already come to appreciate and understand the implications of this conflict and in some areas certain desirable changes in customary practice have been accomplished under the influence of these progressive elements. But this process of change has not been adequate for the needs of the region as a whole. Nor has it succeeded in establishing those conditions of certainty in the definition of land rights and ease in their negotiability which are essential to the most productive development of agriculture. We, therefore, think that it is imperative to introduce a new land law which will ensure that private interests in land are recognized, which will provide that they shall be determined by a process of adjudication and duly recorded, and which will enable them to be bought and sold. This new land law necessarily involves the abandonment of policies which maintain customary tenures and sectional land reservations.

19. It is important to determine the pace and manner in which this change should be brought about. It is also important to decide what limits on the negotiability of land may be desirable in the circumstances of an undeveloped economy in which different sections of the population enjoy very different degrees of economic strength. But these decisions must be taken as matters of national policy and they must be made effective through the laws of the territories. We are alive to the many practical difficulties which the implementation of this conclusion must entail, and to the great amount of patient work

based upon expert technical advice, which must be undertaken if the policy which we recommend is to achieve success. But we do not regard these difficulties as insuperable, and we consider that a decision to give effect to this policy is as important for East Africa as was the compilation of the Domesday Book for England in the eleventh century.

20. Our recommendations and observations and our suggestions for applying to East Africa the general policy outlined in this chapter must be read in the context in which they appear in the Report ; but for ease of reference we append a guide to the more important of them with references to the relevant paragraphs.

Guide to the Main Conclusions and Recommendations

N O T E

Chapters 1, 2 and 21 are not included. Chapter 1 deals with our interpretation of the terms of reference, and chapters 2 and 21 are largely of a descriptive nature. Although all these chapters form an integral and important part of our Report they do not include major recommendations.

Chapter 3

POPULATION

1. Apprehensions concerning an unduly rapid rate of population growth are not supported by the statistical material available. (Paragraph 2.)
2. There is no evidence that the African population as a whole is increasing at an annual rate of 2 per cent. (Paragraph 2.)
3. There has been an upward movement in the rate of natural increase. (Paragraphs 4 and 5.)
4. The growth of population should present no serious overall problem provided that obstacles to the development of the modern exchange economy can be overcome. (Paragraph 13.)
5. A growth of population is necessary to increase the general standard of life in certain circumstances. (Paragraph 16.)
6. A shortage of adult male labourers could easily develop in the absence of immigration from other territories. (Paragraph 17.)
7. The problem of overcrowded areas may require special measures, but it is also an integral part of the more general problem in East Africa of raising the incomes obtained from land and other natural resources. (Paragraph 22.)
8. Immigration still has a considerable effect on the total numbers of the Indian population but this factor appears to be a declining one. (Paragraph 23.)
9. Facilities for access to knowledge of birth-control should be made available wherever demanded. (Paragraph 27.)

Chapter 4

THE BASIC POVERTY OF EAST AFRICA

1. The *per capita* net product in East Africa is among the lowest of all African territories. (Paragraph 3 to paragraph 15.)
2. Rising income standards involve the expansion of the exchange economy, the division of labour as between persons and regions, and the spacing of activity over time. (Paragraph 18.)
3. The process of change constitutes a threat to the tribal concept of economic and social security which public policy should recognize. (Paragraph 21.)

Chapter 5

THE DILEMMA OF SECURITY

1. Access to new land can no longer form the basis of security for all the indigenous population. The test of land *needs* must be replaced by a test of land *use*. (Paragraph 4.)
2. Tribal authorities who restrict the use of land, either by members of their own tribe or by outsiders, in accordance with criteria other than those of the highest productivity of the land, are diminishing rather than increasing their real security. (Paragraph 6.)
3. Tribal and racial rigidities affecting land have brought about a situation of increasing tension, the basis of which is fear. (Paragraph 10.)
4. One principle is fundamental, viz., if modern economic institutions are to evolve they must be freed to the fullest extent from the political authority of the tribe when it is obstructive. (Paragraph 12.)
5. It will be necessary to enlist the support of those members of the tribes who command the confidence of the people so that the essential transition from this old tribal system of tenure to one which meets the requirement of economic progress can be accomplished with the least possible social disturbance. (Paragraph 12.)
6. The transition from tribal subsistence economy to the modern exchange economy involves dangers. These are dealt with in chapter 23. (Paragraph 14.)

Chapter 6

THE KENYA LAND COMMISSION

1. The Kenya Land Commission approached its problems from the standpoint of the claims and needs of the separate tribes rather than that of the overall needs of the population. There can be no remedy for the present discontents as long as the problem is viewed from the tribal angle. (Paragraph 2 to paragraph 7.)
2. The approach from a tribal point of view to the question of security, which permeated the thought of the day, was definitely projected into the racial sphere by the Highlands Order in Council of 1939. (Paragraph 17.)
3. The policy of the exclusive tenure of land in the Highlands by Europeans has led to bitterness over the extinguishing of African rights in the area, and to a sense of injustice caused, in African eyes, by broad acres reserved for a few individuals alongside an African reserve in which land hunger exists. (Paragraph 18.)
4. The approach on a tribal basis to questions of land tenure and land use is incompatible with the development of a modern economy, and this applies equally to a purely racial approach to the Highlands question. (Paragraph 19.)

Chapter 7

THE MARKETING AND DISTRIBUTIVE SYSTEM

1. The growth of modern commerce in East Africa has been almost entirely due to the activities of non-African members of the population. (Paragraph 4.)
2. A consequence of a subsistence economy is the recurring danger of failure of the basic food supply. By encouraging district, regional and territorial self-sufficiency governments have perpetuated the cause of the evil, which is the system of self-sufficiency itself. (Paragraphs 7 and 8.)

3. Government policy has frequently looked upon the normal functioning of the market with suspicion. It has duplicated the effort and resources devoted to marketing and thus increased the cost of distribution. (Paragraph 7 to paragraph 19.)

4. There should be no overall attempt to direct the market mechanism but government should rather influence producers and co-operative organizations to undertake only those stages in the marketing process which they are able to perform economically. (Paragraph 21.)

5. Various trade regulations and restrictions designed to protect Africans anxious to enter the field of distribution are unhelpful. (Paragraph 22 to paragraph 27 and paragraph 31 to paragraph 33.)

6. Public policy should endeavour to create conditions which would be more favourable to the flexibility which the economy requires. (Paragraph 35.)

Chapter 8

CAPITAL, INVESTMENT, AND FINANCIAL POLICY

1. For further development, access to external capital is certain to be necessary for a long time. (Paragraph 6.)

2. The imposition of compulsory saving on people with small resources is difficult to justify. (Paragraph 8 to paragraph 10.)

3. Higher standards of consumption are a necessary inducement to change from the restricted isolationist conceptions which so often dominate tribal security. (Paragraphs 11 and 12.)

4. No appreciable amount of capital for new industrial development can conveniently be raised from the African population through compulsory saving without imposing unreasonable burdens or doing damage to African enterprise and production. (Paragraph 17.)

5. There does not exist in East Africa any large reservoir of investable resources for rapid industrialization or for investment in new social capital on the scale commonly desired. (Paragraph 21.)

6. If political objectives acquire a priority over economic ones, the cost, in terms of economic achievement, cannot be ignored. (Paragraph 24.)

7. The prospects for any substantial amount of new industrial development are going to be dependent on the production of increased income from the land. (Paragraph 25.)

8. There is a tendency to a sectional approach to economic development instead of one which sees the economy in its entirety. (Paragraph 25.)

9. The economic importance of overseas capital and enterprise to East Africa is greater than the economic importance of East Africa to external capital and enterprise. Special inducements to encourage any large-scale promotion of new enterprise from abroad would thus have to be very great. The economy cannot afford to provide large and effective inducements to that end. (Paragraph 27.)

10. A general reduction in tax burdens would contribute more to the economic development of the territories than any concessions to privileged groups by means of tax rebates or subsidies. (Paragraph 53.)

11. Public expenditure on development projects should be concentrated on objects likely to yield immediate and reasonably certain results in the

form of increased income so that there will be a larger surplus to devote to improvements which take a longer time to mature. More ambitious experimentation in the form of projects whose results can only be felt in the remoter future cannot be justified on the basis of the resources which now exist in East Africa. They should only be sanctioned on the basis of external grants or loans specifically made for the purpose and which impose no new burden on the public finances of the territories. The public expenditures of the territories should be closely geared to their respective national incomes. (Paragraph 55.)

12. The most important economic expansion of East Africa occurred independently of development plans and owes nothing to them. What is important is not that there should be development plans but that there should be capital resources available to promote expansion. (Paragraphs 58 and 59.)

13. Development policy should not be isolated from general economic policy and development plan finance should not be isolated from general financial policy. (Paragraph 59.)

Chapter 9

CREDIT FOR AFRICANS

1. There is among many Africans a considerable degree of misunderstanding about the conditions under which loans to any class of borrower are normally made. (Paragraph 1.)

2. There is a manifest failure on the part of many Africans to understand the essentially negotiable nature of any acceptable security. (Paragraph 5.)

3. Africans must come to realize that they can only expect to borrow on the security of land if the land is a negotiable asset. (Paragraph 5.)

4. It is important to dispel the notion that the withholding of lending facilities is a matter of racial discrimination. It is not. It is a matter, on the one hand, of security and, on the other, of management costs. (Paragraph 6.)

5. The removal of customary forms of tenure which restrict the negotiability of land would not in itself be sufficient to ensure that new capital would be forthcoming for the improvement of African agriculture and the development of African trade and industry. (Paragraph 9.)

6. Legislation should be introduced to provide for chattels mortgages and crop liens, and existing legal restrictions on the granting of credits to Africans should be reviewed. (Paragraph 13.)

7. The practice of African local government bodies lending directly to private individuals and businesses should be discontinued. Similarly, local government authorities should not guarantee private loans made by other agencies. (Paragraph 23.)

8. Governments of the three territories should establish or extend the scope of land banks. (Paragraph 24.)

9. Attempts must be made to enlist the interest of co-operatives in the technique of long-term lending. (Paragraph 26.)

10. Legislation should be introduced to ensure that no suit shall lie for the recovery of a debt secured by a charge on land except in the case of loans made by specified agencies. (Paragraph 29.)

Chapter 10

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

1. In the absence of new mineral discoveries the industrial expansion which is probable in East Africa depends in the main upon the expansion of the local territorial markets. That depends, in turn, upon the success with which activities in the sphere of agriculture become increasingly orientated towards the market and upon the increased efficiency of agricultural production. (Paragraph 6.)

2. Agricultural development and industrial development should not be regarded as mutually exclusive alternatives. Both processes presuppose a re-allocation of the available productive resources, apart from those which may be attracted from outside. The re-allocation of resources can only proceed under conditions conducive to economic mobility. It cannot proceed effectively under conditions which inhibit movement and perpetuate restrictive practice. (Paragraph 6.)

3. The number of Africans in urban areas and in paid employment has been increasing at a rate which is appreciably greater than any overall rate of growth which can reasonably be entertained for the African population as a whole. (Paragraph 11.)

4. Even within the range of agriculture, employment is associated in the main, and particularly in Kenya and Tanganyika, with the investment of imported capital. (Paragraph 12.)

5. Non-African elements constitute at present the main sources of skill and enterprise for the East African economy. These resources are small when compared even with the present total of Africans in paid employment and will become smaller in relation to a greatly expanded African labour force in search of paid employment. (Paragraph 13.)

6. It is important to enable Africans to acquire the special skills which are required in modern industry and to create conditions which would allow Africans to exercise the greatest degree of lawful enterprise of which they are capable. Both require time and thus impose an important manpower limitation on any large-scale economic development of East Africa. (Paragraph 13.)

7. If new industrial development cannot be accomplished under African initiative, enterprise and control, there must still be a large measure of dependence upon non-African capital and managerial ability. (Paragraph 14.)

8. Greater industrialization involves a diversification of new undertakings in a variety of industries rather than a few very large industrial projects in one or a few industries, and government ownership and control of these industries would be inappropriate even if the necessary capital could be obtained by a process of forced saving. (Paragraph 17.)

9. Since in the present stage of growth of the East African economy investment cannot be expected to come from African sources the dependence upon non-African sources becomes great. (Paragraph 19.)

10. For any important degree of further industrialization it would not be possible to rely exclusively upon domestic savings, even including those of non-Africans at present resident in East Africa. (Paragraph 19.)

11. Unless public policy is favourably disposed to the type of immigration which is likely to accompany the influx of capital and bring with it the requisite enterprise and managerial ability, it may well be doubted whether the new industrial development which is desired will in fact occur. (Paragraph 20.)

12. In certain African circles new industrial expansion is both desired and feared ; desired because of the contribution which it can make to the income-earning opportunities of the African population, and feared because of the increase in political and economic influence which it is thought will accrue to non-Africans if the capital required for the expansion has to come from overseas. It is important to allay these fears and, as far as possible, to remove the misapprehensions which are commonly associated with them. (Paragraphs 21 and 22.)

13. Considerable efforts are now made to provide facilities for technical instruction to Africans. But the effect of these increased facilities depends upon the extent to which Africans who have been trained are enabled to make use of their acquired skill. Anything which restricts the range of occupations which Africans may enter also restricts the opportunities to make use of acquired skills. And the particular skill of management cannot be acquired except through the opportunity to work up to executive posts. (Paragraph 22.)

14. The quota system, whereby non-African firms may be required to employ at least a quota of Africans in the managerial grades, does not commend itself. (Paragraph 23.)

15. The difficulties which stand in the way of direct African participation in the field of industry are not primarily financial. It is knowledge and experience which are most deficient and it is on the removal of that deficiency that a public policy, which is anxious to promote direct African participation in new industrial development, should concentrate. (Paragraph 24.)

Chapter 11

MINING

1. The actual developments in mineral exploration and production cannot be taken as an indication of the possible mineral potentialities of East Africa. (Paragraph 2.)

2. It is wrong to regard mineral development as simply a question of discovering particular deposits in this or that region. Both the discovery and exploitation of minerals is bound up with the tempo of general economic advance. (Paragraph 3.)

3. The amount of mineral exploration which has taken place in East Africa so far is very small. A large area of the region has not been opened up, and East African governments have not succeeded in adopting a consistent and long-term approach to mining exploration and development. (Paragraph 4.)

4. Modern mineral exploration is a very costly, protracted and highly specialized enterprise. Those embarking upon it must be able to plan their activities over large areas in order to carry out systematic prospecting, and they require for this purpose exclusive prospecting licences over such areas for long periods of time and an assurance that they will be granted mineral rights, under suitable conditions fair both to them and the state, and such as to give them a real interest in undertaking the risks involved. (Paragraph 5.)

5. There is probably no single source from which surplus income could be so readily obtained as from successful mineral exploitation. (Paragraph 6.)

6. The overriding consideration in regard to mining policy in East Africa must be to make the conditions for mineral exploration and exploitation sufficiently attractive to those who may be induced to embark upon it: (a) by providing every possible assistance in the form of properly equipped

geological and mining services and (b) by removing legal and fiscal obstacles which unnecessarily increase the cost, or the risk, of mining exploration and development. (Paragraph 7.)

7. Policy governing the terms on which prospecting or mining rights should be granted, and taxation levied on mining enterprises, must at present continue to be decided by each territorial legislature. (Paragraph 8).

8. The technical advice on which such policies are formulated should be tendered to the three governments by a single authority which might be known as the East African Prospecting and Mining Leases Board. (Paragraphs 8 and 9.)

9. No mining rights or titles, leases or prospecting licences should be granted, and no regulation or legislation directly or indirectly affecting prospecting or mining operations should be formulated, without consultation thereon with the Board. (Paragraph 9.)

10. The Board should publish information relating to all matters affecting prospecting and mining, and should be the channel for all enquiries in regard thereto. (Paragraph 11.)

11. The Board should be consulted in regard to the policy best suited in each particular case where a mining enterprise requires special assistance in respect of the provision of railways, or expenditure from special development funds or by governments. Mining enterprises should make representations through the Board to any of the governments. (Paragraphs 11 and 12.)

12. Native or tribal authorities should not be given shares in any mining undertaking. It is not in the interests of the development of mining that there should exist a multiplicity of different governmental authorities claiming a share of the proceeds on mining. This merely increases the uncertainties which those prepared to invest capital in prospecting or mineral development have to face. (Paragraph 15.)

13. All customs duties or other imposts which increase the costs of mining supplies should be abolished. (Paragraph 19.)

14. Insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that as mines are wasting assets it is necessary to take this into account in the calculation of depreciation and development allowances; in mining such allowances must be more generous than in industry. (Paragraph 20.)

15. The taxation of private companies engaged in mining operations should be reconsidered in order to make possible the maximum concessions to them. The present rates of tax definitely retard mining development and make it extremely difficult for the companies concerned to build up reserves or to raise new capital. (Paragraph 20.)

16. It is unfortunate that in most colonial territories taxation concessions by colonial governments are largely negated for United Kingdom companies by the taxation policy of the United Kingdom. The present situation greatly retards the investment of capital in East Africa for mining purposes from the United Kingdom. (Paragraph 21.)

17. The East African governments should endeavour to enlist the assistance of international agencies for the supply of capital for experimental and long-term purposes which may assist mining, and for technical personnel for investigations and exploration. The Prospecting and Mining Leases Board could play a very important part in obtaining such international co-operation. It should also co-operate with other development agencies such as the Railways and Harbours Corporation and the Transport Development Board. (Paragraph 22.)

18. Constructive and continuous action by the East African governments is essential if the present backward state of mining exploration and development by large-scale enterprise from abroad is to be remedied. (Paragraph 22.)

Chapter 12

TRANSPORT

1. It is useless to hope for the development of a modern market economy if potentially productive areas remain cut off from local and export markets. Without economic transport facilities the continuance of the system of subsistence production is unavoidable. (Paragraph 2.)

2. The problem of transport must not be considered only in terms of railways and main trunk roads but rather as an overall problem of supplying adequate communications wherever economic production can be stimulated. (Paragraph 3.)

3. At the outbreak of the war in 1939 the Kenya and Uganda Railway system had considerable surplus capacity, but the post-war developments brought about an increase in traffic of tremendous proportions. The Railways Administration deserves the highest praise for the manner in which it has met these greatly increased traffic demands. (Paragraphs 7 and 8.)

4. In so far as capital can be made available for investment in which the returns are long postponed and often also largely indirect, development expenditure on communications should be given priority. This principle has not always been observed. (Paragraph 13.)

5. The basic problem of financing the future requirements of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration was misunderstood at the time of the amalgamation of the two railway systems. (Paragraph 15.)

6. There was no justification for burdening the new Railway Administration with liabilities for capital assets which had not been adequately maintained, or were not revenue earning, or for which inadequate provision for renewals had been made, since it was one of the main objects of the amalgamation that the railways and harbours should be administered on business principles. (Paragraph 15.)

7. The opportunity was missed of reconstructing the finances and financial policy of the railway and harbour system so as to make it a viable and financially more flexible undertaking. This requires to be done at the earliest opportunity in order (a) to safeguard the system against financial difficulties in the future, and (b) to enable it to improve and develop transport facilities. (Paragraph 15.)

8. The amalgamation of the railway systems was a necessary first step in the rationalization of transport in East Africa. It is very doubtful whether without it Tanganyika could have raised the loan capital which has since been authorized for expenditure on the Tanganyika section. (Paragraph 16.)

9. The financial and economic viability of the Administration has been adversely affected by two major factors: (a) railway rates and charges have not been determined so as to enable reserves to be built up; (b) the present dependence of the railways on loan capital raised entirely as part of the general borrowing programmes of the East African governments retards the ability and flexibility of the Administration to develop its facilities and services. (Paragraph 18.)

10. It has not been sufficiently realized that the railway rating policies and the methods adopted for financing the capital requirements of the Administration must ensure (a) that capital can be obtained or accumulated

on the cheapest terms; (b) that sufficient reserves to meet variations in earnings must be built up; and (c) that its fixed debt charges must be kept to a minimum. (Paragraph 20.)

11. The East Africa High Commission cannot borrow on its own account for railway and similar purposes. One of the reasons is because it does not own the land on which it constructs its railways, port facilities, etc. Most of this land is Crown land or other land in public ownership and is not vested in the High Commission or the Administration. This anomaly should be removed. (Paragraph 21.)

12. The policy of covering all foreseeable loan requirements for five years ahead was an improvement on the old system but it does not go to the root of the difficulties. (Paragraph 22.)

13. The system of loan finance prior to 1952 was one of the causes of the delay in re-equipping the railways which has so greatly hampered their activities, and still hampers them. (Paragraph 23.)

14. As long as the Administration's programme is dependent on the political exigencies of the separate territorial governments, it can at no time be certain that its place in the queue for capital will be determined by the intrinsic economic necessity or justification for its proposals. Political considerations have also prevented the revision of railway rates and charges from building up an adequate general reserve and an adequate rates stabilisation reserve. (Paragraph 24.)

15. The present financial procedure is unduly cumbersome and rigid. No development programme can be embarked upon by the Administration until it has been suited to the wishes of numerous non-railway authorities. (Paragraph 25.)

16. The present system of capital finance makes the Administration unduly dependent on raising new capital by incurring fixed interest bearing debt. (Paragraph 26.)

17. The Administration should be reconstituted so as to make governments partners in the undertaking rather than holders or guarantors of fixed interest bearing capital in it. The Administration should be established as an independent autonomous Railway and Harbours Corporation whose share capital should be owned by the governments of the three territories. (Paragraph 28.)

18. There should be a complete revaluation of the assets of the Administration, and all capital which is not revenue earning should be written off. (Paragraph 28.)

19. If necessary the governments should convert a suitable proportion of the interest bearing debt incurred prior to the amalgamation of the railways into equity share capital. The new Corporation would be responsible for servicing the remaining debt as heretofore, but it should in future be empowered to raise capital by the issue of loans, preferred shares or equities entirely at its own discretion. (Paragraph 28.)

20. The land on which the installations of the Administration are erected should be vested in it, and the land should be re-valued for that purpose and transferred to the Corporation free of charge by the governments. (Paragraph 28.)

21. The new Corporation should be empowered so to determine its rates and charges as to enable it to operate and develop as a financially independent commercial concern. (Paragraph 28.)

22. The present Railway Act enjoins that the Administration should not be run at a profit. This principle has, in practice, been defined and applied far too rigidly and has had harmful consequences. It has been mistakenly assumed that the prohibition on the Administration to earn profits ensures cheap transport. (Paragraphs 29 and 30.)

23. Cheap transport cannot be provided unless the capital for developing and keeping up-to-date railway equipment has been obtained. To prevent the ploughing back of profits for this purpose is to divert the profits which might have been so accumulated into the hands of others who may consume them or invest them in directions less economic. (Paragraph 30.)

24. It is often cheaper in the long run to avoid incurring fixed interest bearing debt by financing new development and improvements from profits. This also obviates the undue dependence of the undertaking on the vagaries of the capital market. The more the equity of the Corporation is strengthened the cheaper will be the terms on which it is able to borrow. (Paragraph 31.)

25. The Corporation should be permitted to operate at a profit. Since the governments will be share-holders in the Corporation they will benefit from any profits which may be distributed by it. (Paragraph 31.)

26. Long-term development, which can offer no early promise of being profitable or of covering interest on capital, is essential. It should be financed by the establishment of a Colonial Transport Development and Welfare Fund for the construction of railways, roadways, and the inauguration of air services. (Paragraph 32.)

27. The Colonial Transport Development Fund should finance railway and harbour developments by taking up equity shares in the Railway and Harbours Corporation. Equity shares might also be taken up by international agencies etc. (Paragraphs 32 and 33.)

28. The purpose of our recommendations in regard to the establishment of an autonomous Railways and Harbours Corporation is to divorce railway finance, management and operation from political considerations and from uneconomic territorial rivalries which undermine the viability of the system as a whole. The need for eliminating these uneconomic influences has been repeatedly emphasized by independent investigators. (Paragraph 34.)

29. The illusion still persists that each East African territory may be relinquishing large advantages if it divests itself of the power to influence railway development and operation to suit political exigencies. This is the exact contrary of the facts. (Paragraph 34.)

30. The Board of Directors of the Corporation should consist mainly of persons chosen for their railway and business experience. The Directors should not be delegates of individual East African territories. (Paragraph 35.)

31. The decision of the Board of Directors in regard to railway rates and charges should be final. (Paragraph 35.)

32. The Transport Advisory Council should be re-constituted as a technical advisory body to the General Manager, who should not be bound by its recommendations but should be solely responsible to the Board of Directors. (Paragraph 35.)

33. The ultimate control of the Corporation through a majority equity shareholding, or of voting shares, should remain with the East African Central Legislative Assembly on behalf of the East African governments ;

such control should not be exercised except in very special circumstances which may affect the national interests of the three territories, or in case of national emergency. (Paragraph 36.)

34. There should be a Railway Tribunal to which customers of the Corporation can appeal in regard to rates or charges which are considered unreasonable. (Paragraph 37.)

35. The functions of the Commissioner for Transport, so far as his office is concerned with Railways and Harbours, should be altered. He should no longer have executive powers. (Paragraph 38.)

36. In those rare cases and special emergencies in which the governments give directives of a general kind to the Corporation it should have the right to appeal to the Railways Tribunal to adjudicate in any dispute concerning the liability for any extra financial cost in which the Corporation may be involved owing to such directives. (Paragraph 38.)

37. The Corporation should have the right to appeal to the Railway Tribunal to adjudicate upon any losses in which the Corporation may be involved through providing facilities or services for government at a loss or at a rate of charge which the Corporation regards as unreasonable. It is recommended, therefore, that Section 16 of the Railways Act should be amended accordingly. (Paragraph 38.)

38. The present system of determining rates and charges is cumbersome and not sufficiently flexible. The Administration has not sufficient freedom of management to vary rates and charges quickly, or to overcome sectional or territorial opposition to them. This has been detrimental to the economic interests of the three territories. (Paragraphs 39 and 40.)

39. This is one of the reasons why the Administration did not succeed in raising the general level of railways rates and charges until 1954, although much traffic could have well afforded to pay higher rates. (Paragraph 40.)

40. There should be a thorough review of all class and individual rates and charges and of the general level of rates. (Paragraph 41.)

41. Before the outbreak of war in 1939 the importance of the development of a modern system of roads was not recognized as clearly as is now the case. The lack of a proper policy of road construction retarded development in the past and this retardation will continue unless road construction and improvement is greatly expanded and is properly co-ordinated within each of, and between, the three territories, and with the railway system as a whole. (Paragraph 42.)

42. The construction and improvement of roads now urgently necessary will require to be financed by the East African governments, who will have to obtain capital from outside the territories through the Transport Development Funds. (Paragraph 49.)

43. The present conditions of the roads is in all the territories, especially in African areas, a main cause of the high cost of food, of the recurrence of famine, of the slow rate of expansion in agricultural production, of the persistence of subsistence economy and of unduly high costs of road transport. (Paragraph 49.)

44. The establishment of an independent Road Authority in Kenya was a progressive step. Similar road authorities should be established in Tanganyika and Uganda and should be so constituted as to be able to make decisions based entirely on the overall economic needs of each territory. (Paragraph 52.)

45. The present system of financing the Kenya Road Authority from the road fund is inadequate. (Paragraph 52.)

46. An East African Road Corporation should be established. It should be managed as an autonomous body under the High Commission. Recommendations are made concerning the powers and functions of the Corporation. (Paragraph 53.)

Chapter 13

WATER DEVELOPMENT

1. Throughout East Africa the lack of discovery or development of water supplies is the major factor in preventing the use of otherwise productive resources. (Paragraph 1.)

2. Water development, including the discovery, conservation and distribution of water, should be placed in the same category of basic developments as railways and roads. (Paragraph 2.)

3. The decision to proceed with water development must depend on an assessment of the possible long-term effects of the project. If a water scheme is likely to be an important factor in attracting private development, either on the land or in the establishment of industries, then it falls within the category of basic development and no attempt should be made to carry all the capital costs against some immediate contemplated development. On the other hand, when a water development project is designed only to serve some specific enterprise then there is no reason why the capital cost of the water development and the capital charges should not be recovered from the enterprises benefited. (Paragraph 2.)

4. It is desirable that any subsidizing of water development should be apparent to the legislators and should not be of a hidden nature. (Paragraph 2.)

5. The various functions which a proper organization for the development of water resources must perform are set out. (Paragraph 3.)

6. There should be a single department in each territory responsible for all aspects of water development, with the exception of urban water supplies. The urban water supplies might well remain the responsibility of a branch of the Public Works Department. (Paragraph 3.)

7. The water department in each territory should contain a general section dealing with the collection and organization of data and investigational work; and an irrigation section which will require its own separate investigation and works branches. (Paragraph 3.)

8. In general, the essential close co-ordination between land and water development should be maintained by the fact that the departments concerned are responsible to a single minister; and in addition Land Development Boards, which are recommended in chapter 22, will provide a convenient instrument for associating the head of the water department with the heads of the other departments concerned. (Paragraph 3.)

9. Persons capable of carrying out the functions of the head of a water department will be extremely difficult to find and governments must be prepared to offer remuneration which will be competitive in this narrow field in which there is a dearth of persons combining technical qualifications with experience in comparable conditions. (Paragraph 4.)

Chapter 14

IMMIGRATION

1. The numbers of immigrants are small in relation to the total population of each territory and, if account is taken of new permanent emigration, the net effect of new permanent immigration on the population is even smaller. (Paragraph 3.)

2. The permanent immigration which has been permitted in recent years has done nothing to disturb the overwhelming numerical preponderance of the African population, and this latter position would still be true even if more liberal conditions of entry were permitted. (Paragraph 4.)

3. There are two divergent views on immigration policy—one which thought that the future economic development of the territories depended in the main upon further infusion of external capital and enterprise; and the other which thought that substantial amounts of new permanent immigration are liable to disturb, and in some cases damage, existing interests. Africans are afraid that the immigrants would deprive them of access to good quality land or that they would not participate in economic development made possible by the new immigrants. (Paragraph 6.)

4. The economic development of the three territories presupposes fresh accretions of outside capital, enterprise and skill and, in the absence of these, the difficulties which are associated with the growth of the African population are likely to become more intractable. The problem is not whether immigration should be permitted but the terms and conditions on which it should be allowed. (Paragraph 11.)

5. No fundamental changes in the existing arrangements regarding immigration are proposed, but the supervision of immigration should be exercised by government on its own responsibility and not through boards which may reflect the views of sectional interests. Policy should be governed by the interests of the territory and not by any desire to protect existing sectional interests. (Paragraph 14.)

6. Control of immigration by the executive is essential if immigration policy is to be integrated with general public policy for economic development. (Paragraph 15.)

Chapter 15

AFRICAN LABOUR

1. Taking the East African economy as a whole there is no evidence of unemployment as that is commonly understood, but there is some evidence of concealed unemployment or under-employment in the congested areas and elsewhere. (Paragraph 4.)

2. Although there are grounds for the view that real wages have risen over the last twenty years, it may be doubted whether the increase in real wages has kept pace with the increase in other real incomes. (Paragraph 5.)

3. The factor which governs the wage level which African labour is prepared to accept and at which supplies of labour are forthcoming is the real income which can be obtained in alternative occupations which are available. These alternatives are either the production of cash crops or subsistence farming. Over large areas the production of cash crops is so limited that it does not exercise much influence and the alternative to paid employment is, therefore, subsistence farming. However low may appear

to be the real incomes of those in paid employment there is a strong presumption that incomes derived from subsistence farming are still lower. (Paragraph 6.)

4. The key to a permanent raising of the supply prices of African labour is to foster an increase in the real incomes of the peasants. The solution of the African agricultural problem is important not merely as a means of achieving better land usage and raising the real incomes of the cultivator but also as a means of contributing to the solution of the problem of the urban wage-earner. (Paragraph 7.)

5. The essential prerequisite for the creation of an effective African labour force is the stabilization of African labour and the severance of its ties with the reserves. (Paragraph 8.)

6. A market exists for skilled or partially skilled labour which cannot be satisfied by the supplies of effective skilled labour which are available. (Paragraph 9.)

7. It is doubtful whether at this stage in the industrial development of East African there is much scope for the further extension of systematic schemes of apprenticeship. (Paragraph 11.)

8. The greater part of industrial training will still have to be provided by industry outside the limit of formal apprenticeship schemes and industry should not look to government to provide ordinary training facilities. (Paragraph 12.)

9. Satisfactory results can be achieved in training African labour to a considerable level of proficiency. (Paragraph 13.)

10. Management is responsible for the efficient employment of African labour, but there is an acute shortage of managerial ability in industry. (Paragraph 15.)

11. The solution to the problem of supervision lies in the emergence of a foreman class among the African workers themselves. (Paragraph 17.)

12. The low productivity of ordinary African labour is not due merely to the lack of technical skill but to a variety of factors which may include under-nourishment, poor physique, endemic disease, inadequate supervision and a lack of interest in ordinary economic incentives. (Paragraph 18.)

13. The existence of a migratory labour force of the kind which is normal in East Africa is likely to exercise a depressing effect over wages and conditions of employment. The removal of the obstacles to the creation of settled labour may not be sufficient to persuade the African to abandon whatever traditional interests he may possess in the tribal areas. (Paragraph 19.)

14. The creation of settled labour conditions must take time and will result not from new devices suddenly introduced into the conditions of employment in urban industry but from the simultaneous pursuit of long term agricultural and industrial policies. (Paragraph 21.)

15. The statutory minimum wage failed to cover the cost of living of the type of person to whom it was related and made no contribution to the creation of settled labour forces in the urban areas. (Paragraph 26.)

16. The statutory minimum wage should be fixed, and some upward revision of the existing minima is warranted. (Paragraph 27.)

17. The principle of a dual minimum wage would be both inequitable and difficult to administer. (Paragraph 31.)

18. It is not a wise policy to lay down in advance what the minimum wage should be over a long period of years. The approach to a 'family' minimum wage should be determined experimentally in the light of experience gained. (Paragraph 32.)

19. In each of the territories there should be a national minimum wage with area differentials, as in Kenya, but every effort should be made to promote wages councils in clearly demarcated trades and industries. (Paragraph 34.)

20. The national minimum should not be pushed to too high a level, otherwise the freedom of action of the various wages commissions or other forms of wage-fixing machinery will be seriously weakened. (Paragraph 35.)

21. The composition of wages councils is important. The representatives of the workpeople should contain a strong African element and the independent element should be strong and vigorous. (Paragraph 36.)

22. The attempt to encourage the growth of trade unions on the British model is likely, for some time to come, to represent an expenditure of effort which might be employed more effectively in other directions. (Paragraph 37.)

23. Experiments in building up works councils and joint staff committees should be encouraged. (Paragraph 39.)

24. It would be a retrograde step for county and district councils in Kenya to be empowered to supervise the enforcement of employment legislation in their areas. (Paragraph 44.)

25. The long-term interests of the European farmer in Kenya with regard to resident labourers have been safeguarded by legislation, but no legislative measures have been taken to protect the resident labourer from a lowering of his real income. (Paragraph 62.)

26. The objective in respect of African labour in the Highlands should be to bring about conditions whereby the labourer is able to earn the maximum income which the product of his labour warrants in conditions of security and stability. (Paragraph 65.)

27. Government should purchase, or if necessary compulsorily acquire, land in suitable places in the Highlands for the purpose of enabling farm workers to rent village dwelling plots on long leases on which they would build houses for their families. Further land should be acquired to be leased as allotments on which the families of labourers could make some contribution to their food requirements. (Paragraph 67.)

28. In due course rural labourers should be afforded the protection which is given to labour in other industries by means of minimum wage legislation. (Paragraph 71.)

29. The objects to which labour policy within forest areas should be directed are set out. (Paragraph 80.)

30. Governments should consider the possibility of organizing provident fund or pension schemes and should examine the experience of similar schemes in India and Malaya, having regard both to the cost of these schemes and the difficulties of administration. (Paragraph 86.)

Chapter 16

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

1. A high-level expert body should be appointed at an early date to examine and report on the many urgent problems of public health. (Paragraph 2.)

2. Better and more widespread education is a necessary element, and indeed a prerequisite, of a higher standard of living. (Paragraph 3.)

3. Means must be found to satisfy the demand for education and to ensure that at least an elementary education carried to a stage at which it would be of permanent benefit to the growing child shall, in the shortest possible time, be provided for all those who are able to profit by it. (Paragraph 4.)

4. It is not surprising that there is a demand for free universal education. That this is a desirable long-term objective is beyond dispute but to take it now as a principle of policy in East Africa would do violence to the realities of the situation. The rationing of education on arbitrary conditions results in considerable frustration. (Paragraph 5.)

5. This position would be eased if education for all pupils were to be provided, at fees which will not exclude any, to the beginning of the intermediate stage, and in towns to the end of the intermediate stage. Secondary education should not be free beyond this stage, but should be obtainable by those prepared to pay for it and supported by the inauguration of a wide and liberal system of bursaries for those unable to pay but showing clear promise and ability. (Paragraph 6.)

6. Missions should not be encouraged to increase their responsibilities in education beyond what is required for school government and religious education. The professional supervision of all teaching, except that of religious education, should be in the hands of qualified officers appointed and employed by government. In the exercise of these powers government should make increasing use of the agency of local authorities. The ultimate aim should be local control by school managers working under an education committee of the district local authority. (Paragraph 11.)

7. Stress is laid on the elimination of wastage and support given to the proposals made by the Binns Committee, that the ages of children entering school and the age range per class should be controlled so as to ensure a reasonable chance that pupils will complete the course. An experiment should be made of returning a proportion of the fees to parents whose children successfully pass through the completed course. (Paragraphs 13 and 14.)

8. There should be greater concentration on the expansion of intermediate education, preferably as an adjunct to existing primary schools, even if this means temporarily some reduction in the pace of direct progress with primary education. (Paragraph 16.)

9. An expansion of the facilities for intermediate education is an imperative necessity and compulsory education in the larger towns should be introduced for African children as early as possible. (Paragraph 17.)

10. The expansion of intermediate education will inevitably result in pressure for more secondary schools which should be planned in advance. (Paragraph 19.)

11. A higher standard of training in technical education can hardly be established except on the basis of eight years primary education. (Paragraph 22.)

12. It should be possible, in each of the larger centres, to have attached to the technical school a small committee of businessmen who will keep in touch with the apprentices during their two years training. (Paragraph 28.)

13. It is essential that more attention should be paid to the education of girls and the education of girls is sufficiently important throughout East Africa to justify the remission, or partial remission, of school fees. (Paragraphs 33 and 34.)

14. It is desirable that government should give all possible encouragement to adult education of African women and an organized attempt should be made to induce women ex-teachers to help in adult education. (Paragraph 35.)

15. The teaching of Swahili as a second language to children whose early education has been in other vernaculars is a complete waste of time and effort. The teaching of English should begin in as low a class as possible and should be the medium of instruction as early as it can be followed by the pupils. (Paragraph 36.)

16. The independent schools should not be hampered or discouraged but they must be brought under proper inspection and control and the education department should realize that this is an extremely important part of its responsibilities. It is essential that all independent schools should be registered by government, or by local authorities in accordance with rules formed by government, and that no new schools should be opened without the consent of such authority. It is also necessary that the Director of Education should be empowered to close any such school which, in the opinion of the local education authority is redundant, or which is being improperly conducted. (Paragraph 39.)

Chapter 17

STATISTICS

1. In the initial stages of colonial administration the absence of reliable statistical data presents no particular difficulty. In East Africa this stage in political and administrative evolution has now passed. (Paragraph 1.)

2. Some of the problems have now become so urgent that policies formulated on the basis of inaccurate data or on the general impressions of observers with different standards of reliability may, at the best, be ineffective and, at the worst, be dangerous. (Paragraph 1.)

3. The regular collection and publication of statistical data is one means by which these dangers may be reduced or avoided. The prosecution of research based either upon these regularly published statistical series or upon specially conducted investigations is another. (Paragraph 2.)

4. In developed countries the multiplicity of recording and analysing agencies provides some check against the use of unreliable data and against the misinterpretation of reliable data. But East Africa cannot yet enjoy this statistical luxury. As in other things, it is of the utmost importance that its exceedingly limited resources should be employed in the most effective manner. (Paragraph 2.)

5. The work of the East African Statistical Department is efficiently conducted within the limits of its resources and having regard to the nature of much of the material. But its resources in finance and qualified personnel are insufficient for the tasks which it should fulfil, and the effects of this limitation are intensified by the unsatisfactory and uncertain relationship which exists between it and the territorial governments. (Paragraph 7.)

6. The relationship between the East African Statistical Department and the territorial governments requires clearer definition. (Paragraph 9.)

7. The methods by which the territorial governments can obtain the services of the East African Statistical Department are cumbrous and insufficiently flexible. (Paragraph 10.)

8. It is anomalous that the East African Statistical Department, which is the most technically qualified official agency in the field of statistics in East

Africa, should be so restricted in its ability to improve the statistical services in the region and that the initiative for any improvement should have to come from the territorial governments. In these circumstances it becomes impossible to organize the statistical services in an effective manner. Some re-examination of the position by the three governments and by the High Commission is desirable. (Paragraph 11.)

9. It has been suggested that, as an alternative to an increased allocation of resources to the East African Statistical Department, each of the three territorial governments should be encouraged to build up its own statistical service. A development along these lines would undermine the work of the East African Statistical Department and the territorial governments would be even more reluctant than they now are to increase the funds at the disposal of the latter department. (Paragraphs 12 and 13.)

10. The maintenance of the East African Statistical Department by direct grants from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would not in itself define the relationship between the East African Statistical Department and the territorial departments, and it is that relationship which requires clarification. (Paragraph 13.)

11. It would be unfortunate if the experience already accumulated by the East African Statistical Department should be lost through a reduction in the scope of its activities. (Paragraph 14.)

12. The benefits to be derived from additional expenditure would be greater if they were devoted to the East African Statistical Department rather than if spread over three territorial departments. (Paragraph 14.)

13. The advantages which it is sometimes thought would follow the creation of separate territorial statistical departments can be obtained under the existing arrangements provided there is a determination to obtain them. (Paragraph 15.)

14. The resources at the disposal of the East African Statistical Department are inadequate for the proper discharge of the duties and responsibilities assigned to it. There is a case for approaching the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for a grant to enable the East African Statistical Department to develop its statistical and research work, but only as an addition, and not as an alternative, to the financial support provided by the territorial governments. (Paragraph 16.)

15. The present method of financing the Department makes it impossible to plan its activities in a proper manner. Funds should be provided by the territorial governments in accordance with a scheme which would cover a number of years at a time. Any grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund should be provided on a similar basis. (Paragraph 16.)

16. The proposal to set up an Advisory Board to the East African Statistical Department should be re-examined. (Paragraph 17.)

17. The territorial governments should consult with the East African Statistical Department in the maintenance and collection of their own statistical records. These records should be available to that department, and wherever possible the collection of territorial departmental statistics should be done through, or with the advice of, the East African Statistical Department. A representative of the High Commission statistical service could be attached to each territorial government to provide the technical assistance which they lack at present, and to ensure more effective collaboration between the territorial services and the East African Statistical Department. (Paragraph 18.)

Chapter 18

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

1. The economic and social policies must be based on the realization that the development of East Africa basically depends on the extent to which the indigenous population can, with the help of necessarily small numbers of immigrant peoples, be integrated into the world economy. (Paragraph 2.)
2. The real and alleged factors making for conflict of interests between the races, tribes and nationalities are more apparent than the co-operant achievements which they so easily tend to obscure. (Paragraph 3.)
3. Extreme tensions have resulted from doubts based on racial and political fears and misconceptions. (Paragraph 3.)
4. Throughout the three territories there is a tendency to see the inevitable clash of progress and security solely as a clash between colour, tribe or race. (Paragraph 4.)
5. Tensions are simplified in terms of political power. The problems of East Africa are thought of merely as political problems which can be settled only by the edicts of political authority or changes in political and administrative machinery. (Paragraph 5.)
6. Whatever the political arrangements in East Africa may come to be in the future, there is no evidence at present to suggest that any appreciable modern economic advance can be achieved without the help, efforts and presence of non-Africans. (Paragraph 8.)
7. From an economic point of view it is remarkable that so much has been achieved under the leadership and stimulus of so few in so short a time. The progress from the very primitive economic conditions which characterized East Africa at the beginning of this century is a very remarkable achievement. (Paragraph 9.)
8. East Africa is still a region which resembles a series of small islands of modern economic production in a sea of relatively stagnant subsistence economy and unexplored or undeveloped natural resources. (Paragraph 9.)
9. Large areas have remained closed to modern development although the intention behind the measures which caused this isolation may have been well meant. Even in the Highlands of Kenya much enterprise is inhibited by racial restrictions resting, in the last resort, on fear. (Paragraph 9.)
10. Tribal and racial barriers have prevented the migration of skill, enterprise and capital, have prevented large-scale exploration or development of new natural resources, have retarded the growth of communications and of towns, and have restricted markets. (Paragraph 10.)
11. The question has to be faced whether racial fears can only be assuaged through measures which relegate the whole society to a dangerously slow rate of economic advance or even to economic stagnation. (Paragraph 10.)
12. The responsibility for tension must be sought in the fundamental social and economic factors which underlie it. (Paragraph 11.)
13. There has, as yet, been insufficient time in East Africa for the emergence of more stable and more functionally suitable economic arrangements. The European settler has tended to live and work in isolation from the indigenous economy, and to regard the European economy as necessarily independent of the indigenous areas. (Paragraph 14.)

14. The isolation of the races in East Africa must be overcome. Without the close economic integration of all their efforts the poverty of East Africa will continue. (Paragraph 16.)

15. The pattern of economic relationships, now typified by European employers on one side and African labourers on the other, must be replaced by a common economic objective in which the members of every race have common interests and rights which rest on the fulfilment of definite obligations. Only thus can the economic and political dangers which threaten East Africa be avoided. (Paragraph 16.)

16. Without the development of African productive capacity the relatively isolated modern exchange economy of Europeans and Asians is not permanently viable. (Paragraph 17.)

17. The common task is not only inescapable but presents East Africa with new opportunities for economic and social advance for all its inhabitants. It implies the most diverse experimentation for the discovery of methods to further co-operative activity. (Paragraphs 19 and 20.)

18. From the development of co-operation for the production, processing and marketing of agricultural products to the establishment of companies with both private and government capital for particular agricultural projects under controlled conditions of production, there is a large variety of forms of enterprise to be applied in accordance with the wishes, aptitudes and social conditions of the people. (Paragraph 21.)

19. There is scope for private companies financed from abroad associating both Africans and non-Africans in all their activities in accordance with their abilities irrespective of race, and also for the development of extension services to be staffed both by Africans and non-Africans working as members of a recognized organization with its own *esprit de corps*. (Paragraph 21.)

20. East Africa cannot afford customs or vested interests which continue to lead to the waste of resources through ill-used land or useless cattle, through conspicuous consumption based on privilege or status, through ill-trained and badly directed labour, or through outworn restrictions on employment of members of particular races, through agricultural production protected by monopolistic devices or state regulation, through restrictions on the use of land for agricultural and urban purposes. (Paragraph 23.)

21. Privileges often continue to be demanded in East Africa on the grounds of race or colour which are no longer tolerated in other countries because they have been recognized as anti-social in their effects. (Paragraph 24.)

22. Race or colour cannot be regarded as a ground for any discrimination or restriction which the community is not prepared to accept on other grounds. (Paragraph 24.)

23. Any immigrant to East Africa should not be led to expect, or be given, privileges on the ground of his race or origin which conflict with the harmonious social and economic development of the country of his adoption. (Paragraph 24.)

24. Although every member of the community has a right to expect the growth of institutions which will further equality of opportunity no member has a right to expect to be guaranteed equality of attainment in experience, efficiency, status or reward. (Paragraph 25.)

25. The mass of the people are not assisted by measures designed to favour the few who are politically powerful or vocal enough to demand privileges in employment or income unrelated to their productive efficiency, be they privileged Africans, Europeans or Indians. (Paragraph 25.)

26. The goal of social action in East Africa should be based on the realization that this relatively extremely under-developed region has so far failed to grasp its undoubted opportunities, and that it has been restrictive in major policies, ranging from unwillingness to share its potential wealth with newcomers able to assist developments to unwillingness to join in co-operant effort even between the tribes and races of which its peoples are composed. (Paragraph 26.)

27. Functional or economic efficiency cannot be the only criteria of change. The social effects thereof must be taken into account, and adverse social effects cannot be compensated merely by increased individual incomes. (Paragraph 28.)

28. Economic policy must be based on the assessment of economic potentialities in the territories and of East Africa as a whole. Development must not be impeded by policies of economic self-sufficiency within the three territories. (Paragraph 29.)

Chapter 19

CONDITIONS FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

1. The two main aims underlying the urban policies of the East African governments have been to develop centres in which non-Africans could live in healthy surroundings and to limit the trading activities of non-Africans in order to protect the way of life, land and trade of the indigenous peoples. (Paragraph 6.)

2. African traders should be encouraged to settle in gazetted trading centres with traders of other races, and the system of administering gazetted trading centres should be revised in order to break down the isolation of these centres from the surrounding countryside and to enable Africans to learn from the entrepreneurial skills of more experienced traders. (Paragraph 8.)

3. The administrative arrangements for African urban settlements under the Minor Settlements Ordinance in Tanganyika deserve to be studied when the administration of similar centres is considered elsewhere. (Paragraph 9.)

4. Towns are of recent origin in East Africa and the effects of administrative measures will appear not among the first generation, but among the second or third generation of settled town dwellers. (Paragraph 11.)

5. The Indians are the most stable elements in the towns and the increase in their numbers is creating problems both of shortage of living space and also of opportunities for earning a living. (Paragraph 17.)

6. Piecemeal measures, such as the provision of a limited amount of good housing, not only fail to solve the problem of improving conditions but may even make it more difficult by encouraging an increase in the urban population. (Paragraph 19.)

7. The urbanized population which lives outside the boundaries of the towns must be taken into account when urban problems are considered. (Paragraph 21.)

8. Conditions of life for the poorer Asians and the majority of Africans in the towns have been deteriorating over a considerable period and their deterioration has not yet been arrested. (Paragraph 23.)

9. The major causes of crime, immorality and drunkenness are the isolation and frustration of African town-dwellers, who feel that they cannot by their own efforts raise themselves above the squalid conditions in which they live. (Paragraph 34.)

10. The wages of the majority of African workers are too low to enable them to obtain accommodation which is adequate by any standard. (Paragraph 36.)

11. Wherever possible Africans should be encouraged to own their own homes. (Paragraph 42.)

12. Only the people themselves can create a community, which will only come about when people have been drawn together in social groups by a common level of education or wealth, irrespective of divisions of tribe or race, and when urban society is composed of innumerable small spontaneous associations. (Paragraph 48.)

13. The growth of a settled urban population is needed for the promotion of a healthy urban society. This process will be a gradual one but every effort must be made to create conditions favourable to it. (Paragraph 49.)

14. All urban expansion is at the expense of Africans who have settled inside, or on the edge of, the towns. Non-Africans cannot open up markets and stimulate the economy of areas which have not yet come under the impact of modern economic forces. It is difficult to obtain sufficient land for urban development outside the present boundaries. (Paragraph 55.)

15. Land needed for development should be made available by governments when it is wanted. All urban plots should be disposed of by public auction. (Paragraph 57.)

16. When Africans have a secure title to their land they are prepared to lease it to non-Africans if they can gainfully do so. (Paragraph 68.)

17. Land tenure in urban areas must be put on a basis which will give members of all races equal opportunity and equal and adequate security of tenure and which will also allow for the organized growth of the towns. (Paragraph 72.)

18. Africans should be granted individual freehold titles in their land surrounding the towns where, after due enquiry, it is clear that their rights already approximate to freehold. This process should be accompanied by the adjustment of plot boundaries in order to make possible the orderly development of the area. (Paragraph 73.)

19. Leasing of their land by Africans to non-Africans should be encouraged. (Paragraph 74.)

20. Reduction of building costs will not solve the problem of housing shortages, because the disparity between building costs and the rent which the majority of those who rent homes can afford to pay will remain too great. (Paragraph 82.)

21. No solution of the housing problem can be found through the payment of housing subsidies. (Paragraph 83.)

22. Tenant purchase schemes and loans for housing are beyond the resources of all except members of the highest income groups. (Paragraph 86.)

23. Wages cannot quickly be raised to enable the majority of African workers to pay economic rents without serious injury to the economy of the East African territories. (Paragraph 88.)

24. No solution to the housing problem is to be found in increasing the obligation of employers regarding housing, although there are numbers of ways in which employers can help their labourers to build their own houses. (Paragraph 91.)

25. The aim should be to raise the level of all housing by using all available resources. House ownership is an important factor in encouraging stability and governments should concentrate on helping house owners to build their own houses. (Paragraph 95.)

26. The social requirements for housing are sufficient accommodation, privacy, simple but controlled sanitation and essential services. (Paragraph 97.)

27. Governments can contribute to the improvement of housing by providing demarcated and serviced plots, technical assistance and machinery, and by relieving shortages of building materials. (Paragraph 103.)

28. An overall urban policy, which takes all factors, for example availability of land, population growth and financial resources into account, should be framed as soon as possible after an appreciation has been made of the situation in the urban areas in each territory. (Paragraph 125.)

29. An officer of sufficient standing, who would be responsible to the minister for urban affairs, should be appointed to study the urban problems of his territory, assist in the framing of this overall urban policy and co-ordinate the views of different departments concerned with the towns. (Paragraph 126.)

30. In the interests of simplicity urban planning as well as development in general should be supervised, under the minister, by the officer who is responsible for urban development, and local responsibility should be entrusted to the local authorities rather than to independent planning committees. (Paragraph 129.)

31. Control of the movement of people into the towns is undesirable on economic grounds and is also impracticable. (Paragraph 131.)

32. In order to bring standards of building and sanitation within the reach of the majority of their inhabitants, the urban areas should be divided into three or more zones. (Paragraph 132.)

33. Separate administrative organizations should be established for the areas now predominately occupied by Africans inside and immediately surrounding the towns. (Paragraph 134.)

34. Essential African services should come out of the resources of central governments on a more regular grant basis than on the existing *ad hoc* basis. (Paragraph 145.)

35. The predominately African units should have their own budgets which are separate from those of the present urban authorities. (Paragraph 147.)

36. The protective services on which the health and well being of the whole population depends should be provided, even if this entails a considerable degree of subsidization from central revenues. Additional services should be provided on a scale which is related to the stage of development which an area has reached. (Paragraph 149.)

Chapter 20

AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL

1. A thirty inch rainfall reliability factor is used to define the several major ecological regions of East Africa. (Paragraph 1.)

2. The operation of this factor in East Africa is described. (Paragraph 2 to paragraph 9.)

3. Other factors besides rainfall reliability act in restraint of agriculture in East Africa. These factors may be conveniently divided into two categories:—

- (a) environmental and physical obstacles, and
- (b) technical and organizational difficulties. (Paragraph 10.)

4. The physical and environmental factors include tsetse fly infestation (Paragraphs 11 to 14), the shortage of water supplies (Paragraphs 15 to 16), the inadequacy of communications (Paragraphs 17 to 21), the lack of manpower (Paragraphs 22 to 24), the condition of the soil (Paragraph 25) and disease. (Paragraph 26.)

5. The significance of these several factors lies in their interaction and inter-relationship. They are component parts of an ecological balance which is at present weighted against the agricultural use of the land. (Paragraph 27.)

6. In attempting to adjust this equilibrium, so that it ceases to be inimical to man, it is necessary to foresee and forestall the possible deleterious results of removing some only of the factors in a way which would upset the natural balance. (Paragraph 27.)

7. Economic land usage depends on the rational application of labour, capital, knowledge and skill to the available natural resources. Its development must be assessed in terms of expenditure and returns, and in such an assessment the significance of the several physical limitations indicated calls for close attention. (Paragraph 27.)

8. Only by a co-ordinated and systematic approach will sound agricultural development be possible and this demands intimate liaison at all stages in the process and at all levels. (Paragraph 27.)

9. The major technical obstacles include the lack of basic data and information (Paragraph 28), the absence of co-ordination in research (Paragraph 29) and financial limitations (Paragraph 30).

10. The first step in undertaking development is the making of a regional and territorial inventory and review of the available assets in land. (Paragraph 33.)

11. In undertaking such a review it becomes apparent that, except for some relatively small and widely scattered areas, in the vast expanse of pastoral country it is unlikely that development will, for some time to come, be considerable. These pastoral zones must be considered as being of limited potentiality. (Paragraph 34.)

12. Within the great expanses of arable-pastoral marginal country there are very serious obstacles impeding the full usage of the land and it is not, as yet, possible to consider most of these areas as contributors to the regional economy on a significant scale. Their future development will be the result of a slow and expensive process. (Paragraphs 35 and 36.)

13. The high potentiality areas are very unequally distributed between the three territories, and this necessitates the choice between a regional, co-ordinated and co-operative East African approach to their development, or a local territorial approach. (Paragraph 38.)

14. A regional approach is suggested and it is pointed out that, if for political or other reasons, this is not forthcoming there will inevitably be a slowing down of the tempo of development in all of the territories, and this at a time when it is imperative to accelerate the process. (Paragraph 39.)

15. The major high potentiality agricultural zones of East Africa fall into two main blocks:

- (i) the Lake Victoria depression comprising the greater part of Uganda, the Kenya and Tanganyika shores of Lake Victoria, the highlands of Kenya and the north-western highlands of Tanganyika.
- (ii) the south-west of Tanganyika.

Each of these should be approached regionally. (Paragraph 40.)

16. Irrigation may enable increased acreages to be cultivated and also give increased productivity on land which is already under cultivation. (Paragraph 41.)

17. For a variety of reasons it has not, as yet, been found possible to carry out any large-scale irrigation project within the East African region. Nowhere in East Africa are conditions for irrigation comparable with those of Egypt, the Sudan and India to be found. (Paragraph 41.)

18. The Tana river does not justify the sanguine hopes which it has sometimes raised. But this is not to dismiss it as of no value. (Paragraph 43.)

19. A detailed topographical survey of the available areas on the middle and lower Tana should be made with a view to determining how much land is available and an examination of the soils of these regions should also be made. (Paragraph 44.)

20. Other irrigational prospects in Kenya are reviewed and the continued exploration of these potential development areas is recommended. (Paragraph 45.)

21. In considering the possibility of irrigation schemes in the Lake Victoria basin it is necessary to bear in mind the Nile Waters Agreement of 1929. (Paragraph 46.)

22. Although the Nile Waters Agreement was negotiated at a time when the future needs of the East African territories were less clearly foreseen than they are now, the equitable distribution of any additional supplies that can be made available is so much in the interest of all concerned that there is no reason to suppose that similar negotiations to those between Egypt and the Sudan could not be successfully carried through on behalf of the East African governments. (Paragraph 46.)

23. In Tanganyika interest in irrigation has been considerable in the last few years and has centred on the several major rivers. (Paragraph 47.)

24. Every effort should be made to continue the investigation of the possibility of using the many small streams in the mountainous areas for local irrigation projects. (Paragraph 47.)

25. Irrigation possibilities on the Rufiji depend upon the relationship of the cost involved to the area of land commanded and the value of the crops it will produce. Difficulty is encountered in making such an assessment as the area of land available remains uncertain. The present policy of survey and experiment is endorsed and it is recommended that particular attention should be given to ascertaining the actual acreage of cultivable land available (Paragraph 48.)

26. The continuation of the exploration of the potentiality of irrigation in the Kilombero river valley, an area wherein the small irrigation prospects now being explored may lead to the opening up of greater areas in the future, is recommended. (Paragraph 49.)

27. The potentiality of the Usangu plains, where irrigation has been suggested, is still largely a matter of conjecture and large-scale development

is not likely until communications improve. Steps should be taken, however, to collect the necessary data in anticipation of possible development and a small-scale pumping experiment is recommended. (Paragraph 50.)

28. The history of an exploration of the Pangani basin with a view to irrigation is cited as an indication of the difficulties involved in such projects in East Africa. (Paragraph 51.)

29. Irrigation on the Ruvu river is likely to be expensive but would be valuable. (Paragraph 52.)

30. Other possible irrigation areas in Tanganyika are reviewed. (Paragraphs 53 and 54.)

31. There are still large reserves of sparsely populated, underdeveloped land of high potentiality in Uganda, but there may be areas where irrigation can be introduced with advantage and economy. (Paragraph 56.)

32. In Uganda the significance of the Nile Waters Agreement must be considered in regard to irrigation projects. (Paragraph 56.)

33. The use of the Semliki flats for irrigation would involve great expense. (Paragraph 57.)

34. The Lake George flats appear to afford prospects for irrigation and a scheme may become desirable now that the western extension of the railway has brought them into easy communication with Buganda and the coast ports. (Paragraph 57.)

35. Similar prospects may be found on the streams flowing from Mount Elgon, along the Nile, in northern Busoga, and in the north of the Protectorate. (Paragraph 57.)

36. The possibility of using the water of Lake Kyoga by means of electrically operated pumps should now be explored. (Paragraph 58.)

37. There is considerable potentiality in the reclamation of swampland in Uganda. The Hydrological Department has been working on this problem for some years and there is a hope of finding some way of preserving the fertility of swamp soils. There is urgent need for further research. The Kigezi District might be given priority in any project for swamp reclamation. (Paragraph 59.)

Chapter 22

ALTERNATIVES TO CUSTOMARY LAND USE

1. Customary agricultural systems are already becoming untenable in crowded areas owing to the increase in population, and are failing to yield the income standards now increasingly demanded. (Paragraph 1.)

2. The development of increased productivity in agriculture is basically a question of commercializing the indigenous agricultural systems. (Paragraph 1.)

3. In East Africa peasant agriculture is, by and large, not directed towards securing the greatest money incomes. The basic appreciation of land as an asset which has to be carefully conserved is for the most part absent. What is required for the proper economic combination of resources is a complete economic and social re-orientation. (Paragraph 2.)

4. Expansion of production for the market must be accompanied by the establishment of a balanced pattern of agriculture to prevent soil exhaustion. (Paragraph 2.)

5. As long as communities are isolated from the market it is idle to expect them to change from producing food crops to specialized production for the market. (Paragraph 3.)

6. Even where communications are adequate it does not follow that those factors which lead to greater production can easily be combined. (Paragraph 4.)

7. In crowded areas the introduction of a more efficient system of production will cause a general problem of displacement. (Paragraph 5.)

8. The most suitable patterns of production, both to rehabilitate overcrowded areas and in new land, have still in many cases to be discovered. (Paragraph 6.)

9. Land is not only scarce because it is overcrowded in the fertile areas, it is scarce also in the sense that it requires much improvement before continuous production with higher yields can be obtained. Capital is scarce because the surplus produced by subsistence methods is negligible, and labour is scarce because the type of labour accustomed to subsistence production requires much additional training before it can cope effectively with farming for the market. (Paragraph 6.)

10. There is a conflict between temporary relief measures to assist persons to remain on the land without greatly increasing their incomes, and production policies designed to raise income standards. This is inescapable because the change cannot be viewed only in terms of economic efficiency but must be seen against a wide range of social effects. (Paragraph 7.)

11. It is essential to avoid the creation of a landless and homeless proletariat which cannot find employment in the towns. (Paragraph 7.)

12. Existing day-to-day problems of the people should be met, and cannot wait on ideal solutions. This implies that economically perfect systems cannot be introduced or imposed on an overall basis. Advance in agricultural rehabilitation must necessarily proceed at an uneven pace in different regions and by different individuals and groups of individuals. (Paragraph 7.)

13. Agricultural policy must be based on a plan of objectives clearly related to the scarcity of the factors of production. Every stage of agricultural policy involves an economic choice in relation to the social conditions existing in East Africa. Resources for costly experiments, or for developments which are likely to yield benefits only in the remote future, are not available at the present. (Paragraph 8.)

14. At every stage individuals or communities should be assisted to improve their own methods and increase their income. Where these efforts require control of land use, of size of holdings and the like, the control should provide flexibility and a rigid pattern of production should be avoided. (Paragraph 8.)

15. Where expenditure is of a relief nature, as for long-term improvements which the individual producers cannot at present afford, it should be clearly designated as being for such purposes and it should be borne by the government. (Paragraph 8.)

16. The choice between serious land ruin and compulsory de-stocking presents East Africa with a dilemma which it shares with other countries. De-stocking must be presented to the public not as a capital levy on reserves but as the annual crop from the production of a planned ranching business, the training and development for which are being pursued by the government. (Paragraph 9.)

17. Certain areas offer great natural difficulties to the realization of such a policy owing to their remoteness, lack of water or lack of rain. Another difficulty in relating carrying capacity of the land to stock is the immense gulf between the needs of modern ranching and the natural customs of the pastoralists. (Paragraphs 11 and 12.)

18. The main fault in the traditional system is the combination of the communal range with unrestricted individual ownership. Neither the community nor the individual have regard to the effects on the land of their actions. (Paragraph 13.)

19. A community can agree to restrict the stock of each individual to what the land will collectively carry, and to practise a proper community rotation, or the land can be divided up into individual ranches. There is scope for both solutions in East Africa. (Paragraph 13.)

20. A more co-ordinated and persistent policy may stimulate demands for the satisfaction of which pastoral tribes will increasingly part with stock. (Paragraph 14.)

21. There is little value in introducing facilities to keep alive stock which has no proper provision for its forage. It may sometimes be advisable to let nature take its course, without water development or disease control, rather than to provide these aids without the planned management which will lead to a proper economy. (Paragraph 14.)

22. Encouragement of a commercial instinct is a vital step in stabilizing stock numbers, and there is evidence of an increasing cash consciousness. (Paragraph 15.)

23. The way to a stable economy in the pastoral areas lies in putting the nomad in touch with the rising exchange economy by encouraging export of stock, emigration of persons, and import of goods. (Paragraph 15.)

24. When a co-ordinated pastoral policy is put into action water development is of first priority. (Paragraph 17.)

25. Fencing may be essential at a later stage but in the first stage of improvement from pure nomadism even a properly regulated alternation of wet and dry grazing with well distributed water supplies would be a first step forward. (Paragraph 18.)

26. To obtain unit control it will be essential to restrict defined ranges to particular sections or clans who are prepared to co-operate in stock and water control, and to keep all others out. But the procurement of additional land is, in many parts, a necessity to get a modern system going. (Paragraph 19.)

27. Until some comparatively inexpensive method of clearance can be discovered the use of tsetse infested country purely for ranching is likely to be confined to those cases where it will facilitate the rehabilitation of an existing ranching or cultivation area. (Paragraph 20.)

28. Whilst accepting the responsibility of game preservation for future generations it is necessary where the interests of man and game conflict that the need of the former must be considered paramount. (Paragraph 23.)

29. There can be no justification for shooting game out of an area to allow scrub cattle of no economic value the more easily to overgraze it. At least game does not let in the desert. (Paragraph 23.)

30. Periodically the whole position concerning game preservation ought to be reviewed and game reserves should not be regarded as immutable. (Paragraph 25.)

31. In most European ranches little capital was available at the start. It was created out of income, from animal reproduction and human work, and ploughed back into the ranch gradually to increase the fencing and water and improve the quality of the stock. African ranching should develop in the same way. (Paragraph 27.)

32. The appointment of special staff gradually to introduce proper methods of ranching in pastoral areas is now a matter of urgency. (Paragraph 28.)

33. There is now an opportunity for treating the problem of meat marketing from a community angle by facilitating the reduction of stock and encouraging and satisfying an increasing popular demand for meat. (Paragraph 29.)

34. The opposition to African stock routes is not essentially a racial matter but is based on the reasonable fear which a farmer with high-grade cattle feels about infection. (Paragraph 33.)

35. Well watched and properly policed stock routes and proper quarantine controls must be provided to encourage marketing from the reserves. (Paragraph 33.)

36. The heart of the stock problem lies in the difficulty of making certain of a market. (Paragraph 34.)

37. Of primary importance is the active stimulation and supply of the local market. The biggest potential increased demand for meat is arising from increased purchasing power in African communities. (Paragraph 47.)

38. The assumption that private trading in meat marketing, because it was deficient before the war, needs to be entirely replaced, is not borne out by the facts. (Paragraph 48.)

39. Public auctions and the competition of traders are clearly preferred by African producers. This does not mean that there is no place for the veterinary department in connection with stock marketing. (Paragraphs 48 and 49.)

40. There is a place in stock marketing for private traders, for veterinary departments, and for canneries and factories in expanding markets which the private trader cannot develop. (Paragraph 52.)

41. The problem of securing an efficient system of meat marketing is not only important among pastoral tribes. The damage from erosion and the need to relate stock numbers to carrying capacity are even more critical in many cultivation areas, because more people and crops are there competing with stock for the available land. (Paragraph 53.)

42. Efforts now being made towards breeding improved animals are in anticipation of improved animal husbandry in the African areas. (Paragraph 54.)

43. Government should do the minimum in the way of pedigree breeding, as opposed to merely multiplying improved stock, and should look elsewhere for improved stock which may be suitable. (Paragraph 56.)

44. The time has come for a review of animal breeding activities as opposed to the demonstrational and experimental activities of the livestock centres. (Paragraph 57.)

45. The practical approach to cattle improvement would be

(a) to improve animal husbandry,

(b) to improve indigenous sires, and

(c) to make the best use of the available pasture and by-products of the farm. (Paragraph 57.)

46. The known major faults of present usage in the cultivation areas are: erosion, the lack of integration between the number of animals and the carrying capacity of land, insufficient resting period, and fragmentation.

The problem of land tenure is involved in all these technical agricultural faults. An additional drawback is the limitation of the present system to the labour of the woman and the hoe. (Paragraph 60.)

47. Erosion control is only the first, and easiest, step because it does not involve any radical alteration of the customary system itself. (Paragraph 61.)

48. An attack on the lack of integration between animals and land, on the lack of sufficient resting period, and on fragmentation, is the crux of the matter. These features lie at the heart of each individual's present economic life and of tribe and clan custom. (Paragraph 62.)

49. Only in Kenya has this attack been vigorously launched, with the alternative system of a small consolidated holding with a ley. (Paragraph 62.)

50. There are a great number of difficulties which affect the establishment of small mixed farming holdings, and there is also the risk that a system of small holdings may not be an economic success. (Paragraph 64.)

51. The system of planned small holdings may not turn out to be the most economical method of production. The application of this policy must therefore be left flexible enough to allow change as experience dictates, but a continuation of the present state of affairs must not be allowed. (Paragraph 64.)

52. The introduction into crowded areas of consolidated holdings raises the whole problem of displacement. The degree of displacement is a matter of some controversy and to assess the real state of affairs demands a survey. (Paragraphs 66 and 67.)

53. Neither industry nor irrigation will be able to provide in any short period of time for the absorption of many people on an economic basis. The real need in East Africa is the economic development of the fertile land. The more this issue is postponed the greater the risk of a large landless proletariat with little to live on. (Paragraph 67.)

54. The problem of displacement might be less urgent if the need for fallow could be wholly, or partially, circumvented and in this direction the use of fertilizer merits attention. (Paragraph 68.)

55. Introduction of placement planting of phosphates in particular has opened new prospects. It renders previous experiments out of date. (Paragraph 68.)

56. The astonishing increase in the use of fertilizers in other parts of the world forms an increasing contrast to the paucity of their use in East Africa. (Paragraph 69.)

57. The present use of fertilizers is too small to justify economic local manufacture unless special conditions apply. (Paragraph 69.)

58. An increase in usage and the active encouragement of mineral surveys are likely to give the best prospect of a cheaper local fertilizer product. (Paragraph 69.)

59. There are areas in East Africa particularly suitable for specialization and the development of cash export crops. (Paragraph 70.)

60. In encouraging indigenous production of cash crops it is necessary to find a bridge between foreign capital and knowledge and indigenous needs. A number of interesting steps have already been taken in this direction by European firms who have helped to start indigenous peasants to specialize for themselves. (Paragraph 71.)

61. Increasing specialization in cash export crops, increased employment off the land and an increase in population are likely to result in a greater demand for food crops and enable increased specialization in their production for the market. (Paragraph 72.)

62. Individual tenure has great advantages in giving to the individual a sense of security and in enabling adjustments to be made from fragmented units to units of an economic agricultural size. The ability of individuals to acquire land by a process of purchase and sale, instead of through custom, opens the door to that mobility and initiative which is necessary. (Paragraph 77.)

63. Individual tenure in itself does not ensure proper land usage. It is a means to an end and not an end in itself. (Paragraph 77 and 78.)

64. Mechanization cannot be of much economic assistance on small family farms in overcrowded districts. Its application is more likely to be economic in undeveloped areas. (Paragraph 79.)

65. Economic mechanization depends on concentrated supervision and at a certain stage requires a specialized organization. (Paragraph 82.)

66. The experiments of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation to control and help African peasant production are of great importance. They have a direct bearing on the main need of East Africa, the application of managerial and technical knowledge and of capital for modernizing the indigenous economy. (Paragraphs 84 and 85.)

67. The Gezira Scheme in the Sudan also illustrates the basic principle of trying to bring the advantages of a large estate to a society of peasant farmers. (Paragraph 86 to paragraph 88.)

68. Experiments in this kind of organization should be made not in uninhabited tsetse country but on the periphery of the present crowded areas. Basic investment in roads, water supplies, schools, hospitals, etc., should be provided by government. (Paragraph 89.)

69. In mountainous country where machinery can be of little use, but where tree crops like coffee can be grown, where skilled and expensive processing is not necessary, and where, therefore, the particular need for specialized managerial ability is much less, co-operative societies may be a better instrument for new development. (Paragraph 90.)

70. Co-operatives have the advantage of being more genuinely a movement from the peasants themselves rather than an organization imposed upon them. (Paragraph 90.)

71. There are everywhere enterprising individuals who are seeking to strike out into farming in a bigger way. Very often they run up against hostility precisely because they want to live differently from their neighbours. Where land is plentiful the opportunity should be taken to lay out land for the larger operators, who, as they acquire capacity, will reduce the need for government sponsored activity. (Paragraph 91.)

72. What is needed is a policy deliberately designed to encourage the economic use of land and to remove the obstacles which prevent this, but not necessarily wedded to any one solution as a panacea. It should stimulate a wealth of different experiments, not only in the technical alternatives but in differing human associations. (Paragraph 91.)

73. Important help towards the discovery of better systems of land usage must be expected from research. A link must be found between what is

needed in the field and what is being done at established research stations, not so much in the matter of plant breeding, cultivation practices, pest control etc., as on the fundamental question of applying those new individual and economic patterns of agriculture upon which the future of the community depends. What is missing is a continuous link between fundamental research at one end and the emerging individual peasant at the other. (Paragraphs 92 and 93.)

74. There is need for a regular sequence of experiment from research plot, to pilot field unit, to representative test area, and to rehabilitation plan, to find out the patterns of usage most suitable for each locality. (Paragraph 94.)

75. The staff of the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation (E.A.A.F.R.O.) needs to be strengthened so that scientists, free from the need to do basic research, can travel in the territories and be available to specialize in adapting the central research institute's basic findings to particular local problems. (Paragraph 99.)

76. Within each territory there needs to be a special officer in control of research to be the contact man between E.A.A.F.R.O. and the territory. He should be responsible for seeing that there is a continuous progress from research to development. (Paragraph 100.)

77. It is desirable that governments should prepare gazetteers concerning the resources at their disposal, and one of the first requirements of the East African territories is a district by district survey which will describe in factual terms the available land, the topography, the soil, rainfall, population and the means of communication of the districts. (Paragraph 102.)

78. A detailed ecological survey indicating the kind of agricultural specialization, the appropriate kind of farming system and the suitability of different types of farm organization should be embarked upon as soon as circumstances permit. (Paragraph 103.)

79. There should be territorial Land Development Boards to ensure a territorial rather than a district approach to development. (Paragraph 104.)

80. The Land Development Board should not be representative of any sectional or racial interests nor should it be precluded from considering any land in the territory. It should be a committee specializing, on behalf of the whole community, in the execution of the main aim outlined in this Report: the encouragement of production from the land in a way that is economically and socially satisfactory. (Paragraph 104.)

81. The Chairman of the Land Development Board should be a man whose reputation and position in the community will carry due weight with the central government and with the legislature. The Managing Director should spend a great deal of his time on tour and should be the chief instrument in maintaining a momentum of development. (Paragraph 104.)

82. There should be a special committee of unofficial members of the legislature acquainted with the policy of land development. (Paragraph 105.)

83. The Land Development Board should encourage the development of land by purchase or lease on the basis of willing buyer and willing seller. (Paragraph 106.)

84. The Land Development Board should not rely only on the power and resources of the central government, but should be the champion of individuals looking for personal security and opportunity on the land. (Paragraph 106.)

85. The general principle which territorial Land Development Boards should adopt is that expansion into new territory should be made under a controlled form of usage obviating the faults of the past, and should be accompanied by rehabilitation of existing badly used areas. (Paragraph 109.)

86. Recommendations are made in paragraphs 110 to 117 on the special problems and priorities in development of particular regions.

Chapter 23

THE TENURE AND DISPOSITION OF LAND

1. Policy concerning the tenure and disposition of land should aim at the individualization of land ownership and mobility in the transfer of land which, without ignoring existing property rights, will enable access to land for economic use. (Paragraph 1.)

2. At one extreme changes in current tenure may not materially affect production, while at the other extreme individual ownership may yield considerable productive results. A land tenure law must therefore be both adaptable in form and capable of *ad hoc* application. (Paragraph 3.)

3. The fact that customary tenure is deep-rooted in African society must be taken into account in devising and applying new land tenure laws. (Paragraph 4.)

4. The strength of resistance to change and the difficulties with which change confronts the African must not be under-rated. (Paragraph 4.)

5. Land tenure law cannot simply be left to evolve under the impact of modern influences. A lead must be given by governments to meet the requirements of the progressive elements of society by applying a more satisfactory land tenure law. (Paragraph 5.)

6. The control of African land tenure is traditionally a matter of local concern and governments have fostered local control. Complete transfer of control over African land tenure to the central government is unlikely to be an immediate practicable and acceptable step. Local Land Boards should be established and controlled in the exercise of their powers by the central government. (Paragraph 8.)

7. The land law should be designed to dispel existing fears derived from the failure of customary tenure to meet land shortage and from the assumption by government of legal rights over land already subject to customary rights. (Paragraphs 9 and 10.)

8. Since the disposal of land to non-Africans has shaken public confidence it is necessary to provide a control over the transfer of rights in land between persons of different races until confidence is re-established. (Paragraph 11.)

9. Existing property rights must not be arbitrarily disturbed, exclusive individual ownership of land must be registered, and government must not dispose of land without an established legal process of adjudication and registration of all interests in the land. (Paragraph 12 to paragraph 14.)

10. Individual rights of land ownership should be confirmed by a process of adjudication and registration. Legislation must be enacted which empowers the government to dispose of all residual interests in land, particularly to individuals already holding interests not amounting to full ownership. (Paragraph 16.)

11. Systematic adjudication and registration is recommended. (Paragraph 17.)

12. Provision should be made for scheduling areas for the adjudication and registration of interests in land and for the appointment of adjudicating officers. (Paragraph 18.)

13. The interests adjudicated should be recorded in a register of rights which, for ease of access, should be maintained by central government on a district basis. (Paragraph 19.)

14. The use of air photography for cadastral survey is discussed. (Paragraph 20.)

15. Africans should be trained to make cadastral plans. (Paragraph 21.)

16. Governments should not overlook the possibility of enacting laws of prescription and limitation. (Paragraph 25.)

17. Powers of government for the compulsory acquisition of land should cover only the acquisition of registered interests in land. If the government intends compulsorily to acquire land in respect of which the interests have not already been registered it must first carry out the process of adjudicating and registering the land interests in the area concerned. (Paragraph 26.)

18. Governments must have powers to acquire land compulsorily for public purposes, but what constitutes a 'public purpose' should be clearly defined. (Paragraph 26.)

19. Payment for rights acquired compulsorily by government must be based on the market values. (Paragraph 26.)

20. If governments find it impossible to purchase or lease land required for productive purposes they should seek powers, by special legislation, compulsorily to acquire the land in question. (Paragraph 27.)

21. Restrictions must be imposed, in the interests of the African, on the mortgaging of his land and on the recovery of a debt through the sale of his land. (Paragraph 29.)

22. There should be a prohibition on the registration of sub-divisions of land below a certain size. (Paragraph 30.)

23. Taxation is unlikely to be an effective means of preventing unproductive holding of land in present East African conditions, and the most effective way of preventing the unproductive holding of land is through the enforcement of land use laws and through the use of the powers of compulsory acquisition. (Paragraph 33.)

24. The government should have power to prohibit land holdings above a certain size in any specified area. (Paragraph 35.)

25. Undesirable social and economic consequences may arise from the free negotiability of land titles. Government should have the power to impose restrictions when it is clearly in the general interests of the country to do so. (Paragraph 35.)

26. Certain controls over transfers of land agreed between persons of different races are necessary. These controls should be exercised by provisions in the law:

- (a) to render null and void all transfers of interests in land other than interests which have been registered;
- (b) to ensure that all transfers shall take the form of *leases only* and that reversionary rights remain with the seller; and
- (c) to ensure that all such *leases of land* are subject to the Governor's approval.

The Governor's approval to leases should be freely given and this would enable the development of that economic mobility which is so necessary, particularly in urban areas. (Paragraph 36.)

27. Landlord-tenant relationships should be regularized by enabling rules to be made to meet the particular circumstances of differing areas. In Buganda the position is complex and requires special consideration. (Paragraph 37 to paragraph 43.)

28. Land tenure rules to meet local circumstances must command a measure of local support, but no rules should be made which are out of line with the territory-wide policy and which would obstruct the eventual individualization of land ownership and access to land in the interests of the territory as a whole. (Paragraph 44.)

29. In each territory a minister should be responsible for formulating land tenure policy and co-ordinating land policy and land development. A land tenure officer under the minister should establish liaison with local communities. (Paragraphs 46 and 47.)

30. Local Land Boards should be established to assist in interpreting and guiding local views and actions concerning land tenure. The suggested composition and the main functions of the Local Land Boards are set out in paragraphs 49 to 51.

31. The Local Land Boards should deal with matters affecting the tenure of agricultural land. Land within urban boundaries should be the responsibility of the authorities concerned with the administration of these areas. (Paragraph 50.)

32. The traditional policy of 'land reservation' and of safeguarding sectional interests, whether of Africans or non-Africans, must be abandoned in the interests of the community as a whole. (Paragraph 63.)

33. Confidence in the land tenure policy recommended will only grow if the policy is consistently pursued. There must be a rigid adherence to the safeguard under the law that the powers of disposition of land interests shall be exercised subject to recognition of *de facto* private interests in the land. This involves that the terms Crown land, Public land and Native land will no longer have statutory significance. (Paragraph 64.)

34. Governments of the three territories must demonstrate their intentions by divesting themselves of powers to dispose of land otherwise than in the manner which we have proposed. Retention of the power to treat persons holding *de facto* private interests in land as occupiers at the will of the state, or of a Trust Board of Crown lands, Public lands or Native lands, is inconsistent with the expressed intentions to recognize and respect private interests. (Paragraph 64.)

35. In so far as barriers to free land exchange are not removed, to that extent will the prosperity of the peoples of East Africa be retarded. (Paragraph 66.)

Chapter 24

AGRARIAN ADMINISTRATION

1. The African's way of life, sense of security and livelihood are, in his view, bound up in the land and stock and in the manner in which he uses them. Memorics of famine are always with him and he is reluctant to change his way of life unless a better one is demonstrated to him. Failure may mean not only loss of wealth but starvation. Any new methods which are demonstrated must therefore have been proved in conditions which are familiar to the peasant and which he can imitate with the means at his disposal. (Paragraphs 3 and 4.)

2. It is of no use demonstrating improved methods of husbandry which involve the use of buildings, machines, labour or techniques beyond the capacity of the people who are being urged to adopt them. (Paragraph 4.)

3. Once the people understand the reasons for change and appreciate that they will profit by it, and not, except as a last resort, have it forced upon them, the difficulties of achieving change are not insurmountable. (Paragraph 5.)

4. With the ending of the war the momentum of government activity increased. Technical officers and their assistants penetrated to the remotest villages. But, at present, suspicion remains a great deterrent to progress, and everything possible must be done to overcome it. (Paragraph 6.)

5. The desire to move from a communal to a western individual society grows slowly. The problem is that of gaining the acceptance and recognition of the people to change, in order to counter their suspicions that it is thrust upon them by government. The objective must be to teach the people not only to appreciate the need for changes but to bring them about themselves; to employ their own technicians and advisory services; and to regard the agrarian revolution as their own affair to be achieved by themselves with government assistance where they want it. Governments should consider this as a long-term problem and as an immediate administrative question. They should regard existing departmental measures only as an important, but temporary, means of improving agrarian conditions while they are helping Africans to make the changes themselves with the assistance of non-governmental agencies. (Paragraphs 8 and 9.)

6. To achieve the changes in land usage which are necessary compulsion alone will not suffice. It would require an enforcement staff quite beyond the resources of the Administrations and generally the effect would rarely last once sanctions were removed. (Paragraph 10.)

7. Where compulsion is unavoidable it should be exercised by enforcement staff and not by the extension staff. (Paragraph 11.)

8. The success of attempts to propagate new concepts of social behaviour rest upon the provision of clear answers to specific problems which face the individual. Vague projects of rural betterment in general or attempts at 'social uplift' simply lead to a dispersal of much well-meaning effort. (Paragraph 12.)

9. Increasing provision should be made for the training of leaders and field staffs in methods of persuading people to take their own initiative in the better use of land and in adapting themselves to modern living standards. The fullest possible use should be made of the public relations or information departments and of trained community development officers. The field work must be an inter-departmental operation. (Paragraph 13.)

10. Leading non-officials of all races should be members of district teams. Local government bodies should be represented at team meetings. (Paragraph 15.)

11. Local authorities should be encouraged to co-opt technical officers on their natural resources committees until they have efficient technical staffs. (Paragraph 16.)

12. Land usage rules should be made by local authorities where they are convinced of the need for them; otherwise central governments should make and enforce them. (Paragraph 17.)

13. Respective functions of departments of agriculture and veterinary services are discussed. Veterinary departments should normally confine their activities to the pastoral areas and disease control, leaving the agricultural officers to concern themselves with all aspects of cultivation and animal husbandry in the agricultural areas. (Paragraphs 18 and 19.)

14. The need for continuity of posting, sufficient staff and close personal contact with the people is emphasized. (Paragraph 20 to paragraph 22.)

15. Local government and non-governmental agencies should play an increasing part in achieving agrarian change, but in present circumstances the main burden will fall on the administrative and local field staff. No effort should be spared in attracting more men of the right type of all races and in training suitable Africans to assume increasing responsibility. There are men now in the districts of very high quality, but they have too much to do and more are needed if the agrarian problem is to be effectively tackled. (Paragraph 22.)

16. Below the district level it should not be necessary to employ highly trained technical officers, except for special purposes. What is needed is a cadre of good field officers working for the district organization. The districts should be divided into areas each with a field officer, and each area should then be sub-divided into sub-areas under assistant field officers. This will be much more effective than the departmental system which has grown up in so many districts. (Paragraph 24 to paragraph 26.)

17. There is no fear that the growth of non-government agencies will render the field officer redundant. (Paragraph 27.)

18. While it is on the expansion of an efficient field staff that governments must largely rely to maintain the drive for better land use, it will take time to build one up. The employment of unsuitable and inexperienced men may do more harm than good. Such a service should attract some of the best men of all races but it is mainly to the Africans that the governments will have to look. (Paragraph 28.)

19. Governments should support the development and extension of schools both of agriculture and natural resources at Makerere, which should include the teaching of agricultural economics and which should play an increasingly important part in providing the staff needed for both government and non-government services. (Paragraph 30.)

20. What the best agencies at the village level are depends largely on the social and political conditions in an area. The field staff must work in close collaboration with chiefs, elders and other leaders and obtain their confidence ; they must never usurp their functions but always enlist their support. (Paragraph 31.)

21. It is as important to obtain the confidence and co-operation of the women in the villages as that of the men. (Paragraph 34.)

22. There should ideally be at least one woman in each district organizing welfare work among women and the attention of the local authorities should be drawn to this need. (Paragraph 35.)

23. In each territory efforts should be made to obtain the services of a trained woman agriculturist to pay special attention to organizing the education of women in the basic principles and economics of agriculture, not least in the schools and teacher training colleges. (Paragraph 36.)

Chapter 25

RACE RELATIONS

1. Pressure upon fertile land leads to conflict which is not essentially racial and would take place between African tribes even if there were no non-African settlement ; but resentment attaches to the relative extensiveness of European estates, especially where these are undeveloped. (Paragraph 1.)

2. Contrasting conceptions of land use, implied by the maintenance of customary ways of life in the reserves and by modern economic production in European estates, are a cause of fear and distrust. (Paragraph 2.)

3. Africans have shown marked appreciation of attempts by individual settlers to bridge the gap, and correspondingly the contrary attitude has caused resentment. (Paragraph 3 to paragraph 7.)

4. Fears of land alienation persist in Uganda in spite of official assurances. (Paragraph 8.)

5. Success in implementing the important changes in land tenure and land usage recommended in this Report must largely turn on winning African public opinion to support them. (Paragraph 9.)

6. Outside help, time, and stability of government are required for the learning of new techniques, and the economic help given must be regarded as something which does not compete with, but strengthens, progress towards political responsibility. (Paragraph 9.)

7. The loosening of current restrictions on transfers or grants of land must be accompanied by adjustments which avoid a clash of cultures or race. (Paragraph 10.)

8. Bringing the African into the modern exchange economy is as important in the interest of the European as of the African. (Paragraph 11.)

9. Institutional arrangements which emphasize differences in racial status must be avoided. (Paragraph 12.)

10. The impression that European enterprise means exploitation should be countered by encouraging new ways of association between Europeans and Africans. (Paragraph 13.)

11. European and African partnerships are advocated ; and the taking on of African tenants and pupil farmers by European estates, the training of African personnel and their promotion to posts of responsibility are essential. (Paragraph 13.)

12. Future policy must rest upon African farming, and any tendency of tribalism to develop into local patriotism should not be discouraged so long as it does not become a vested interest conflicting with territorial needs. (Paragraph 14.)

13. In settlement and agricultural schemes African local administrations should be associated with the selection of pilot schemes. (Paragraph 14.)

14. The problem before East Africa is not in essence different from the general one facing the world today of finding a bridge between undeveloped poverty-stricken countries and those countries with technical knowledge and capital. The challenge is one which demands new approaches, replacing mutual fear by mutual hope. (Paragraph 15.)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is our duty and pleasure to acknowledge the assistance and hospitality which we have received from the Governors of the three territories, and the help which has been given to us by all the members of their governments, and by the officers of all departments, both in East Africa and in the Colonial Office. We are conscious of the heavy demands we have made on the time of many of these officers, both in the field and in office, and in the preparation of many detailed memoranda for our enlightenment and study. We are grateful for much hospitality shown to us by district officers of all departments and by private individuals, often in places off the beaten track which we could not otherwise have visited. We especially wish to thank the Government and commercial transport agencies who were responsible for carrying the Commission many thousands of miles by air, road, and rail, and the Kenya Police for the security which they provided for the Commission, relieving us from all anxieties by measures which must have materially added to their own in the difficult circumstances then prevailing.

It would also be very ungracious not to acknowledge the help and co-operation which we have received from members of the public of all races, who responded to the Commission's invitation to submit memoranda or to give oral evidence. Many of these travelled long distances under arduous conditions, for the weather was not always propitious and travelling conditions were difficult. In the course of our travels we often had expressions of anxiety and apprehension, but never any sign of hostility. On the contrary, we were everywhere met with expressions of deep loyalty to Your Majesty, and with appreciation of the fact that, in recommending the appointment of this Commission, Your Majesty's Government had no other interest at heart than to secure the abiding welfare of the peoples of these East African territories.

Dr. Audrey Richards, C.B.E., Director of the East African Institute of Social Research, was for personal reasons unable to accept membership of the Commission, but gave up much of her time to assist us, and was able to accompany us during part of our tour in Uganda and attended several meetings of the Commission in East Africa. The quality of her contributions and her wide knowledge of social conditions has made us all realise how much we have missed by not having her as a colleague throughout our deliberations.

We are particularly grateful to each of the three governments for placing at our disposal the full time services of one of their administrative officers. Our Senior Secretary has been Mr. J. H. Ingham, M.B.E., whose long experience of Africa, and especially of Kenya, has been invaluable to us. His post has during the whole period involved unremitting toil, carried out at considerable sacrifice of his personal convenience, and we have relied greatly on his knowledge and experience. From the Uganda Government we obtained the services of Mr. N. D. Oram, who joined the Commission's secretariat in January, 1953, and whose particular knowledge of urban problems has been of great assistance. The Tanganyika Government placed at our disposal the services of one of the ablest of their junior officers, Mr. A. J. Chant, who joined the Commission's secretariat in April, 1953, and whose wide knowledge of conditions in that territory has been most useful. All these three officers have worked continuously with the Commission during their sessions both in East Africa and in England, and the drafting of this report owes much to their assistance.

It remains to mention Mrs. Barbara Saben, M.B.E., from Kampala, where she has been prominent in social and municipal work. At the beginning of our work Mrs. Saben was engaged as Assistant Secretary, and she remained

with the Commission, either in East Africa or in England, until October, 1954. The intention was that she should relieve the secretaries of the greater part of the more mechanical work and should supervise the work of the office. In this capacity Mrs. Saben has been most competent, but in addition we found that she had a wide knowledge and understanding of history and of current affairs in Uganda, and every member of the Commission owes her a great debt for her untiring helpfulness over the small difficulties and inconveniences inseparable from touring in a strange country, and for her unfailing resource and cheerfulness under all conditions.

We wish also to acknowledge the help given to us by Dr. T. P. Soper, Research Assistant at the Institute of Colonial Studies, Oxford, who was attached to the Commission as a technical assistant. To him it fell to follow up the details of many points which arose in the course of our investigations, and to produce a large number of statistical and economic memoranda. His services have been of great value to the Commission.

We conclude with our acknowledgment of the services of the clerical staff, both in England and East Africa, on whom has fallen the burden of keeping track of the large volume of records which we accumulated, the duplicating and circulating of documents to members of the Commission and the keeping of accounts. They have often had to work under heavy pressure and throughout our enquiry have been most helpful.

ALL OF WHICH WE HUMBLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS CONSIDERATION.

HUGH DOW (*Chairman*)
 S. HERBERT FRANKEL
 A. GAITSKELL
 R. S. HUDSON
 D. T. JACK
 D. P. K. MAKWAIA
 F. J. SEAFORD
 FRANK SYKES

J. H. INGHAM,
Secretary

16th May, 1955.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The Itineraries of the two tours of the Commission in East Africa

(a) KENYA

FIRST VISIT

1953

26th and 27th February

The Commission assembled in Nairobi.

28th February to 5th March

Commission at Maguga headquarters. Interviews with persons in Nairobi. Tours were made of the City and the surrounding country, with inspections of housing estates and other municipal, government and private undertakings.

6th March

The Commission visited Isiolo, travelling by air from Nairobi, over the Kikuyu reserve on the west of Mount Kenya on the outward journey, and returning on the east of Mount Kenya over the Meru and Embu reserves.

7th March

The Commission had further interviews with persons in Nairobi.

8th and 9th March

The Commission divided into two parties. The one party visited Machakos and had talks with European and African representatives of the District, as well as with government officers.

9th to 11th March

The party later make an extensive tour of the Kamba reserve on the way to the Makueni Settlement, where tours were made of the cleared areas. Conversations were had with officers of the Settlement Scheme, and on the return journey to Nairobi, the route was taken through the Simba Emali Grazing Scheme Area.

8th to 11th March

Professors Jack and Frankel flew to Mombasa, via the Tsavo National Park. Visits were paid at Mombasa to the Port, municipal housing estates and other projects, and interviews were had with leading Arab, African, Asian and European residents.

13th March

The Commission visited Kiambu, touring the District in the morning and calling on Chief Josiah, and at Mr. Kiriku's small holding at Ikinu. Later, talks were had with government officers and with Africans living in the District.

14th March

The Commission visited the Provincial headquarters of Ngong and had talks with the Provincial Commissioner and other officers, and with some Masai elders.

16th March

The Commission visited Thika and met local residents, then travelled to Kandara for talks with government officers and with Chief Ndangu and Chief Paulo; later to Kangare and conversations with Senior Chief Njiri, Chief Ignatio and Chief Kigo, and with government officers. The Commission then motored to Nyeri, via Sagana visiting African small holdings in the Muthithi location en route.

17th to 19th March

At Nyeri. The Commission visited the Forest estate areas, calling at Ragati and inspected squatter labour camps; toured the Mathia Division of the District and inspected the Kagochi Tea Nursery and the Kiamwangi School. A visit was also paid to Chief Eliud's consolidated holding. The Commission held conversations with Chief Eliud and with Chief Muhoya, as well as with other Africans of the District, government officers and European residents.

20th March

At Thomson's Falls. The Commission called on Mr. Brian Curry and inspected his farm. Later, Members had talks with local representatives of the African, Asian and European residents of the district.

Mr. Sykes joined the Commission.

The Commission also paid a visit to the Government Farm and Research Station at Ol Joro Orok.

21st and 22nd March

Professors Jack and Frankel left the Commission to return to Nairobi where they had interviews with many official and unofficial persons.

The Commission motored to Nakuru, visiting European-owned farms on the way and calling on Colonel Corbett. Later, meetings were held in Nakuru with representatives of the Municipal Council and representatives of unofficial associations, with government officers, and with Asian and African members of the community.

Some members of the Commission visited Mr. Philip Scott's farm at Njoro, and travelled later to view the Kisasana experiment.

23rd March

The Commission reached Soy, travelling via Eldoret. At Soy meetings were held with representatives of associations in the District and with European, African and Asian persons, as well as with the government officers of the area.

24th March

Half the Commission visited Tambach, and had conversations with African farmers of the district, as well as with the Chiefs and Elders of the Elgeyo/Marakwet tribes. Representatives of the Baringo District were also present and talks were had with Chiefs and Elders of the Njemps, Tujan and Suk tribes, as well as with government officers of the Tambach and Baringo Districts.

Half the Commission visited the Nandi District, touring the area and travelling through Ndalat and Baraton before arriving at Kapsarbet for talks with leading Africans of the area, and with government officers.

25th March

The Commission travelled to Kitale, visiting the Agricultural Experimental Station and later conversations were had with the Kitale Municipal Board and the Trans Nzoia District Council, as well as with other African, Asian and European residents.

26th March

The Commission left Kitale for Kisumu. The Members first visited Mr. Roland Tendete's farm on Mount Elgon and the Elgon Coffee Nurseries, then proceeded to the Kimilili Locational Centre for talks with the Chiefs and Elders, later to Broderick Falls to inspect the maize store, on to Bungoma and a visit to the Sangalo Veterinary Station, thence to Kakamega for talks with members of the African District Council, on to Vihiga and through the Bunyore/Maragoli Betterment Scheme to Kisumu.

27th and 28th March

At Kisumu for talks with leading persons of the African, Asian and European communities. Tours were made of Central Nyanza and other districts adjacent to Kisumu.

28th March

The Commission travelled to Kisii via Sondu, visiting Mr. Ernesti Magori's small holding en route.

29th March

At Kisii. Conversations were had with local residents and with the African District Council and government officers. An extensive tour was made of the District travelling on the Homa Bay road to Marindi, to Kamagambo, to Mugirange, to Ogembe, and returning to Kisii.

30th March to 2nd April

To Kericho where the Commission had talks with Africans of the Kipsigis tribe and with others. Also with Asian representatives and with Europeans of the District, as well as with representatives from the districts of Lumbwa, Fort Ternan, Songhor, Muhoroni, Koru and Nandi Hills. A visit was paid to Sotik for talks with persons of that District, and the Commission toured the area and visited Kimulot, inspecting small holdings. Thence via Kiboga to Kipkebe Estate, returning to Kericho for visits to tea estates and to Brooke Bond's factory.

3rd to 9th April

In Nairobi, for further talks with officials and unofficials.

9th April

The Commission left for Uganda.

1st and 2nd June

Mr. Gaitskell visited Kabarnet and had talks with the government officers and Chiefs and Elders of the District.

SECOND VISIT

1953-1954

16th October

The Commission assembled in Mombasa.

17th to 25th October

The Commission heard evidence in Mombasa. Members of the Commission took the opportunity to tour the area and visited the Shimba Hills Scheme.

26th October

The Commission travelled to Dar es Salaam.

* * * * *

17th to 28th December

The Chairman and Professor Jack arrived in Nairobi, and had conversations with leading representatives of the African, Asian and European communities. Visits were paid to the Railways headquarters and workshops, and to other official and unofficial undertakings.

28th December

Other Members of the Commission assembled in Nairobi.

29th December 1953, to 19th January, 1954

The Commission heard evidence from African, Asian and European persons in Nairobi, representing both official and unofficial associations and bodies, as well as from government representatives. Visits were paid to the Veterinary Research Laboratory at Kabete, and to the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation headquarters at Maguga.

1954

16th January

Professor Frankel left for the United Kingdom.

20th January to 24th January

The Commission travelled from Nairobi to Soy where evidence was taken from representatives of all races.

25th January to 27th January

The Commission travelled to Kisumu for the hearing of evidence, and on the 27th January, divided into two parties; the one party hearing further evidence at Kisumu, and the other party touring North Nyanza and taking evidence at Kakamega from African representatives and government officers.

28th January

The Commission returned to Nairobi.

29th and 30th January

Further evidence heard in Nairobi.

30th January

The Chairman left for the United Kingdom.

1st February

The Commission visited the Athi River Detention Camp.

2nd February

Professor Jack left for the United Kingdom.

The Commission visited the Jeanes School, Kabete, and the African Trade and Technical School at Kabete.

3rd February

The Commission paid a visit to Kiambu District, touring the area, and having talks with the government officers and Africans.

4th and 5th February

Mr. Sykes left Nairobi for a tour of the Fort Hall area and the Kikuyu reserve.

4th to 6th February

Messrs. Gaitskell and Hudson visited Marsabit, Lodwar and Maralal, where talks were had with government officers and with the Samburu elders.

6th to 8th February

Messrs. Sykes and Gaitskell spent the week-end with Sir Philip Mitchell at Subukie.

8th to 10th February

Messrs. Sykes and Gaitskell visited the Tana River area, proceeding by air to Garissa, and downstream by launch, and thence to Kipini and on to Mombasa.

13th to 15th February

Messrs. Sykes and Gaitskell spent the week-end with Major Grogan at Taveta.

15th February

Mr. Sykes left for Tanganyika, arriving back in Nairobi on *20th February*.
Mr. Gaitskell proceeded direct to Nairobi.

23rd February

Messrs. Sykes, Gaitskell and Chief Kidaha left Kenya.

(b) TANGANYIKA**FIRST VISIT**

1953

9th May

The Commission arrived in Tanganyika by air at Mwadui (Shinyanga District) and travelled to Mwanza by road.

10th and 11th May

The Commission at Mwanza, where informal talks were held with government officers. A visit was paid to the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation's Research Station at Ukiriguru, and to the adjacent Government Agricultural Training Centre.

12th May

The Commission left Mwanza by train and proceeded to Shinyanga. Members visited the headquarters of the Sukumaland Federation Council and the Sukumaland Development Scheme.

13th May

The Commission divided into two parties.

One party visited the Williamson Diamond Mine at Mwadui; inspected the Tsetse Research Station at Old Shinyanga, and travelled to Urambo.

14th May

At Urambo an extensive tour was made of the experimental areas of the Overseas Food Corporation, and talks were held with officials of the Corporation.

15th May

The party travelled by train to Tabora, visited several government educational establishments and inspected the Pasture Research Station at Tumbi.

16th May

Some members of the Commission flew from Tabora to visit the mineral field at Mpanda and returned to Tabora the same day.

13th and 14th May

Meanwhile the second party, which had left the Commission at Shinyanga, flew to Arusha. Discussions were held with officials and unofficials of the Northern Province and a visit was paid to the Natural Resources School at Tengeru.

15th May

The party visited Moshi, inspected the headquarters of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union and held conversations with local residents and representatives of local interests.

17th May

The party flew from Arusha to Tabora to rejoin the other members of the Commission.

18th May

The whole Commission left Tabora by train for Dodoma.

19th to 21st May

The Commission again divided into two parties.

One party flew from Dodoma to Mbeya, whence tours were made of the Southern Highlands Province, and talks held with government officers and African residents.

22nd May

The party flew from Mbeya to Iringa, and visited farms in the neighbourhood, as well as holding conversations with both officials and unofficials of the District.

23rd May

The party flew from Iringa to Dar-es-Salaam, to rejoin the other members of the Commission.

19th to 23rd May

Meanwhile the second party remained on the train and travelled from Dodoma to Dar-es-Salaam, via Morogoro. This party visited government and mission hospitals, the penal establishments at Dodoma, and also inspected the Geological Survey Department headquarters.

24th to 26th May

Two Members flew from Dar-es-Salaam to Nachingwea in the Southern Province. A comprehensive tour was made of the Overseas Food Corporation's farming area, and conversations held with the General Manager and members of his staff, as well as with members of the Provincial Administration.

24th to 26th May

Other members of the Commission remained in Dar-es-Salaam where informal discussions took place.

27th May

The Commission flew from Dar-es-Salaam to Tanga. Talks were held with government officers, and with members of the Township Authority.

28th May

Members of the Commission visited the Amboni Sisal Estate and held talks with members of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association at Tanga.

Later in the day the Commission left Tanganyika by air for Kenya.

SECOND VISIT

1953

26th October

The Commission assembled in Dar-es-Salaam.

27th October to 6th November

The Commission in Dar-es-Salaam. Evidence was heard from members of all communities, and from government officers, and visits were paid to government, municipal and private undertakings.

28th to 30th October

Four members of the Commission travelled to Lushoto, where evidence was heard and the Usambara Development Scheme visited.

2nd November

Four members of the Commission flew over the Rufiji and Kilombero river areas, lunched at the Southern Highlands Club at Sao Hill, and returned to Dar-es-Salaam the same evening.

7th November

The Commission travelled by air from Dar-es-Salaam to Arusha.

8th to 15th November

At Arusha. Evidence was heard from African, Asian and European members of the community, as well as from government officers. Visits were paid to Moshi, where the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union headquarters was inspected and a coffee auction attended. Later a tour was arranged to the headquarters of the Masai District at Mondul.

16th November

The Commission flew from Arusha to Dodoma.

17th to 20th November

Evidence was taken at Dodoma from African and European unofficials and from government officers.

18th November

Three members of the Commission flew via Tabora to view the Malagarasi and Luiche river areas, returning to Dodoma the same evening.

20th November

Several members inspected the Veterinary Department headquarters and Central Breeding Station at Mpwapwa and had talks with members of the Veterinary Department.

21st November

The Commission flew from Dodoma to Mwanza.

22nd to 26th November

Evidence was heard in Mwanza from members of all races and from government officers.

23rd to 26th November

A party flew to Bukoba from Mwanza, to hear evidence, and to visit the Ikimba Expansion Area and the Government Experimental Farm at Maruku.

27th November

The Commission left Tanganyika by air for Uganda.

(c) UGANDA

FIRST VISIT

1953

9th April

The Commission arrived in Uganda.

9th to 12th April

At Entebbe, where the Commission had talks with senior government officers. A visit was paid to the Livestock Experimental Station at Old Entebbe.

12th to 15th April

At Jinja, where members visited the sugar estates of the Uganda Sugar Factory Ltd., and of Messrs. Muljibhai Madhvani & Co. Ltd., and also the plantation of Messrs. Jamal Walji. A tour was made of the Owen Falls Dam area, and the Jinja factory of the East African Tobacco Company inspected. Members of the Commission also visited the Busoga Farms and had talks with Africans of the Busoga Local Government and toured the Budondo area of the Butembe-Bunya County. Conversations were also held with the Jinja Township Authority and with government officers and unofficials of the District.

16th to 17th April

At Tororo, where a visit was paid to the Tororo Cement Works and to the Tororo Exploration Company's offices. Later, half the Members met representatives of the South Bukedi Co-operative Union and members of the Bunyuli County Council, and the South Bugishu County Council, while other members of the Commission met the Bukedi Local Government.

18th to 20th April

At Mbale, where the Commission visited the Namakwekwe Housing Estate and later toured the Bugishu Coffee Scheme area on the western slopes of Mount Elgon. Conversations were held with the Bugishu African Local Government representatives and with government officers. Talks were also had with representatives of the Mbale Chamber of Commerce and with Saza Chiefs and Councillors of North Bugishu and South Bugishu, and with the Pallisa County Council, Buguru County Council and with mission representatives. Half the Commission visited the Lokhonge Ginney and talked with members of the Bugishu Khuheentsa Co-operative Union.

21st to 23rd April

At Soroti, where the Commission held conversations with government officers and with representatives of the Teso African Local Government. The Commission divided into two parties and half remained at Soroti where a visit was paid to the Agricultural Experimental Station at Serere. The other party went to Moroto by air where they had discussions with the District Commissioner, members of the Karamoja District Team and representatives of the Karamoja Local Government. An experimental irrigation scheme was visited.

Professors Jack and Frankel left for Kampala.

24th to 25th April

The Commission divided into two parties.

Half the Commission visited Lira, proceeding later to Gulu. At Lira conversations were had with government officers, Asian representatives of the community, African Local Government officials and with mission representatives as well as with members of the Uganda National Congress. An inspection was made of the Medical Training Centre at Lira and a tour arranged of the Ngai Mechanical Cultivation Co-operative Development Scheme area.

24th to 26th April

Half the Commission travelled direct to Gulu. A visit was paid to the East African Tobacco Company's factory at Gulu; and conversations were held with officers of the Northern Province Provincial Team.

A party of members of the Commission left for Arua, touring the West Nile District around Arua, and conversations were held with government officers, Africans of the District and with unofficials.

26th to 29th April

Half the Commission inspected the Labour Construction Camp at Gulu, and later visited the Verona Fathers' Mission Settlement and the Church Missionary Society's schools. Conversations were held with representatives of the African Local Government, and later the members paid a short visit to the West Nile District, and inspected the Abi Experimental Agricultural Farm at Arua.

27th to 30th April

The Commission again divided into two parties. One party visited Fort Portal where talks were had with mission representatives and with European and African unofficials and with government officers. The Kijura area was toured and Messrs. Naylor, Lemon and Sanger were visited. A meeting was held with the Mukama of Toro and senior officers of the Toro Local Government. Visits were paid also to the Kilembe Mines area, installations at Lake George of the Uganda Fish Marketing Corporation and to the salt works at Katwe.

29th April to 1st May

A party of the Commission arrived at Masindi and interviewed government officers, proceeding the following day to Hoima for conversations with the Mukama of Bunyoro and members of the Standing Committee of the Bunyoro African Local Government. Returning to Masindi, a visit was paid to the site of the Co-operative Brickmaking Society, and to farming ventures in the District.

2nd to 9th May

The Commission assembled in Kampala.

A visit was paid to the Hon. B. K. Mulyanti's farm near Gayaza and to the Agricultural Department's Research Station at Kawanda, as well as a tour of Kyadondo County to inspect the Mechanical Cultivation Scheme area. Conversations took place in Kampala with unofficial members of the community, as well as with government officers.

A party of the Commission visited Masaka and talked with His Grace the Rev. Bishop Kiwanaka and later visited the Kayabakuza Coffee Co-operative Scheme near Masaka, and Akalime Ltd. Buddu County was toured on the return to Kampala.

The Commission visited Makerere College, and a meeting was held with members of the Buganda Lukiko.

9th May

The Commission left Uganda by air for Tanganyika.

SECOND VISIT

1953

27 November to 11th December

The Commission arrived in Uganda, and went to Kampala where evidence was taken from African, Asian and European unofficials and from government officers.

12th to 16th December

The Commission moved to Entebbe and resumed the hearing of evidence.

13th December

Sir Frederick Seaford left Uganda for the United Kingdom.

17th December

The Chairman and Professor Jack left Uganda for Kenya. Professor Frankel left Uganda for South Africa.

17th to 27th December

The remaining members of the Commission left Entebbe for a tour of the Western Province. The evidence of the District Team and the Toro Local Government Standing Committee was heard at Fort Portal, and evidence also was taken from a number of unofficials. The railway extension area was visited, and the party went on from Fort Portal to Kabale via the resettlement area, which was toured with members of the District Team and members of the Kigezi Local Government. At Kabale evidence was heard from members of the District Team and the Kigezi Local Government Standing Committee, as well as from a number of unofficials. Tours were made of the congested areas, and a meeting held with the Ankole Local Government Standing Committee on the way to Katwe, where members spent Christmas at the invitation of His Excellency the Governor in the Queen Elizabeth National Park. The surrounding countryside was toured, including the recently opened cotton growing areas to the south of the Ruwenzori Mountains.

28th December

The Commission left Uganda by air for Kenya.

APPENDIX II

Sources from which Memoranda were received at the specific or the general invitation of the Royal Commission⁽¹⁾.

(i) UNOFFICIAL

- (a) FROM OUTSIDE THE EAST AFRICAN TERRITORIES
- Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society
 Bauer, Mr. P. T.
 Baxter, Mr. P. T. W.
 Fabian Colonial Bureau
 Fisher, Dr. J.
 Harris, Mr. A., and Mrs.
 Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd.
 Kirkwood, Mr. K.
 Mayer, Professor P.
 Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors
 Samuels, Mr. L.
 Sonnabend, Dr. H.
- (b) KENYA
- Abaluyia Makerere Students' Union
 Abaluyia Peoples' Association
 Abiathar Omondi Opudo, Mr.
 Abreu, Mr. Sylvester
 Acharya, Mr. H. H.
 Adagala, Mr. J. S. N.
 Adcock, Mr. K. A.
 African Employees of Landing and Shipping Company of East Africa Ltd.
 African Employees, The African Tea Holdings Limited, Kericho
 African Parents' Education Association
 African Unofficial Members' Organization of Kenya Legislative Council
 Ahmad Mwinyi Mkuu, Mr.
 Alfayo Konya, Mr. J.
 Ali bin Famau, Mr., and 5 others
 Almeida, Mr. Timothy
 Ambrose, Mr. H. B.
 Asamba, Mr. H. B.
 Asian Elected Members' Organization of Kenya Legislative Council
 Askwith, Mr. T. G.
 Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa
 Association of County and District Councils of Kenya
 Badi Z. Bakari, Mr.
 Baringo District Chiefs
 Barnes, Mr. R. O.
 Bonyo, Councillor Chief Elijah
 Bostock, Rev. P. G.
 Bridger, Mr. R. E.
 British Medical Association, Kenya Branch
 Brown, Mr. G.
 Brown, Mr. L. H.
 Burton, The Late Capt. G. J. L., M.C.
 Carson, Mr. J. B.
 Catholic Mission Elders of the Diocese of Nyeri
- Cege, Mr. J. K., and 168 others
 Central Arab Association
 Central Nyanza African District Council
 Central Nyanza, Districts of Sondu, Kericho and Sotik Representatives
 Chelulu, Mr. D. K. A.
 Christian Council of Kenya
 Coast African Association
 Cowley, Mr. G. S., D.F.C.
 Crispus Mwaniki s/o Ndinguri, Mr.
 Culwick, Mr. A. T., M.B.E.
 Daudi, Mr. S. G., and 2 others
 Delap, Major J. O. K.
 Dempster, Mr. H. G.
 Deshler, Mr. W.
 Dorobo of Tinderet
 Dowson, Mr. G. C. M.
 East African Tanning Extract Co. Ltd.
 East Africa Timber Co-operative Society Ltd.
 East Africa Women's League
 Electors' Union—Mau Branch
 Electors' Union—Mount Kenya Branch
 Elgeyo/Marakwet Elders
 Endusa Litswa, Mr.
 Esau Oriedo, Mr.
 Eshikhati, Mr. J.
 European Elected Members' Organization
 Famau Bin Ahmed Bin Stambul, Mr.
 Fane, Mrs. R.
 Fendall, Mr. N. R. D.
 Fisher, Mr. F. M., O.B.E.
 Gassim Saghair, Mr., and 2 others
 Gichina, Mr. S. K.
 Giciabi, Mr. J. J.
 Githunguri, Mr. G. C. J., and 1 other
 Gitibi, Mr. S. K., and 3 others
 Goldman, Mr. C. S.
 Greenidge, Mr. C. W. W.
 Haj Bilal B. Khamis, Mr.
 Hall, Mr. D. W.
 Harbord, Mr. A. M.
 Harrison, Mr. H. G. S.
 Harvey, Mr. D.
 Hook, Mr. R.
 Hosia Guara, Mr.
 Howard, Mr. J. W.
 Indian Association
 Jumba, Mr. Francis C.
 Kager (Boro, Nyamwo, Jok and Mulwang) People of Nyanza Province
 Kairu s/o Ngure, Councillor
 Kalenjin Union
 Kamau, Mr. S. N.
 Kamitha Kinuthia, Mr.
 Kandie, Chief S.K. and 5 others
 Kanyakwar Clan
 Kanyakwar Clan (Luo Tribe)

(1) A number of the writers of memoranda stated that they were representing sections of the community. Where it has been impossible to verify the writer's claims his name only has been included in the list. The designations of persons are given as they were when the memoranda were submitted.

Kariuki s/o Reuben, Mr.
 Kasim bin Mohamed, Sharif
 Katinga, Mr. A. M. G.
 Katwa, Mr. S. N. and 2 others
 Kearih, Mr. D. M. and 1 other
 Kent, Mr. A. J.
 Kenya African Makerere Students' Union
 Kenya African Union (Nyanza Branch)
 Kenya Cannery Ltd.
 Kenya Coffee Marketing Board
 Kenya Farmers' Association (Co-operative)
 Ltd.
 Kenya Federation of Registered Trades
 Unions
 Kenya Indian Congress
 Kenya National Farmers' Union
 Kenya National Farmers' Union (Sotik
 Branch) and Sotik Settlers' Association
 Kenya National Farmers' Union (Trans
 Nzoia Branch) and Trans Nzoia Production
 and Manpower Committee
 Kenya Sisal Board
 Khamis Bin Shafi, Mr.
 Khwishero Division Joint Council
 Kiaruhii Home Guard
 Kibitok arap Agore, Mr.
 Kihara Karago, Mr.
 Kikuyu Highland Ex-Squatters' Land Asso-
 ciation (Fort Hall Branch)
 Kilifi Sub-Committee
 Kimilili Location Representatives
 Kimulot Natives (Kericho)
 Kinyangiri, Mr. A.
 Kipkemoi arap Karir, Councillor and 3 others
 Kipkereng arap Kimuron and 1 other
 Kipsigis Tribe—Opinions of 100 men sub-
 mitted on behalf of
 Kipsigis African District Council
 Kipsoi arap Chermarore, Mr., and 1 other
 Kiptonui arap Kirui and 2 others
 Kirika, Mr. S. M.
 Kirira, Mr. D.
 Kirkpatrick, The Late Sq. Ldr. Sir James A.,
 Bart.
 Kiringol ole Risie, Chief, and 2 others of
 Kajiado District, Masailand
 Kisii Union
 Kisumu African Commercial Employees'
 Association
 Kitale African Advisory Council
 Kitonui arap Cheriugin, Mr.
 Kitsao R. Mgeriama, Mr.
 Kitui Friendly Society
 Klumane, Mr. R.
 Knight, Mr. J.
 Kogi Kibui, Mr.
 Koina Gitibi, Mr. S., and 3 others
 Koinange, Mr. Mbiyu
 Koinange, Ex-Senior Chief
 Kwale District Council

 Labour Trade Union of East Africa
 Lamu People Representatives
 Leakey, Mr. D. G. B.
 Leakey, Dr. L. S. B.
 Lee, Mr. N. H.
 Likimani, Mr. J. C.
 Lillywhite, Mr. W. G.
 Lindsay, Mr. A. G.

Lipscomb, Mr. J. F., O.B.E.
 Loitokitok Chiefs and People
 Lomas, Mr. J.
 Lwalia wa Mulwoni, Mr.

Mbaris (Clans) of Kikuyu, submitted by the
 following:
 Chege, Mr. M. N. W.
 Gacheru Kamaku, Mr.
 Gachuere s/o Mutori, Mr. Stephen
 Gathiru Gichuki, Mr.
 Gathoma, Mr. I. W., with 75 others
 Giathi Hego, Mr.
 Gicamba s/o Ndaikira, Mr.
 Gichini s/o Munio, Mr. and 3 others
 Githae s/o Kariri, Mr.
 Grishon Njuguna Tharao, Mr.
 Kabiru, Mr. Peter, and 1 other
 Kamau s/o Mwaiku, Mr.
 Kairu Ngure, Mr.
 Kamau s/o Thiongo, Mr.
 Karanja, Mr. J.
 Karioki wa Njuguna, Mr. Stephen
 Kaniki s/o Muhoro, Mr. P.
 Kiarie Wateri, Mr. and 1 other
 Kibuthi Mwachu, Mr.
 Kimani, Mr. E. K. W.
 Kirongi s/o Waiga, Mr. S.
 Kirya, Mr. Jackson, and 2 others
 Kirumbi s/o Kungu, Mr.
 Maina, Mr. John and 5 others
 Mathore s/o Kimenyu, Mr.
 Maura s/o Gaita, Mr. H.
 Mbiu s/o Kimani, Mr.
 Mbuchi s/o Mbugwa, Mr.
 Mbugwa, Mr. John
 Muceru, Mr. T. K., and 1 other
 Muchuga s/o Gitae, Mr. and 2 others
 Mukono Ndauti, Mr. and 1 other
 Mwathi, Mr. L. K. and 3 others
 Njaaga Muthunga, Mr. S.
 Ndegwa, Mr. Johnson G.
 Nganga, Mr. John and 1 other
 Nganga Ruinge, Mr. Justus, and 3 others
 Nganga, Mr. Wallace
 Ngethe Thiani, Mr. Stephano
 Ngoima, Mr. G. M.
 Njoroge Kamanu, Mr.
 Njoroge Kuria, Mr. John
 Njoroge s/o Wanganga, Mr. John, and
 1 other.
 Thaiya, Mr. Solomon
 Wagathige, Mr. G. N.
 Waiyaki, Mr. B. G.
 Wangai, Mr. Wallace N.
 Wanyagira, Mr. Zacharia
 Warano s/o Gakera, Mr., and 1 other

 Mbaruk bin Suleiman bin Salim
 Mbaruk Mohamed bin Abdulla
 Machakos African District Council
 Maina wa Kinaichi, Mr.
 Manguo African Vegetable Growers' Co-
 operative Society
 Maragoli Memorandum Committee
 Maragoli Location
 Masana Tribe (Bantu)
 Masai Chiefs and Elders, particularly Kajiado
 District
 Martin, Mr. N. S. M.

Mbugua, Njania, Mr.
 Mbuya, Mr. E.
 Mbugwa s/o Nyandogo, Mr.
 Medcalf, Mr. R. T.
 Mithamo, Mr. E. G.
 Mitti, Mr. Mathias A.
 Miwani (Kenya) Ltd.
 Mngundu, Mr. J. G.
 Mohamed bin Khamis bin Mbwana Kheri, Mr.
 Mohamed Waeki Shoo, Mr.
 Mombasa Municipality, Urban African Affairs Committee
 Morris, Mr. K. K.
 Mortimer, The Hon. Sir Charles E., C.B.E.
 M'Tetu, Senior Chief, B.E.M.
 Muhia s/o Mbatia, Mr.
 Mulusa, Mr. W. M.
 Municipal Board of Kitale
 Munzeka, Chief and others
 Muogothore, Mr. C. M.
 Mureithi, Mr. E.
 Muslim Elected Members of Kenya Legislative Council
 Musundy Bukwea, Mr.
 Mwara s/o Kinyariro, Mr.
 Mwidan Bin Tofiki, Mr. and 2 others
 Mwaura Muhoro, Mr.

Nahashon Mwaura, Mr.
 Nairobi African Advisory Council
 Nakuru African Advisory Council
 Nandi African District Council
 Ndegway, Mr. G. K.
 Newton, Mr. T. W.
 Nganga s/o Gord, Mr.
 Ngangao Nagware, Mr.
 Ngilla Mosa, Mr.
 Ngonga District Association
 Ngungu, Mr. B.
 Njenga, Mr. J., and 5 others
 Njue, Mr. Josiah D.
 North Nyanza African District Council
 Nyanza African Union
 Nyanza Taxpayers' Welfare Association

Odede, Mr. F. W.
 Odere Ejoi Mr., and 1 other
 Ojal, Mr. J. M.
 Okene Osare, Mr.
 Okoko, Mr. W.
 Odongo s/o Obiero, Mr.

Passells, Mr. F. A.
 Paterson, Dr. A. R., C.M.G.
 Phares Nduriga s/o Mairani, Mr.
 Porter, Mr. J. L.
 Portsmouth, Lord

Railway African Union
 Rampley, Rev. Canon W. J.
 Raryea, Mr. W. M.
 Rayner, Councillor Mrs. E. M.
 Renja, Mr. E. O.
 Riddoch, The Hon. J. L., O.B.E.
 Rhodes, Brig. Gen. Sir G. D., Kt., C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.
 Rodwell, Mr. E.
 Rombo, Mr. S. J.
 Russell, Mr. M. A.

Samburu African District Council
 Sawe arap Bune, Mr.
 Shaibo bin Shallo, Mr.
 Shadaraka Ndweyo, Mr., and 3 others
 Shaw, The Hon. Mrs. A. R.
 Shimo La Tewa People
 Simons Kibara, Mr.
 Slade, The Hon. Humphrey and Mr. E. B. Worthington
 Smithson, Mr. A. L.
 Songhor Farmers' Association
 Sotik Settlers' Association and The Kenya National Farmers' Union (Sotik Branch)
 Sub-Committee on Social Service and Social Security for Africans in Urban Areas
 South Nyanza African District Council
 Stephens, Mr. H. C.
 Sudanese Association of East Africa
 Tailors', Tent, Sail Makers', and Garment Workers' Union
 Taita African District Council
 Taita arap Rono, Mr. J. K.
 Taita arap Towett, Mr.
 Tamenno, The Hon. J. M. ole
 Tapsimate arap Borowo
 Tennent, Mr. M. B.
 Thika Central Executive of Associations
 Thornley Dyer, Mr. H.
 Trans Nzoia District Council
 Trans Nzoia Production and Manpower Committee and The Trans Nzoia Branch of the Kenya National Farmers' Union
 Trench, Mr. A. D. Le Poer
 Trench, Mr. M. D. Le Poer
 Tyson, Alderman G. A., C.M.G.
 Ugenya South Bank of the River Nzoia Association
 Vincent, Sir Alfred
 Waller, Mr. H. de Warenne
 Waminyaro, Mr.
 Wamwerigi, Mr.
 Wangai, Kahiu, Mr.
 Ward, Mr. Kendall
 Wariahe Reuben, Mr. H.
 Waruia wa Kio, Mr.
 Waweru s/o Kabubu, Mr.
 Wild, Mr. C. A. S.
 Worthington, Mr. E. B., and The Hon. H. Slade
 Yatta Africans
 Zakok Mwara, Mr.

(c) TANGANYIKA

Abdullah, S. Fundikira, Mr.
 Angoni Union
 Arusha Enaiboishu Native Court
 Arusha Chamber of Commerce
 Asian Association
 Asian Association, Kharumwa
 Bakari Mwanyani
 Balisyobile s/o Likusubula, Mr.
 Bayldon, The Hon. I. C. W.
 Bell, Mr. G. T., O.B.E.
 Bettelo, Mr. G.
 Biggs, The Hon. C. E. J.

Bonde People, Muheza Sub-Chiefdom, Tanga
Buhaya Union
Buhaya Council

Calder, Mr. W. V.
Cory, Dr. H.

Dobson, Mrs. B.

Fosbrooke, Mr. H. A.
Furuguti, Mr. E.

Gulliver, Dr. P. H.

Hinds, The Hon. F.
Hitchcock, Mr. E. F., C.B.E.
Hucks, Mr. G. W. Y.

Indian Association, Kharumwa
Indian Association, Musoma

Kaplan, Mr. I.
Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens' Union
Kwavi People

Maher, Mr. C.
Makange, Mr. Z. G.
Mbeya African Community
Mbeya Native Authorities
Miller, Mr. R. W. R., C.M.G.
Mponda, The Hon. Y. D.
Mukorila, Mr. Godfrey
Muhena bin Said, Mr.

Notcutt, Mr. L. A.
Native Authority, Rwamishenye, Bukoba
Native Treasury, Rwamishenya, Bukoba

Odujogi, Mr. A. J. A.
Oldaker, The Hon. A. A., C.B.E.
Overseas Food Corporation

Pangamahuti Mbeyela, Chief Joseph T.
Pare District Advisory Council
Pike, The Hon. A. H., O.B.E.

Reining, Mrs. P.
Rungwe African District Council

Sangai, Mr. C. A.
Seggeju Union
Southern Highlands Province Land Utilization Committee
Southern Highlands Province Land Utilization Committee—African Members
Spalding, Mr. J.
Swynnerton, Mr. G. H.

Tanga District African Land Committee
Tanga European Parents' Association
Tanganyika African Association
Tanganyika African Association — Moshi Branch
Tanganyika African Association — Musoma Branch
Tanganyika European Council
Tanganyika European Council—Sao Hill Regional Committee
Tanganyika Makerere Students' Discussion Group
Tanganyika United African Association
Thomson, Mr. E. S.

Vicars-Harris, The Hon. N. H.
Wameru People
Williams, Mr. R. Denton
Wright, Mr. A. C. A.
Wright, Dr. F. Chalmers, M.B.E.

(d) UGANDA

Baerlein, The Hon. A. A.
Baganda Landowners General Council
Bagishu Khuheentsa Co-operative Union Ltd.

Basoga Hereditary Chiefs
Beattie, Mr. J. M.
Bisereka, Mr. A.
Bubulo Co-operative Union
Bubulo County Council
Budaka-Bugwere District Council
Buganda Kingdom Government
Bugishu Coffee Scheme
Bugishu District Council
Bugishu Welfare Association
Bukedi African Local Government
Bunyole County Council
Bunyoro-Kitara District Council
Busoga, African Local Government
Busoga, Hereditary Bataka
Busoga, Hereditary Clan Elders
Busongora, some members of County Council of

Dempster, Mr. H. G.
Dundas, I. H., of Dundas

Fallers, Mr. L.
Folkes, Mr. A. S., O.B.E.
Fortt, Miss J. M.

Gazzard, Mr. R. A. J.
Goldthorpe, Mr. J. E.
Gordon, Col. The Hon. W. H. L., M.B.E.
Gunn, Capt. L. T.

Kasoga Fishing Co. Ltd.
Kawalya Kagwa, The Hon. M. E., O.B.E.
Keeble, Mr. J.
Kerr, Mr. A. J.
Kisoka County Council
Kyemalansi Mbatankulu Growers' Co-operative Society

Luima, Mr. K. W.

Makerere College Political Society
Mbale Chamber of Commerce
Middleton, Mr. J.
Mukwaya, Mr. A. B.
Muljibhai Madhvani & Co. Ltd.
Musoke, Mr. Stanley

Neal, Mr. W. E.

Oram, Mr. N. D.
Osborne, Mr. R. J.

Pallisa County Council
Povesland, The Late Mr. P.

Richards, Dr. Audrey
Ridsdale, Rev. P. B.

Salm, Father L. V. D.
Samia-Bugwe County Council

Sanger, Mr. W.
Sofer, Drs. C. and R.
Spencer, The Hon. C. C., C.M.G.

Toro African Local Government
Tororo County Council
Trowell, Dr. H. C., O.B.E.

Uganda Development Corporation Ltd.
Uganda Growers' Co-operative Union Ltd.

Uganda National Congress
Uganda National Congress—Lango Branch
Uganda National Parks
Uganda Sugar Manufacturers' Association

Wamala, Mr. D. M. K.
Winter, Mr. E.
Wrigley, Mr. C. C.

Young Basoga Association

(ii) OFFICIAL SOURCES

(a) OUTSIDE EAST AFRICA

Southern Rhodesia, Central African Statistical Office, National Income Section.
Union of South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics.
Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture Division of Economics and Markets.

(b) KENYA

The Secretariat, Provincial Administration and Government Departments of Kenya Colony and Protectorate.

(c) TANGANYIKA

The Secretariat, Provincial Administration and Government Departments of Tanganyika Territory.

(d) UGANDA

The Secretariat, Provincial Administration and Government Departments of the Uganda Protectorate.

(e) EAST AFRICA

East Africa High Commission and affiliated organizations.

APPENDIX III

Names of Persons who gave evidence before the Royal Commission⁽¹⁾

(a) IN LONDON

Blundell, The Hon. M., M.B.E.
Clay, Sir Geoffrey, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., M.C.
Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Davies, Mr. Eric St. A., M.B.E.
Dixey, Dr. F., C.M.G., O.B.E.
Geological Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Director of Colonial Geological Surveys.
Engledow, Sir Frank, C.M.G.
Gavin, Sir William, C.B.E.
Hailey, The Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
Hyde-Clarke, Mr. E. M., M.B.E.
Kirkwood, Mr. K.
Martin, Mr. C. J., Director, East African Statistical Department.
Mathias, Mr. L. A.
Molohan, The Hon. M. J. B., M.B.E.
Labour Commissioner, Tanganyika.
Richards, Dr. Audrey.
Sheppard, Mr. V. L. O., C.B.E.
Simpson, Mr. S. R., C.B.E.
Land Tenure Specialist, Colonial Office.
Twining, His Excellency, Sir Edward, G.C.M.G., M.B.E.
Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Tanganyika.
Wright, Dr. F. Chalmers, M.B.E.
Wyn-Harris, His Excellency, Sir Percy, K.C.M.G., M.B.E.
Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Gambia.

⁽¹⁾ This list does not include the names of those persons with whom individual members of the Royal Commission had conversations. Nor does it include the names of those persons with whom the Royal Commission had preliminary talks on their first visit to the East African territories. The designations of persons are given as they were when the evidence was tendered.

- Meru Council, Arusha, Delegation
 Mihambo Kadushi, Mr., Western Province
 Miller, Mr. W. E., Executive Engineer, Water Development Department, Tanga
 Misoji, Mr. Paulo, Lake Province
 Mitchell, Mr. G. B., Secretary for Legal Affairs
 Mohammed Hamisi, Mr., Tanga Province
 Mohammedi Wazuri, Mr., Southern Province
 Mntambo, Mr. Petro, Dar-es-Salaam
 Moller, Dr. M. S. G., Medical Officer, Bukoba.
 Moore-Gilbert, Mr. S. M., Game Department, Dodoma
 Morgan, The Hon. G., C.M.G., Director of Public Works
 Mputa Magogo, Sultan, Tanga Province
 Muhando, The Ven. Archdeacon, Eastern Province
 Munanka, Mr. Isaac Muller Bhoki, Lake Province
 Mutter, Mr. N. E. S., Acting Regional Assistant Director of Agriculture, Lake Province
 Mwakosya, Mr. David, Eastern Province
 Mwalim Kibere, Mr., Tanga Province
 Mwanasasu, Mr. G. W., Tukuyu
 Mwanilanga Chenge, Mr., Lake Province
 Mwarabu Ibrahim, Mr., Central Province
 Najau, Mr. Petro, Northern Province
 Norbert, Liwali Paul, Southern Province
 Page Jones, The Hon. F. H., Member for Local Government
 Patel, Mr. C. C.
 Pegg, Mr.
 Pelham-Johnson, Miss M. F. E., Assistant Director, Women's and Girls' Education, Education Department
 Petro, Mr. Dominico, Western Province
 Pike, The Hon. A. H., O.B.E., Member for Lands and Mines
 Porch, Mr. R. O. H., District Officer, Bukoba
 Robertson, Mr. J. K., Acting Regional Assistant Director of Agriculture, Arusha
 Ross, Mr. J. P. J., Veterinary Officer, Bukoba
 Rowe, Mr. E. G., Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province
 Rubuza, Mr. Christopher, Ngare District
 Rukutule, Mr. Leonard, Ngare District
 Rushby, Mr. G. G., Deputy Game Warden
 Sabu, Chief Sabu, Eastern Province
 Sanders, Mr. K. L., O.B.E., Acting Labour Commissioner
 Sangai, Mr. Charles, Lushoto
 Savile, Mr. A. H., Regional Assistant Director of Agriculture, Morogoro
 Scott, Mr. D. J. P., Regional Veterinary Officer, Arusha
 Sefu Hamid, Chief, Tanga Province
 Shabani, Chief William, Tanga Province
 Shabani Mtegeti, Mr., Western Province
 Shabani, Mr. Robert, Tanga Province
 Shann, Mr. G. N., Provincial Education Officer, Central Province, Dodoma
 Shantilal Tanna, Mr.
 Shoka Luhende, Chief, Lake Province
 Simango, Chief, Mpwapwa, Central Province
- Smith, Mr. E. L., Director, Water Development Department
 Sokea, Mr. L., Northern Province
 Soskice, Mr. O. B.
 Spalding, Mr. J., Mining Consultant
 Stone, Mr. I. T., Divisional Engineer, Central and Southern Highlands Provinces, Water Development Department
 Sylvester, Mr. Herman, Lake Province
 Tanganyika African Association, Delegation
 Tanganyika European Council, Delegation
 Tanganyika Legislative Council, African Members, Delegation
 Thompson, Mr. Dudley, Northern Province
 Tilney, The Hon. C. E., Financial Secretary
 Trotman, The Hon. A. E., C.M.G., Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources
 Turner, Mr. D. B., Provincial Tsetse Officer, Kondoa Irangi
 Twining, His Excellency, Sir Edward, G.C.M.G., M.B.E., Governor and Commander-in-Chief
 Vicars-Harris, The Hon. N. H., Member for Lands and Mines
 Wabu Musa, Akida, Southern Province
 Waller, Mr. E. G., Secretary of the Land Bank
 Walsh, Rev. Father
 White, Mr. D. G., Chief Livestock Officer, Mpwapwa
 White, Mr. F. S., Director of Town Planning
 Williams, Mr. W. B., Labour Officer, Industrial Relations, Dar-es-Salaam
 Wilson, Dr. G. A., Tanganyika Medical Service, Specialist in Industrial Health, Dar-es-Salaam
 Wince, Mr. L. A., Engineer Hydrologist, Moshi
 Wright, Mr. A. C. A., Research Officer, Sukumaland
 Wye, Mr. H. W., Forest Officer, Bukoba
- (d) UGANDA
- African Chamber of Commerce (Messrs. Lumala and Ssonko)
 Akera, Mr. A. K.
 Ankole Local Government, Standing Committee
 Beauchamp, Dr. R. S. A., Director of the East African Fisheries Research Laboratory
 Berg, Mr. C. L., Director of Hydrological Survey
 Bird, The Hon. C. Handley
 Boyd, The Hon. I. M., Secretary for African Affairs
 Byers, The Hon. M. P., Acting Labour Commissioner
 Campbell, Mr. H.
 Cartland, The Hon. G. B., Secretary for Social Services and Local Government
 Cawley, Mr. A., Director of Geological Survey
 Cohen, His Excellency Sir Andrew, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., Governor and Commander-in-Chief

Cox, Mr. T. R. F., Provincial Commissioner,
Eastern Province

Dreschfield, The Hon. R. L., Q.C., Attorney
General

Duggan, Rev. Father P., Mill Hill Mission

East African Institute of Social Research
(Dr. Audrey Richards, Director, and
Messrs. C. Wrigley, P. Gutkind, and Dr A.
Southall)

Engulu, Mr. E. P., of Teso African Local
Government

Faupel, Rev. Father F. J., Mill Hill Mission

Gordon, Colonel the Hon. W. H. L., M.B.E.
Gunn, Captain L. T.

Handley, Mr. W. G., Senior Co-operative
Officer

Hutchinson, Dr. J. B., C.M.G.

Inyoin, Mr. J. O. K., of Teso African Local
Government

Kawalya Kagwa, the Hon. M. E., O.B.E.

Kerr, The Hon. A. J., Commissioner for
Co-operative Development

Kibulo, Mr. A. G., Assistant Agricultural
Officer

Kigezi District Team

Kigezi Local Government, Standing Com-
mittee

Kinloch, Major G. B., M.C., Game Warden

Kulubya, the Hon. S. W., O.B.E.

Lakha, Mr. Hassen Kassim

Lubogo, Mr. Y. K., of Busoga African Local
Government

Madhvani, Mr. Jayant

Marphatia, Mr. D. K.

Marshall, Mr. D., Secretariat

Masaba, Rev. Canon E. K., Bugishu African
Local Government

Maybury, The Hon. M. A., Commissioner
for Commerce

McVeigh, Rev. Father P., Mill Hill Mission

Mehta, Mr. M. N.

Miller, The Hon. D. S., O.B.E., Director of
Education

Moggridge, Mr. J. Y., Director of Tsetse
Control

Mudanye, Mr. T., Bukedi African Local
Government

Mulyanti, The Hon. B. K., M.B.E.

Mwangu, Mr. W. B., of Busoga African
Local Government

East Africa Royal Commission Report

Nondo, Mr. S. B., Assistant Veterinary
Officer

Nsimbi, Mr. M. B., Education Officer

Oda, The Hon. Gaspere, West Nile African
Local Government

Olyech, Mr. E. O., Uganda National Con-
gress, Lango Branch

Omonya, Mr. Y. O., of Lango African Local
Government

Opwa, The Hon. Antonio, Acholi African
Local Government

Padley, The Hon. W., O.B.E., Financial
Secretary

Palin, The Ven. Archdeacon, R.C., Church
Missionary Society

Randall, Mr. J. B., Director of Veterinary
Services and Animal Husbandry

Richards, Dr. Audrey, Director, East African
Institute of Social Research

Richards, The Hon. C. A. L., Commissioner
for Community Development

Ross, Mr. J., Deputy Commissioner for
Co-operative Development

Sanger, Mr. W.

Scard, Mr. L. H. D.

Semmanda, Rev. Father J., Mill Hill Mission

Sisye, Mr. P., Bukedi African Local Govern-
ment

Sturdy, Canon B., Church Missionary Society

Swabey, Mr. C., Conservator of Forests

Toro Local Government, Standing Com-
mittee

Trowell, Dr. H. C., O.B.E., Uganda Medical
Service

Uganda Electricity Board (The Hon. Sir
Charles Westlake, Chairman, and Mr.
H. W. Povey, O.B.E., Chief Accountant)

Uganda Growers Union (Messrs. Kyazze,
Musoke, Kigozi, Kisule, Wamala, Nsubuga,
Scbangala, Kyeyune, Nanyangendi)

Uganda Legislative Council Unofficial Mem-
bers Organization (The Hon. J. T. Simpson,
The Hon. S. W. Kilubya, O.B.E., The Hon.
C. Handley Bird, and The Hon. S. W.
Wanambwa)

Walukamba, Mr., Assistant Agricultural
Officer

Wanambwa, The Hon. S. W., Bugishu
African Local Government

Wanyoto, Mr. J. G., Assistant Agricultural
Officer

Watson, The Hon. J. Y., Secretary for Agri-
culture and Natural Resources

Wilson, Professor Fergus, M.B.E., Vice-
Principal of Makerere College

APPENDIX IV
East African Population: Non-African and African, by Territories and in Age Groups.
 EAST AFRICAN POPULATION CENSUS 1948 (CIVIL POPULATION)

	NON-AFRICAN							AFRICAN	ALL RACES
	European	Indian	Goan	Arab	Coloured	Other	Total		
EAST AFRICA	43,756	168,543	10,613	36,723	2,942	3,394	265,971	17,576,192	17,842,163
Sex:									
Male	23,372	95,068	6,499	21,231	1,431	1,864	149,465	8,604,060	8,753,525
Female	20,384	73,475	4,114	15,492	1,511	1,530	116,506	8,972,132	9,088,638
Territorial:									
Kenya	29,660	90,528	7,159	24,174	964	2,361	154,846	5,251,120	5,405,966
Tanganyika	10,648	44,248	2,006	11,074	1,335	849	70,160	7,407,517	7,477,677
Uganda	3,448	33,767	1,448	1,475	643	184	40,965	4,917,555	4,958,520
Age Class:									
African: 0-15 years	9,893	74,343	3,662	13,897	1,707	1,095	104,597	7,653,477	—
Non-African: 0-14 years	30,394	90,312	6,719	20,338	1,181	2,151	151,095	8,121,955	—
Non-African: 15-59 years	3,307	3,519	211	2,258	42	126	9,463	1,773,015	—
African: over 45	162	369	21	230	12	22	816	27,745	—
Non-African: 60 and over									
Unspecified									

CIVIL POPULATION ESTIMATES(1) AS AT MID-YEAR 1953

	NON-AFRICAN					AFRICAN	ALL RACES
	European	Indian and Goan	Arab	Other	Total		
EAST AFRICA	69,100	243,000	45,300	10,800	368,200	18,895,000	19,263,000
Territorial:							
Kenya	42,200	131,100	29,200	4,500	207,000	5,644,000	5,851,000
Tanganyika	20,300	64,500	14,300	5,200	104,300	7,965,000	8,069,000
Uganda	6,600	47,400	1,800	1,100	56,900	5,286,000	5,343,000

(1) These estimates which cannot be considered as anything better than rough approximations, have been calculated by the East African Statistical Department. The results of the 1948 census were used as a base.

APPENDIX V

Approximate Numerical Strength of Tribal Groups in East Africa

EAST AFRICAN POPULATION CENSUS, 1948

(a) MAIN TRIBES OF KENYA COLONY AND PROTECTORATE

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Total</i>
Baluhya	653,774
Luo (C.N.)	443,064
Kamba (MKS)	389,777
Kikuyu (KB)	388,162
Kikuyu (F.H.)	384,851
Meru	324,894
Kisii	255,108
Luo (S.N.)	254,487
Kikuyu (NYI)	253,328
Kamba (KTI)	221,948
Embu	203,690
Kipsigis	159,692
Nyika (KFI)	128,198
Nandi	116,681
Nyika (VGA)	112,463
Turkana*	76,930
Masai	67,201
Kamasia	66,850
Teita	56,912
All others	693,110
TOTAL†	5,251,120

* Estimated.

† Excluding 1,633 persons in transit.

(b) MAIN TRIBES OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Total</i>
Sukuma	888,800
Nyamwezi	362,829
Ha	286,112
Makonde	281,320
Gogo	271,254
Haya	269,142
Chagga	237,343
Hehe	192,153
Nyakyusa	191,901
Nyaturu	181,739
Luguru	179,078
Zaramo	173,518
Iramba	170,697

Carried forward ... 3,685,886

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Total</i>
Brought forward	... 3,685,886
Bena	... 157,974
Sambaa	... 129,466
Yao	... 126,741
Mwera*	... 126,412
Zigua	... 112,113
Ngoni	... 102,994
Iraqw	... 102,554
Pare	... 98,959
Makua	... 95,464
Irangi	... 95,422
Rundi	... 90,312
Ngindo	... 85,189
Fipa	... 78,252
Subi	... 74,052
Jita	... 71,433
Rufiji	... 70,969
All Others	... 2,106,077
TOTAL	... 7,410,269

* In this analysis it is not possible to separate the two branches of the Mwera tribe. The Mwera tribe (6,374) of Songea District originated in Nyasaland and is distinct from the Mwera (99,415) of Lindi District.

(c) MAIN TRIBES OF UGANDA PROTECTORATE

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Total</i>
Baganda	... 836,091
Iteso	... 462,664
Basoga	... 426,608
Banyankole	... 387,529
Banyaruanda	... 289,051
Bakiga	... 271,738
Lango	... 265,296
Bagishu	... 243,742
Acholi	... 209,161
Lugbara	... 183,111
Banyoro	... 180,610
Batoro	... 162,659
Karamojong	... 108,282
Bagwere	... 83,223
Alur	... 80,697
Bakonjo	... 73,745
Badama	... 73,037
Madi	... 63,439
Banyuli	... 56,975
Rundi	... 56,504
Kumam	... 55,924
All Others	... 347,469
TOTAL	... 4,917,555

APPENDIX,

East African Exports, Imports

	1		2		3		4		5		6		
	Value of Domestic Exports (a)		Estimated Value of Non-Mineral Exports and their Percentage of Total Domestic Exports (b)		Estimated Value of Mineral Exports and their Percentage of Total Domestic Exports (b)		Value of Selected Exports and their Percentage of Total Domestic Exports						
	£m.	£m.	%	£m.	%	£m.	%	£m.	%	£m.	%	£m.	%
KENYA													
1953 ...	19.5	18.6	95	0.9	5.0	0.3	2	2.5	13	6.7	34		
1952 ...	25.8	24.4	95	1.4	5.0	2.4	9	4.5	17	7.1	28		
1946 ...	7.1	6.4	90	0.7	10.0	0.2	2	0.9	12	0.9	13		
1938 ...	3.8	3.2	83	0.6	17.0	0.3	9	0.4	11	0.8	20		
1931 ...	2.3	2.1	91	0.2	9.0(c)	0.4	18	0.2	10	1.0	42		
1928 ...	3.3	3.0	90	0.3	10.0(d)	0.3	9	0.5	16	1.1	34		
1907 ...	0.2	0.2	100	N.	—	N.A.	—	N.A.	—	N.A.	—		
UGANDA													
								Cotton	Sisal			Coffee	
1953 ...	33.4	33.2	99	0.2	0.5	16.8	50	N.	—	11.5	35		
1952 ...	47.2	47.0	99	0.2	0.4	29.9	63	N.	—	12.3	26		
1946 ...	9.6	9.5	99	0.1	1.0	5.7	59	N.	—	1.8	18		
1938 ...	4.7	4.5	95	0.2	5.0	3.4	73	N.	—	0.3	7		
1931 ...	2.0	2.0	100	N.	— (e)	1.7	83	N.	—	0.2	10		
1928 ...	3.4	3.4	100	N.	— (e)	2.8	82	N.	—	0.2	6		
1907 ...	0.1	0.1	100	N.	—	0.5	35	N.A.	—	N.A.	—		
TANGANYIKA													
								Cotton	Sisal			Coffee	
1953 ...	34.5	30.9	90	3.6	10.0	4.8	14	12.7	37	5.8	17		
1952 ...	47.0	40.8	87	6.2	13.0	4.7	10	21.7	46	5.5	12		
1946 ...	8.8	7.4	83	1.4	17.0	0.4	4	3.9	44	0.7	8		
1938 ...	3.7	3.1	83	0.6	17.0	0.4	10	1.4	38	0.4	10		
1931 ...	1.6	1.6	100	N.	—	0.1	7	0.7	43	0.2	15		
1928 ...	3.9	3.9	100	N.	—	0.5	13	1.1	29	0.7	19		
1907 ...	0.6	0.6	100	N.A.	—	N.A.	—	N.A.	—	N.A.	—		

GENERAL STATISTICAL NOTE

This table is designed to show some of the basic data of the economic development and structure of the three East African territories. Certain years have been chosen to illustrate the growth and fluctuations of the economies. Statistics for 1907 indicate the very limited development that had taken place in the course of the first decade of this century; the peak that was reached before the impact of the depression is illustrated by the year 1928; the effect of the depression can be seen from the 1931 figures; the year 1938 shows to what extent a recovery had been made before the outbreak of the Second World War; and the rapid rise in money values in the immediate aftermath of that war can be judged by comparing the 1946 statistics with those of 1952. Statistics for 1953 have made apparent again the vulnerability of the East African economies to changes in world prices.

Unfortunately the comparison of East African statistics over a time span of nearly half a century cannot be made with complete accuracy. For example, domestic exports for 1952 and 1953 are the values of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika products exported to countries outside East Africa. Thus inter-territorial trade is excluded. But in the other years, although exports between Kenya and Uganda do not appear in their respective estimates of domestic exports, their exports to Tanganyika are regarded as a part of total domestic exports. Similarly Tanganyika's domestic exports for 1952 and 1953 do not include trade with Kenya and Uganda, although for the other years, on the table, exports to these territories are included. Discrepancies also exist in the other columns, but the table has not been constructed to convey small variations, and so as not to detract from the broad picture that it is intended to present qualifying foot notes and minor statistical adjustments have been reduced to a minimum.

VI

Revenue, and Expenditure

7			8	9		10	11	12
Volume of Selected Exports						Value of Net Imports (f)	Revenue (h)	Expenditure
						£m.	£m.	£m.
cwt. ('000)	tons ('000)	cwt. ('000)						
Maize	Sisal	Coffee						
215	35	296				51.7	21.3	22.8
1,365	35	338				59.3	20.5	18.8
348	24	191				16.4	9.0	7.7
N.A.	28	339				6.4	3.8	3.6
1,859	16	246				4.5(g) (c)	3.0	3.2
892	16	212				8.5(g) (c)	3.0	2.8
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.				0.9(g) (c)	0.5	0.7
Cotton	Sisal	Coffee						
400 lb. Bales ('000)								
334	N.	714				25.7	17.7	17.4
378	N.	789				24.3	17.3	15.9
219	N.	611				5.3	4.0	3.6
432	N.	280				2.5	1.9	2.0
189	N.	70				— (e)	1.4	1.4
138	N.	40				— (e)	1.5	1.4
4	N.A.	N.A.				— (e)	0.1	0.2
Cotton	Sisal	Coffee						
80	171	305				28.4	14.7	14.7
62	158	372				37.5	16.4	15.8
22	111	200				8.1	5.1	5.1
49	101	274				3.4	2.1	2.2
13	56	185				2.5 (g)	1.5	1.8
27	36	209				3.7 (g)	2.0	1.9
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.				1.2 (g)	0.4	0.7

NOTES:

(a) Domestic exports for 1952 and 1953 are East African products exported to countries outside the East African territories. Estimates between 1907 and 1946 inclusive, regard trade between Tanganyika on the one hand, and Kenya and Uganda on the other, as overseas trade and in consequence include these transactions.

(b) These figures are estimates based on calculations of the value of the principal exports of the territories.

(c) Kenya and Uganda combined.

(d) Kenya and Uganda combined for the year 1929.

(e) The Uganda contribution is included under Kenya.

(f) Net imports for 1952 and 1953 are imports received direct from countries outside East Africa, plus imported goods transferred from another East African territory minus imported goods transferred to another East African territory. Some goods which will subsequently be re-exported are included under net imports.

(g) Merchandise imports only.

(h) For 1946, 1952, and 1953, Kenya revenue and expenditure excludes the development budget. The Tanganyika estimates also exclude their development plan. In the case of Uganda it is not possible to separate development from other expenditure.

General: Figures have been rounded off and the use of decimal points does not indicate that degree of accuracy.

N. = Nil or negligible.

N.A. = Not available.

APPENDIX VII

*The African Population of East Africa: A Summary of its Past and Present Trends*A MEMORANDUM⁽¹⁾ FOR SUBMISSION TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION

By J. E. GOLDTHORPE

Lecturer in Social Studies, Makerere College, The University College of East Africa

SOURCES

The aim of the present paper is to bring together and summarize what seem to be the main demographic characteristics and trends of the African population of East Africa.

It is not in any way a comprehensive review of the literature on the subject, nor does it claim to add anything new to the discussion of the topic; its more modest aim is to set out in the broadest outline the main facts which seem to have been established and to set them in relation to one another and to the demographic situation in other parts of the world.

It would in any case be hardly necessary for a student in this decade to attempt to review the entire past literature on the subject of East African population, since this has already been brilliantly and exhaustively done, at any rate down to 1944-45, by that great scholar the late R. R. Kuczynski.⁽²⁾ It will become clear from a perusal of what follows that the present writer's attempt, in relation to the past trends of population in these territories, has been very largely to abstract Kuczynski—to draw out from his monumental compilation whatever broad and simple generalizations can be made.

If on the past situation there is little to add to Kuczynski's work in the present there is even less to add to that of C. J. Martin, whose remarkable achievement it was to organize the first census of these territories and whose analyses of the data thus obtained, as they have been subsequently published, form the only firm basis for an appraisal of current trends.

The works of Martin and Kuczynski, then, are the main sources on which this paper is based. Other sources are noted in the text. It remains to add that in the case of Tanganyika a further source is available in the form of a survey by the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Social Affairs.⁽³⁾ Unfortunately, however, this admirable report, while it confirms much of, adds little to our knowledge. The author herself remarks that:

'It is obvious that the present report, written prior to the availability of the results of these censuses of 1948, is tentative and somewhat premature.'⁽⁴⁾

It was in fact completed after the 1948 census had been done, but before any save the first preliminary results had been announced. Moreover, although it covers much of the same ground as Kuczynski's survey, it was completed shortly before that too was published. It seems a pity that such good work should have been so largely wasted, entirely because it was mis-timed.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

It will be apparent that changes in the size of a population can be definitely established in two ways. One is by taking two or more censuses at intervals sufficiently long for changes to become appreciable. The other is by maintaining both complete birth- and death-registrations and complete immigration and emigration statistics.

Up to the present neither of these conditions has been satisfied in East Africa. There has been one adequate census, in 1948; until a second census has been taken we can have no direct comparison which would enable incontrovertible statements about increase or decrease to be made. Birth- and death-registration, where it exists at all for Africans, is known to be incomplete; while migration statistics, too, are imperfect.

It follows, therefore, that nothing can be said with certainty about the growth of the native population. A pedant might even insist that there is no *proof* that an increase is taking place at all. Kuczynski did indeed write in the mid-1940's:

'If one wanted to summarize the demographic position of British East Africa in recent times all that one could say would be: Practically nothing is known of the population trend in . . . the whole of British East Africa; there is no reason to assume that the total population in 1940 was any larger than in 1895 or that the total population in 1895 was much smaller than in 1875.'⁽⁵⁾

(1) An important source of information embodied in this Memorandum was a paper by Mr. C. J. Martin on *Some Estimates of the General Age, Distribution, Fertility and Rate of Natural Increase of the African Population of British East Africa* Population Studies, vii, pp. 181-199, which he was kind enough to communicate privately to the author before it was published.

(2) R. R. Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. II, East Africa, etc.; London, 1949.

(3) United Nations Population Studies No. 2; *The Population of Tanganyika*. Lake Success, 1949.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 95.

(5) Kuczynski. *Op. cit.* pp. 124 to 125.

Such agnosticism may have been exaggerated even at the time, and certainly since Kuczynski's death the weight of evidence for population increase has become more formidable. Nevertheless, the warning is salutary.

In surveying the past history and estimating the present trends we are forced to consider suggestive rather than conclusive evidence, and can hope to suggest probabilities rather than present settled conclusions.

THE CENSUS OF 1948 AND EARLIER ESTIMATES

The methods used in the earlier estimates of the population of the East African territories have been well described by Martin, who writes:

'The methods of calculating population totals in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, although different in detail, are based on the same principle. At present, direct taxation of the African is by means of a Poll Tax which must be paid by every adult male, with the exception of those who have been exempted on account of age, blindness, or other infirmity. The tax is collected by District Commissioners. The collection begins in the early part of the year and the majority of the tax is in the District Revenue Offices by about April. In all the district tax registers, which are kept up to date by Africans termed "Hut Counters", there are sufficient spaces to permit the inclusion of details regarding women and children, sheep, goats, and sometimes cattle. From these records it should be possible to obtain an estimate of the normal population of the district based on the number of taxpayers. But it is most difficult to collect these details, and in many districts throughout East Africa there is no system for completing any detail except the name of the poll tax payer and the receipt number of his poll tax certificate. There are some districts where a full count has been made, but it has been estimated that in many districts only about a quarter of the tax register could be brought up to date in any one year with details of women and children, and therefore no territory can obtain from these statistics a full statement of the population at any time or in any year.

'For this reason the territories of Kenya and Tanganyika have adopted specific methods of calculating the population, based on the total of poll tax payers, a well known figure. In Kenya the number of poll tax payers is taken, and it is assumed that this represents 49 per cent of the total adults; females representing the other 51 per cent. . . . The next stage is to calculate the percentage of children and it has been assumed that 37 per cent of the total population are children. In this way a grand total is obtained. District Commissioners in various areas have stated that the factor for children has been greatly underestimated, but for the official estimate of the population of Kenya this factor has been used. In the case of Tanganyika the method has been even simpler and the factor has been three-and-a-half dependants to every male poll tax-payer. By this simple sum in multiplication the annual official estimate of the population, ranging over 340,000 square miles, has been obtained and published by districts and provinces.

'For Uganda a count taken in 1931 has been used as the basis and increases in population have been calculated from vital registration data. This has resulted in population statistics which are relatively inaccurate for various reasons.'⁽¹⁾

How inaccurate these estimates in fact were is clearly shown by a comparison of the 1948 Census figures with the last estimates to be made on the old basis:

TABLE 1
AFRICAN POPULATIONS (ROUNDED TO NEAR 1000)

	<i>Last Estimate by old methods</i>	1948 Census
Kenya	4,055,000 (1946)	5,251,000
Tanganyika	5,838,000 (1947)	7,408,000
Uganda	3,987,500 (1947)	4,918,000 ⁽²⁾

Martin comments :

'Comparisons of the present territorial figures with the previous estimates showed that in all cases the latter were too low by more than a million. The difference cannot be accounted for by a huge growth of population and it is impossible to believe that the population could have grown so markedly in such a short period. . . . It is not true to say that the population has increased greatly since the last census because the accuracy of the present census is much greater than that of any previous count.'

How much greater the accuracy was is clear from the account Martin gives of the careful planning and competent and painstaking execution of the census, which was the first in East Africa to be carried out by the only method worthy of the name of census—a house to house visit of the whole territory. Martin states that the possible error does not exceed 5 per cent. It would seem likely that such error as there may have been was certainly small, and probably still tended to make for a slight under-estimate. For reasons which the writer has suggested elsewhere⁽³⁾ it seems possible that a small number of people, through ignorance and suspicion evaded the census, while there would be little to make for a compensating error in the opposite direction. It may be taken, then, that the population of East Africa was at least as great as the 1948 census figure and may even have been a trifle greater.

There seems accordingly to be little to mitigate the large errors of the earlier estimates; and for purposes of comparison with the more accurate figures of 1948 they are almost if not quite valueless. It follows that any direct attempt to calculate a rate of increase by a comparison

(1) C. J. Martin, *The East African Population Census, 1948. Planning and Enumeration. Population Studies*, iii, 303-320.

(2) East African Statistical Department, *Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin*, June 1952 (revised 1948 Census figures); *Annual Reports for 1947 on Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika*.

(3) J. E. Goldthorpe, *Attitudes to the Census and Vital Registration in East Africa. Population Studies*, vi, 163-171

of the earlier figures with those of 1948, or even with one another, is fallacious. In this connexion the words of Carr-Saunders as long ago as 1936 may be recalled :

' A report from the Government of Kenya in 1930 states that " the official figures of population are arrived at largely as a result of the enumeration of huts as a necessary part of the collection of hut tax ", and goes on to give an illustration of the misleading nature of the figures, preparing it with the following introduction: " As showing how incorrect for the purpose of statistical calculation are the present figures . . . " We may take the warning. If we examine the results of enumerations in those areas where estimates have been made at different dates, we find that in almost all cases an increase of population is shown. Should this be taken as proving that population has increased? . . . Whenever for some purpose or another an accurate count is made of a small district, it is more often found that the population is above than below the figure which was given for that district in the so-called census for the whole area to which the district belongs. Thus the population of the Digo Reserve in Kenya was estimated in the census at under 50,000, but in the course of a treatment campaign more than 2,000 persons in excess of the figures were treated. Therefore, as enumeration becomes more complete, the returns tend to become larger than smaller. '(1)

KENYA

EARLY ESTIMATES

Apart from the widely differing guesses of early explorers, missionaries and pioneers, the first estimate of the native population of the then East Africa Protectorate appears to be that of Sir Arthur Hardinge, who in 1897 put it at 2½ millions. On the transfer from the Uganda Protectorate of the Kisumu and Naivasha provinces in 1902, this was amended to 4 millions, for a territory approximately that of the present Kenya Colony and Protectorate.

When the first counts were done, however, the resulting figures were much lower, and in the early years of the century there was confusion; some official publications used the new estimates, some continued to give the old Hardinge estimate, while others made various intermediate guesses. Most of the estimates lay between two and three million, and at first they tended to decrease. Table 2 summarizes the estimates at salient dates.

TABLE 2
ESTIMATES OF THE NATIVE POPULATION OF KENYA (2) (MILLIONS)

Year	Source	Estimated Population
1902	Official estimate on transfer of provinces from Uganda	4.0
1911	Non-Native census estimate	3.0
	Blue Book	2.65
1921	Non-Native census estimate	2.48
	Chief Native Commissioner	2.33
1925	Non-Native census estimate and ' most public documents '	2.55
1931*	do.	2.97
1939	' Most Public Documents '	3.41
1946	Last estimate by old methods	4.06
1948	Census	5.25

* Jubaland ceded to Italy in 1925; Northern Turkana transferred from Uganda to Kenya in 1926.

It will be clear from what has been said above that these old estimates, with the possible exception of that of 1902, greatly understated the population. Table I has shown that in recent years in Kenya the under-estimate must have been of the order of 25 per cent. Unfortunately it cannot be taken as certain that the same, or roughly the same, proportional error prevailed throughout. It would be rash to assume, for instance, that the same proportion of able-bodied men have avoided paying hut- or poll-tax throughout British rule in Kenya; and this factor would clearly affect the completeness of the register and hence the estimates of population.

Taken at their face value, however, the figures may be taken to suggest that the native population declined from the earliest days of British rule through the First World War, that a turning point was reached in the early 1920's—perhaps about 1921—and that there has been a tendency to increase since that date.

Evidence of two other kinds confirms this view. The first is the tangled history of famines and pestilences. The details are still obscure, and much research could with advantage be done on this phase of Kenya's population history. It seems clear, however, that a series of disastrous famines occurred at the end of the nineteenth century, due partly to drought and locusts, and partly to the sale of food, particularly by the Kikuyu, to the increasing numbers of Uganda safaris just before the completion of the Uganda Railway. There were outbreaks of smallpox among the human, and rinderpest among the cattle population about this time, and these continued into the first decade of the twentieth century. Hardly had the administration begun to make headway against these catastrophes, when the First World War broke out. There was heavy mortality from disease among the corps of porters which were raised for the East African

(1) A. M. Carr-Saunders. *World Population*, London, 1936, p. 302.

(2) Sources: Kuczynski, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

East African Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, June 1952.
Annual Report for 1947 on Kenya.

campaign of the First World War and it may be presumed that there were also indirect effects in the spread of disease and the withdrawal of men from the land; that this setback was overcome apparently within ten years reflects much credit on the medical and other services of Kenya at the time.

In more recent years, while hard times have occurred and food shortages given rise to periodic anxiety, it seems probable that major demographic catastrophes have been avoided. The official report on the food shortage of 1942, for instance, states that though a few deaths, mostly of elderly natives, could be attributed to the food shortage, 'the shortage did not amount to famine except in a few isolated areas'.⁽¹⁾

Thirdly, the trend of opinion, both official and unofficial, seems to confirm the same general impression. Kuczynski states that:

'in the first half of the 1920's the prevailing official opinion was that the population was stationary or even declining.'⁽²⁾

Dr. Norman Leys stated in 1924:

'The writer believes that there has been a steady and rapid fall in the African population of Kenya during the past twenty-five years, amounting altogether in that time to a third of the former number of inhabitants.'⁽³⁾

This view was shared by others, and it was interestingly typical of the time that the writer of a book on native custom entitled it 'Vanishing Tribes of Kenya'.⁽⁴⁾ In the mid-1920's however, a divergence of view was noticeable; some authorities continued to assume that there was a decline while others spoke cautiously of an increase. By 1930 it was generally accepted that an increase was taking place and,

'the opinion that the population of Kenya was increasing also received much local support at the hearings of the Land Commission.' (i.e. the Morris Carter Commission)⁽⁵⁾

A rate of increase of one and a half per cent annually was considered a reasonable inference. Subsequent official bodies put it even higher; the Development Committee in 1946 adopted the extreme figure of two and a half per cent. Both these conclusions were subsequently attacked by Kuczynski (see below); they are, however, interesting evidence of the prevailing opinion of the time.

1948 CENSUS

As has been noted, the 1948 census of East Africa afforded the first reliable figure for the population of Kenya, roughly 5½ millions. The number of the population, however, while still the most important, is by no means the only fact a modern census makes available, and studies of the age-structure, fertility, and infant and child mortality have thrown, and, as their publication proceeds, continue to throw, much light on the population problem.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGED⁽⁶⁾

				Under 1	Over 45
England and Wales (1951)	...	...	...	1.5	33.3
Japan (1945)	...	...	...	2.4	20.6
India (1931)...	...	...	...	3.1	13.7
Kenya (1948)	...	...	...	4.5	8.7

An age-distribution of this type indicates that, at any rate in the recent history of the population, it has been maintained by a relatively large number of births, whose number is speedily reduced by death; so that if the population is imagined as a pyramid with births as the foundation, the number in each generation dwindles rapidly and the shape of the pyramid is low and flat. By contrast, the age-pyramids of civilized countries are tall and beehive-shaped. The impression to be gained from these figures is of a population holding its own against heavy mortality only by the rapid production of babies; and it may be expected that both the birth-rate and the death-rate are high.

FERTILITY AND CHILD MORTALITY

Studies of fertility in Kenya on the basis of the 1948 sample census seem to have been less reliable than in Uganda and Tanganyika, and most unfortunately there is little reliable evidence leading to a *direct* estimate of the birth rate.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Kenya, *Food Shortage Commission of Enquiry Report, 1943.*

(2) Kuczynski, *Op cit.* p. 218.

(3) N. Leys, *Kenya*, London 1924, p. 282.

(4) G. St. J. Orde Browne, *Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, London, 1925.

(5) Kuczynski, *Op cit.* p. 221.

(6) Sources: Registrar-General, *U.K. One-per-cent sample census, 1951.*

United Nations, *Demographic Year Book for 1948*, p. 126.

East African, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, March 1952, p. viii.

(7) C. J. Martin, *Some Estimates of the General Age, Distribution, Fertility and Rate of Natural Increase of the African Population of British East Africa*, Population Studies, vii, 181-199.

One may confidently assume that if the proportion of infants in the total population really was as high as reported, 4.5 per cent or 45 per 1,000, then the birth rate must have been at least this figure. Clearly if for every 1,000 people there were 45 births a year, and if (per impossible) no babies died in their first year of life, then there would be 45 infants to every 1,000 total population. If infant mortality is allowed for, then the birth rate must have been even higher.

Much turns on the rate of infant mortality, and happily an estimate is available for Kenya; it is 184 per 1,000. This would point to a birth rate of between 49 and 50 per 1,000; giving 9 infant deaths a year per 1,000 population. A birth rate as high as this would be almost unprecedented and Martin, in the paper referred to, advances the opinion that:

'the information for Kenya was less accurate than that for the other two territories, and that the figure of 4½ per cent should possibly have been about 4 per cent.'

If so, the estimate of the birth rate would have to be reduced accordingly.

Unfortunately this brings us little nearer an estimate of the rate of increase, since the death rate remains quite unknown. It is clear that it must be high, however. As has been seen above, the infants' contribution alone to the general death rate amounts to 9 per 1,000. It seems probable, moreover, that infant mortality⁽¹⁾ or, to use Martin's term, infant wastage, is not the end of the story. While infections, in East Africa as elsewhere, attack the not-yet-immune baby, diseases of malnutrition might be expected not to take their toll till after weaning, i.e. until the second year of life and subsequently. Martin states that, in the three territories taken together:

'A study of women under the age of 30 years showed that a proportion of the deaths of their children took place after the weaning period.'

In these territories it would seem likely that the risk of death does not diminish as sharply as it does elsewhere once the first few days and months of an infant's life are passed; it may even rise again in the months after weaning, and remain fairly high well into childhood.

Martin continues:

'It can be estimated roughly that over two-fifths of all births in any period were lost by the time the children averaged 14 years. This is a high wastage rate and cannot be reconciled with low general mortality rates. While mortality rates cannot be calculated from the present information, should the results be accurate, as they appear to be, a low general death rate is impossible.'

POPULATION GROWTH

It may be of interest at this point to recall Kuczynski's views on the earlier estimates of the rate of increase of the native population of Kenya, in particular those adopted by the Carter Commission and the Development Committee. His most emphatic comment was on the assumption made by the latter body in 1946 that the rate of increase was 2½ per cent annually; he says that:

'Anyone familiar with vital statistics would, of course, have dissuaded the Committee from making such a fantastic assumption for the purpose of its development plan.'⁽²⁾

Of the evidence before the Carter Commission that the rate of increase might be around 1.5 per cent annually he comments:

'Let us assume that the birth-rate is enormous, let us assume that it is 50 per 1,000. If 500 per thousand of the newly born die before the age of 2, these deaths would constitute about 25 per 1,000 of the population; if the death rate of those over 2 is 20 per 1,000, their deaths would constitute about 19 per 1,000 of the population. We would thus obtain a death-rate of 44 per 1,000 and a natural increase of 0.6 per cent. If we raise the birth-rate to 60 per 1,000, the death rate would rise to about 49 per 1,000, and the natural increase to 1.1 per cent. It is obvious, therefore, that either the natural increase must have been smaller than 1.5 per cent, or mortality in the first two years of life lower than 500 per 1,000, or (which is quite unlikely) the death rate of those over two lower than 20 per 1,000.'

'The yearly natural increase in East Africa cannot possibly be anything like 1.5 per cent if mortality is as high as it is generally believed to be, even if fertility should be very high. It could, of course, be 1.5 per cent if mortality were favourable, particularly in early childhood, but there will be, I suppose a consensus of opinion that this possibility has to be ruled out . . . I am inclined to believe that there will be a small natural increase amounting to something like, say, 0.5 per cent yearly and that mortality was lower than is usually believed . . . In view of the fact that infant mortality has been greatly overestimated in some cases, I am inclined to think it has been overstated somewhat in other cases, and that as a whole it may not exceed 250 per 1,000 in the first year or 300 per 1,000 in the first two years. But I do not claim that all this is more than a reasoned guess.'⁽³⁾

As has been seen, Kuczynski's scepticism of the exaggeratedly high estimates of infant mortality was justified, and we now have as the result of the 1948 census the even more moderate estimate of 184 per 1,000.⁽⁴⁾ (Moderate, that is, in relation to the earlier guesses; it should at the same time be pointed out that this is one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world; it is five times as high as that in England and Wales).

It is now possible to re-cast and adapt Kuczynski's analysis in the light of the newly ascertained facts. If Martin's revised figure of 4 per cent for the proportion of infants be accepted, this would be consistent with a birth rate of 44 and an infant wastage rate of 184. For every

(1) Martin explains: 'While it is likely that the women were not sure of the actual age at which their children died, there seems to have been a certain consistency in their interpretation of infant wastage. It may not be exactly one year it may refer to the weaning period'—which might well, in most of East Africa, exceed a year.

(2) Kuczynski, *Op. cit.* p. 227.

(3) Kuczynski, *Op. cit.* pp. 123-4.

(4) Martin, *Some estimates of the General Age, Distribution, Fertility and Rate of Natural Increase of the African Population of British East Africa*, Population Studies, vii, 181-199.

thousand population, then, there would be 44 births a year. If deaths in childhood take two-fifths of all children born, there would be 18 child deaths a year (eight of them being infants). The children's contribution to the general death rate would be 18.

We can go no further with even relative confidence in the absence of mortality data. If, however, on the basis of experience in other undeveloped countries we make a guess of 20 for the adult mortality rate,⁽¹⁾ then since adults make up 52 per cent of the population of Kenya, their contribution to the general death rate would be 10, and we should have a death rate of 28 and a rate of increase of 16 per 1,000, or 1·6 per cent. The hypothetical nature of this calculation must be emphasized, however. If the birth rate should be as high as 50, the rate of increase might approach 2 per cent. On the other hand, the indications are that 20 per 1,000 may be an under-estimate of adult mortality. If the birth rate is 44 and adult mortality were, say, 25 per 1,000 the natural increase would be 13½ per 1,000, 1·35 per cent. Perhaps all one can say with confidence is that the rate of increase lies between 1 and 2 per cent.

There are, as might be expected, differences between different areas in Kenya. Martin states that the infant wastage rate in Central Province is 130; at the other extreme, it is 228 in Nyanza Province. There thus seems good reason to confirm Sir Philip Mitchell's statement that the annual increase 'may amount to 2 per cent in the most favourable areas'.⁽²⁾ Whether the rate in the Colony as a whole is so high is more doubtful.

High as this is, it is a somewhat smaller rate than is sometimes suggested; and indeed it does seem likely that a tendency exists to exaggerate the increase. It is however, a quite high enough rate to give rise to pressing social and economic problems. The population of the world as a whole is thought to be increasing currently at about 1 per cent per annum, and this fact is causing acute concern among bodies such as the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. It will be recalled, too, that in Britain the population grew seven-fold between 1750 and 1950, besides in addition providing a huge stream of emigrants to North America and the Dominions, with a rate of increase which seldom much exceeded 1 per cent, and attained 1½ per cent only for a short period between 1815 and 1825.

UGANDA

EARLY ESTIMATES

As in Kenya, the early history of population estimates is one of conflicting guesses, but by the first decade of the century official opinion was that it was at least 3½ to 4 million, if not more. The first count, in 1911, carried out by the *saza* chiefs, gave the unexpectedly low figure of 2·84 millions. The official estimates show a continuous increase from this date.

TABLE 4
ESTIMATES OF THE NATIVE POPULATION OF UGANDA ⁽³⁾

Date	Source	Estimated Population Millions
1902	Official estimate on transfer of provinces to Kenya ...	3·50
1905	Statistical Abstract for the British Empire: revised estimate	4·00
1911	Count	2·84
1921	Count	3·06
1931*	Count	3·54
1939	Official estimate	3·77
1947	Last estimate by old methods	3·99
1948	Census... ..	4·92

* Rudolph Province (Northern Turkana) with a population variously estimated at 150,000 and 25,000 was transferred to Kenya in 1926.

It seems probable that the 1911 count was rather badly in error; it was the first time that the chiefs had done work of the kind. In 1921 and 1931 they would be more used to the requirements of a census and their number would include a higher proportion of educated men. Kuczynski thought that 'either the 1921 returns were far too low, or the 1931 returns far too high',⁽⁴⁾ but this seems somewhat to overstate the case. Both may have been underestimates; that of 1931 was possibly nearer the true figure than that of 1921; and both were probably less in error than the corresponding counts in Kenya and Tanganyika.

(1) Mortality among adults (15 and over) in Egypt in 1945 was 19·6 per 1,000 adults; adult deaths contributed 11·9 to a general death rate of 27·7.

In Mexico in 1940, adult mortality at 15·1 per 1,000 adults contributed 10·4 to a general death rate of 23·3.

The indications from general age structure and infant wastages are that mortality in East Africa exceeds that in both these countries.

(2) Sir Philip Mitchell, despatch No. 193 of 16th November 1951, on *Land and Population in East Africa*, H.M.S.O. Colonial No. 290, paragraph 6.

(3) Sources: Kuczynski, *Op. cit.* pp. 238-9.

East African, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, June 1952.

(4) Kuczynski, *Op. cit.* p. 240.

As has been noted above, the official estimates in inter-censal years were made by adding to the census figure the number of registered births and subtracting that of registered deaths since the census. Although registration was organized comparatively early—in Buganda as early as 1904—there can be little doubt it was nowhere very complete. The usual impression has been that birth registration was more complete than that of deaths; there is, however, some reason to doubt whether this was really so. Although the notification of deaths may well have been incomplete, it may be doubted whether a Uganda Chief, at any rate in the lower ranks of the hierarchy, could remain unaware of a death in his area; funerals are noisy, large, and public affairs. Births, on the other hand, often take place with little fuss, and it is quite conceivable they might sometimes be missed; while traditional reticences equally strong exist to inhibit their notification. A former Gombolola chief has told the writer that, of the two, he would place far more reliable reliance on his death-register.⁽¹⁾

If births were less completely registered than deaths, the effect in Uganda would be to understate the rate of natural increase; at any rate in Buganda, and those areas with a similar system of local government. These considerations may explain why the 1947 estimate for the population of Uganda was nearly as badly wrong as that of the other territories, despite the impression that more reliance can be placed on the counts of 1921 and 1931 in Uganda than on the corresponding estimates elsewhere.

If the 1911 count was as badly wrong as the evidence suggests, the population in early years of the century must have been well over three million; it may have been nearly as great as the four million guessed in 1905. In this case, a sequence of events not unlike that in Kenya suggests itself—a decline to somewhere between 1920 and 1930, with a subsequent recovery.

Other evidence points to the same conclusion. The closing years of the nineteenth century were marked in Uganda by internal warfare and disorder on a large scale. The early years of British administration, which brought internal peace, seem to have been accompanied by epidemic diseases even more severe in Uganda than in Kenya. A great outbreak of sleeping sickness between 1900 and 1905 claimed, according to Sir Hesketh Bell, 200,000 victims, and compelled the Administration to order the evacuation of the Lake coast and islands. This was followed by plague, which was brought under control only in recent years. Smallpox seems to have been persistently prevalent; the influenza epidemic of 1918–19 also took a toll; and venereal diseases have become general since the first Arab contacts of the 19th century, and are thought to be still spreading.

While famines may have been less intense in Uganda, the most populous areas of which are a zone of more equable rainfall than Kenya, it seems improbable that any appreciable population increase can have taken place between 1900 and 1920 or 1925. Kuczynski points out that the registration figures,

' showed an excess of deaths over births in Buganda for every year from 1912 to 1923 and for 1930 and 1942; in Busoga for 1919, 1921, 1936, 1937, 1942, 1943, and 1944; in Buuyoro for 1913, 1914, and every year from 1916 to 1934; in Ankole for 1919 and 1942; in Toro only for 1919. In the whole of these Five administrative units there was in the decade 1912–21 an excess of [registered] deaths over births amounting to 2,020.'⁽²⁾

Sir Albert Cook wrote in 1918 of ' the forces making for depopulation ' ,

' It is even doubtful whether the dreadful ravages of the slave trade in Central African countries like Uganda have accomplished more destruction than the epidemics of recent years. Since 1900, sleeping sickness, plague, cerebro-spinal fever, dysentery, smallpox, and recently influenza, have added their quota of destruction to the loss of life caused by the war.'⁽³⁾

Though it is difficult to assess when the turning-point was passed, it seems to have been somewhere between 1920 and 1930. Kuczynski states that:

' in 1922–44 there was an excess of [registered] births over deaths aggregating 198,121 and averaging 8,614 per year, in the [administrative areas previously considered]; a rather small natural increase considering that the population of these units, according to the 1931 census, numbered 1,838,428.'⁽⁴⁾

Two factors of importance are peculiar to Uganda; the apparently low fertility of the Baganda and Basoga, and influx into Uganda of Banyaruanda, Barundi and other tribes.

The causes of the low fertility of the Baganda and Basoga are not known, and are being currently investigated. Immigration into Buganda is not only of Banyaruanda and Barundi from the Belgian Trust Territory, but also significantly an internal migration from outlying areas of the Uganda Protectorate. Since it has been made the subject of a major study by the East African Institute of Social Research, nothing need be said of it here. It should however be remembered that immigration, besides increasing a population directly, will tend to raise its rate of *natural* increase, since immigrants tend to be men and women of the most favourable ages for parenthood. It is predominantly young men who migrate, followed by young women. (The effect of immigration on the age-structure of the receiving country, and hence its birth-rate, was dramatically shown, for instance, in the American Colonies in the eighteenth century. It is estimated that in 1800 the United States had a birth-rate of 55 per 1,000; it dropped steadily in

(1) I am indebted to members of the East African Institute of Social Research for this information.

(2) Kuczynski, *Op. cit.* p. 320.

(3) Sir Albert Cook, *Uganda Memories*, pp. 325–6.

(4) Kuczynski, *Op. cit.* p. 320.

the early nineteenth century, however, before the general fall in birth-rates in civilized countries in more recent times.⁽¹⁾ It appears accordingly that the two factors, of infertility among the Baganda and Basoga and immigration, are likely to affect population growth in opposite directions.

The 1948 Census. As in Kenya, fuller information is obtainable as the result of studies of the 1948 census material.

The Age-Structure. While this is marked by a high proportion of children and a low proportion of old people, the distribution in Uganda is less extreme than that in Kenya.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGED⁽²⁾

				Under 1	Over 45
England and Wales (1951)	...	...	...	1.5	33.3
Japan (1945)	...	...	...	2.4	20.6
India (1931)...	...	...	...	3.1	13.7
Uganda (1948)	...	...	...	2.8	11.6

The same general inference is justified, that this is a population hard pressed by poverty and disease to maintain its numbers. The smaller proportion of children presumably reflects the lower fertility of important parts of Uganda; though it may also reflect an under-enumeration of infants. Martin states:

'It is possible that the estimate of infants . . . was inaccurate, being too low, and that an estimated figure of 3.5 per cent would be more accurate.'⁽³⁾

The slightly higher proportion of old people might be attributed to mortality conditions rather less severe in Uganda than in Kenya; against this, however, must be set evidence that child mortality at least is even heavier, which, though not conclusively, points to conditions equally unfavourable to survival at all ages. An alternative explanation would be that depopulation in the early years of the century was less severe; the present old people might, on this hypothesis, be the survivors of a generation less heavily reduced by famine and disease.

FERTILITY AND CHILD MORTALITY

According to Martin's paper, it would seem that two possible estimates may be made of the birth rate in the Protectorate as a whole. One is based on the fertility figures, which permit an estimate of the number of births annually; the other on the number of infants recorded in the 1948 census, with allowance for infant wastage. The divergence is considerable. Martin's estimate by the first method is 42; by the second method the result would appear to be 30. The second figure seems obviously too low, and Martin adopts the first as a tentative estimate.

The infant wastage rate (which, as has been seen, is roughly though not exactly equivalent to an infant mortality rate) is estimated at 200; and there is evidence pointing to the conclusion that nearly half of all children die before reaching the age of 15.⁽⁴⁾

The Protectorate figures, however, conceal a more than usually wide divergency between the tribes and provinces, as the following table shows:

TABLE 6
FERTILITY AND CHILD MORTALITY IN UGANDA⁽⁵⁾

Area	Birth Rate	Infant Wastage	All Child deaths Mothers aged 43-47	Recorded Rate of increase per 1,000 from registration data
Kingdom of Buganda	30	182	360	8
Eastern Province ...	48	—	—	8
Western Province ...	45	207	470	20
Northern Province ...	—	—	—	20
Protectorate ...	42	200	466	13

Rates of increase as calculated directly from registration data are included in the above table; it will, however, be remembered from the foregoing discussion that little reliance is to be placed on them.

(1) A. M. Carr-Saunders, *Op. cit.* pp. 66-7.

(2) Sources: *East African, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin*, March 1952.
United Nations, *Demographic year book, 1948*.
Registrar-General, U.K. *One-per-cent sample census, 1951*.

(3) Martin, *Ibid.*

(4) Martin, *Ibid.*, Table 9.

(5) Source: Martin, *Ibid.*

POPULATION GROWTH

If, in the Protectorate as a whole, the birth rate is over 40 and half the children die before the age of 13, the children's contribution to the general death rate cannot be less than 20.

In the absence of information about adult mortality we are unable to draw any firm conclusions about the rate of population growth. Observing, however, that compared with Kenya the birth rate seems to be definitely lower while at any rate child mortality is at least equally high, it seems probable that the rate of population growth is slower in Uganda.

The adult population of Uganda comprises 59 per cent of the total population. Estimating a possible increase rate as before, if adult mortality should be 20 per 1,000 of the adult population, then adult deaths would contribute 12 to the general death rate, which would total 32. The birth rate being 42, rate of natural increase would be 10 per 1,000 or 1 per cent. It must be emphasized that these figures are no more than reasoned guesses; they serve only to indicate the possible order of magnitude of the natural increase.

In Uganda more than elsewhere, moreover, local differences should be borne in mind. In particular it is not impossible that the vigorous tribes of the Northern Province, with their rich protein diets, may be increasing at least as rapidly as the inhabitants of any area in Kenya. The Baganda, Basoga, and the agricultural classes in the Kingdoms of Western Province live mainly on bananas and root crops, and suffer accordingly, from all the manifestations of protein deficiency. In Northern Province, however, the mainly pastoral tribes like the Karamojong live largely on blood and milk, while the semi-agricultural Acholi, Teso and Lango take rich vegetable protein sources such as millet and cow-peas in addition to meat and milk. Differences in physique and athletic prowess are most noticeable; it seems not impossible that both mortality and fertility may be similarly affected.

TANGANYIKA

EARLY ESTIMATES

Owing, no doubt, to the general difficulties of administration in Tanganyika—the vast distances, the scattered population and its educational backwardness, and the poor communications—the early estimates seem, by comparison with the 1948 census to have been even more in error than those of Uganda and Kenya.

TABLE 7(1)

Date	Source	Estimated Population Millions
1913	Last German Estimate	4.15
1921	First British count	4.11
1925	Enumeration	4.32
1928	' Census ' by native administration	4.74
1931	Count	5.02
1947	Last estimate by old methods	5.84
1948	Census	7.41

Mr. and Mrs. Culwick wrote in 1938:

' Only those who actually took part, as did one of the writers, in an attempt some years ago to record statistics in the orthodox manner in a semi-nomadic cattle tribe can realise quite how farcical were the returns sent in. Figures were demanded and figures had to be produced. That is all one can say for them . . . The last [Census, 1931] with all its shortcomings, was probably the least inaccurate that has yet been taken, but that is not saying much, and as one of the writers was responsible for it [i.e. in the Ulunga District] we are in a position to state with authority that the figures cannot be relied upon.'⁽²⁾

There seems to be even less reason to doubt in the case of Tanganyika than in the other territories that between 1900 and 1925 the population declined, or at best remained stationary. In addition to the plagues and famines which occurred elsewhere, the Maji-Maji rebellion of 1905 and the subsequent disorganization must have had an adverse effect; and the country was, as the others were not, the scene of warlike operations during the First World War. Mr. and Mrs. Culwick found that the net reproduction rate of those women who at the time of their study had passed child-bearing age had been only 0.73, and they found other evidence of a decline in population in the district where they carried out their intensive study.

⁽¹⁾ German maps show a far greater number of villages than now exist, and thus provide a piece of corroborative evidence for the view that the population has actually declined . . . Summing up, the only conclusions to be drawn from this discussion of the balance of births and deaths are (1) that the true trend of population in the district has been downwards instead of upwards as was commonly thought from the bare census figures, (2) that the present younger generation of mothers has made a slightly more promising beginning.'

(1) Sources: Kuczynski, *Op cit.* pp. 327, 343.

East African, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, June 1952.

(2) Culwick, A. T. and Culwick, G. M. *Study of Population in Ulunga, Tanganyika Territory*. Sociological Review, XXX, 365-379, XXXI 25-43.

In claiming that their investigation is of more than purely local interest, they add:

'The Ulunga Valley is one of the most fertile parts of East Africa. Nevertheless it appears that for many years the net reproduction rate has been a long way below unity, and we may well wonder whether in less-favoured districts the position is not as bad or even worse. True, a large part of the area in question suffered severely from the effects of the Maji-Maji rebellion, but it was not alone in this, for the rising involved to a greater or less degree most of the South-Eastern Tanganyika, and on reading the German literature one realises how much worse its consequences were in the drier areas than in the fertile Ulunga Valley. In any case, the doubts and queries raised by this investigation extend to districts outside as well as inside the Maji-Maji area, for we cannot assume that the appalling insufficiency of the net reproduction rate in Ulunga (we must remember that the true rate is lower than 0.73) is attributable wholly to the effects of the rebellion.'⁽¹⁾

It should be remembered that the Culwick's estimate of the net reproduction rate referred essentially to past rather than present conditions at the time of their survey. It amounts to saying that in the mid-1930's, every 100 women past child-bearing had on the average in their lifetime replaced themselves by 73 women, allowing for the deaths of their daughters. Any inferences from this figure to the rate of increase of the population would accordingly relate roughly to the period 1905-1935. This would not be incompatible with a decline of population extending well into the 1920's, followed by a more recent tendency to increase which had not yet caught up the former decline; a suggestion which is further confirmed by their own statements that the younger women were rather more fertile.

Kuczynski thinks a turning point may have been reached in the early 1930's and sums up the probable trends as follows:

'The Germans themselves, as late as 1913, were doubtful whether, even in years of peace, the population was increasing. It was certainly not greater in 1920 than in 1913, and for some time thereafter there was fear of a population decline . . . In 1921-5 the people were still suffering from the consequences of the war . . . Moreover . . . all official documents of the period expressed the opinion that the population was stagnant . . . Between 1925 and 1931 the situation was more favourable. Economic conditions and medical care for the natives improved considerably. The impression that the population was increasing in this period was therefore probably correct. . . . The whole increase in 1921-31 did not exceed, say, 8 per cent and was probably smaller.'

Between 1931 and 1944 he thinks this increase was slowed:

'Economic conditions on the whole were less favourable than in 1925-31, medical care has been restricted considerably during the crisis, and famines or at least serious food shortages were frequent.'

It remains to add that migration of Africans appears to take place both into and out of Tanganyika, and it is not certain which way the balance lies. The effect on the trend of population is not known, therefore; on the population as a whole the effect is presumably not large, though internal redistribution may be significant.

THE 1948 CENSUS

The characteristics of the Tanganyika population, as more fully revealed by Martin's studies of the 1948 census and sample census data, appear to be intermediate between those of Uganda and Kenya.

THE AGE-STRUCTURE

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGED:⁽²⁾

	Under 1	Over 45
England and Wales (1951)	1.5	33.3
Japan (1945)	2.4	20.6
India (1931)	3.1	13.7
Tanganyika (1948)	3.6	10.0

The same conclusion is valid as for the other territories; here is a population hard put to it to maintain its numbers in the face of heavy mortality, and doing so only by the production of large numbers of children.

FERTILITY AND CHILD MORTALITY

Somewhat surprisingly, of the three territories it was Tanganyika's returns in the 1948 sample census which enabled the most consistent and reliable estimates of birth rate and infant and child mortality to be made.⁽³⁾ A birth rate for the whole territory of 44 per 1,000 population is estimated. Infant wastage is put at 172 per 1,000 live births, while the indications are that of every 1,000 children born nearly 400 die before the age of 15.

Differences between provinces appear less marked than in Uganda: Lake Province shows a slightly higher infant and child wastage rate than the territorial average.

The indications are, therefore, that child deaths contribute about 17 to the general death rate per 1,000 total population. Once more, in the absence of any evidence about adult mortality, there is no firm basis on which to estimate a general death rate and hence a rate of natural increase.

(1) Culwick. *Ibid.*

(2) Sources: Registrar-General, U.K. *One per cent sample census, 1951.*
East African, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, June 1952.
United Nations, *Demographic Year Book, 1948.*

(3) Martin, *Ibid.*

POPULATION GROWTH

As in the other territories, then, estimates of population growth involve an element of guesswork. If we make the same guess as before for adult mortality, 20 per 1,000, then since adults make up 58 per cent of the population, their deaths would contribute 12 per 1,000 to the general death rate. This would give a total death rate of 29 and a natural increase of 15 per 1,000 or 1.5 per cent. Once more the hypothetical nature of this calculation needs to be stressed.

POSSIBLE FUTURE TRENDS IN EAST AFRICA

The evidence summarized in the foregoing sections points to the conclusion that, though there are variations, the pattern of demographic events in all three territories has been somewhat the same. Whatever may have been the situation in the remoter past, from the first years of contact with the outer world there was a decline in the African populations of these territories. This depopulation may have been due to famines, plagues, the introduction of new diseases and the more rapid spread of old ones, and the general disturbances of culture contact. The decline in numbers was arrested shortly after the First World War; there has been a recovery since some time in the 1920's; and in recent years the population has begun to increase at least as rapidly as that of the world as a whole—say 1 per cent annually—if not at a somewhat faster rate. Whether the population has yet attained, or exceeded, its former numbers is almost impossible to say.

The populations of East Africa are characterized by extreme poverty and susceptibility to disease, leading to heavy mortality, and in Kenya at least an age-structure unparalleled anywhere in the world in its large proportion of children and small proportion of old people. Heavy mortality is compensated for by quite high, though not inordinately high, fertility; there is a very high birth rate, but that is partly because, due to heavy mortality, younger and more fertile women make up a larger proportion of the population than would be the case if more survived into old age.

These considerations pose an obvious question. If the population is increasing already, despite heavy mortality, may not an excessively rapid increase be foreseen when, as presumably will happen, a general raising of economic and sanitary standards results in a substantial lowering of the death-rate? If the increase is tolerably rapid today, may it not be calamitously rapid tomorrow?

It is notoriously hazardous to engage in prediction, and the writer can do no more than point to certain obvious considerations.

Experience elsewhere shows that in circumstances not unlike those which may be foreseen for East Africa very rapid rates of increase can prevail. In Puerto Rico, for instance, the staggeringly high rate of increase of 2.8 per cent has been reached, after 50 years of American rule in which the death rate has been reduced from nearly 30 per 1,000 to 12, while the birth rate has remained fairly steady at 40.⁽¹⁾

A general theoretical enquiry has been carried out by Professor Lorimer⁽²⁾ into the consequences of a falling death-rate in populations initially both fertile and liable to heavy mortality. He took, for instance, a population whose characteristics resembled those of India in 1931, and assumed that, while fertility remained very high, mortality conditions improved to resemble those of Japan in the 1930's. He showed that the result would be a birth rate of 44 per 1,000 and a death rate of 18 per 1,000, giving a natural increase of 26 per 1,000 or 2.6 per cent annually. This was only possible, however, with infant mortality rates of between 100 and 150 per 1,000. Applying methods analogous to Kuczynski to these data we should then have a rough calculation as follows: a population of 1,000 people would have 44 births a year; of these babies, 1 or 1½ per cent—say five or six—would die in their first year of life. The infant's contribution to the general death rate would accordingly be 5 or 6 per 1,000 population. With a death rate for the rest of the population which, again and by peasant standards, is distinctly low, a total death rate of 20 is accordingly possible. A birth rate of 44 per 1,000 is high, but not impossibly high; rates of increase of this order are accordingly not impossible on general grounds.

Clearly, however, East Africa has a long way to go before its mortality conditions resemble those of Japan, still less Puerto Rico. It will not be a short or easy task to improve the standard of life in the territories from a state in which something like 20 deaths of *children alone* occur among every thousand people every year, to one in which the *general* death rate falls below 20.

Moreover, it has been seen that in East Africa the infant mortality rate, heavy and important though it is, is not the end of the story. Nutritional deficiencies take their heaviest toll in the second year of life, after weaning, and may continue throughout life to weaken the constitution and increase the liability to death from infections. It may be too, that another peak in the

(1) See Caribbean Economic Review, May 1950, pp. 99-130.

(2) F. Lorimer. U.N. Population Bulletin, December 1951, pp. 31-41.

mortality curve occurs in early adulthood, perhaps as a result of tuberculosis. A threefold revolution needs to be achieved—in child care, in hygiene, and in nutrition—before the death rate can be brought down to a level approaching that of an advanced community, and it is hard to imagine such an amelioration taking place in a short period of years.

Nevertheless, apart from the possibility that a major war might so disrupt the economy and the medical and other public services of East Africa that conditions might revert to those of the nineteenth century, all the indications are that sanitary and economic improvements will continue; and it is well to be prepared for an acceleration of the rate of increase in the next twenty or thirty years. It is probable that child deaths at present outnumber adult deaths in these territories. All child deaths are, however, preventable deaths; the fact that they happen on such an appalling scale constitutes the greatest challenge to the medical and other services; and there is every indication that the challenge is being energetically taken up.

When substantial inroads are made on child mortality, the first effect will be that generations which previously would have been greatly thinned by death will instead survive more numerous into early adulthood. In these fertile years they will, if fertility remains constant, produce yet bigger generations of children. At first, the further swelling of the ranks of young parents may even enhance the already high birth rate. Later, however, better survival into old age may redress the balance of the age-structure, and a fall in the birth rate may possibly be expected for this reason alone; but the actual number of children born yearly need not be expected to diminish, unless another factor intervenes—the adoption of a small family system.

In this connection, the possible social effects of urban growth and the spread of the money economy must be reckoned with. Unless East Africa develops along lines quite different from those of the rest of the world, pressure on house room and money incomes alike will provide, at any rate for town dwellers, an inducement to limiting the size of the family. At present, only an insignificant proportion of the African population live in conditions in which their own welfare and standard of life are lowered, rather than raised, by having many children, while large families are still desired for the sake of social security in old age. It is a fair guess that nearly all Africans at present want as many children as possible; how far this premium on fecundity will resist social and economic changes remains to be seen. At present, since the desire to limit family size seems to be absent, there would be little point in either encouraging or restricting the spread of knowledge about methods of conception control; in the future, however, if the desire for small families should develop, it might be frustrated by any deliberate restrictions, such as are not unknown elsewhere in the world, on the spread of relevant knowledge.

May, 1953.

APPENDIX VIII

African Population Densities by Territory, Province and District

(a) KENYA

Province and District	Area* in sq. miles	African Population	Density per sq. mile
CENTRAL			
Nairobi	431	109,428	254
Thika	894	66,475	74
Kiambu	615	258,085	420
Fort Hall	739	303,646	411
Nyeri	673	183,057	272
Embu	1,657	202,125	122
Meru	3,740	312,917	84
Machakos	5,614	356,545	64
Kitui	13,207	210,788	16
Nanyuki	2,432	32,784	13
<i>Total</i>	30,002	2,035,850	68
NYANZA			
North Nyanza	2,684	633,568	236
Central Nyanza	2,507	462,772	185
South Nyanza	3,753	545,284	145
Kericho	2,157	212,608	99
<i>Total</i>	11,101	1,854,232	167
RIFT VALLEY			
Trans Nzoia	1,155	61,424	53
Uasin Gishu	1,676	79,492	47
Nakuru	4,468	199,179	45
Nandi	630	80,562	128
Elgeyo Marakwet	1,144	64,455	56
Baringo	3,511	72,034	21
Laikipia	2,994	33,926	11
West Suk	1,821	42,777	23
Samburu	8,223	26,000	3
<i>Total</i>	25,622	659,849	26
COAST			
Mombasa	106	55,438	523
Kwale	3,052	115,136	38
Kilifi (including Malindi)	4,957	181,425	37
Lamu—Tana River	10,605	34,796	3
Teita	6,019	61,463	10
<i>Total</i>	24,739	448,258	18
NORTHERN FRONTIER			
<i>Total</i>	116,782	186,500	2
MASAI			
Kajiado	7,902	28,987	4
Narok	7,330	37,444	5
<i>Total</i>	15,232	66,431	4
GRAND TOTAL	223,478	5,251,120	24

* Large water areas excluded.

(b) TANGANYIKA

<i>Province and District</i>	<i>*Area in sq. miles</i>	<i>African population</i>	<i>Density per sq. mile</i>
CENTRAL			
Dodoma	17,250	268,849	16
Kondoa	5,951	145,366	24
Mpwapwa	5,000	100,673	20
Singida	8,209	301,053	37
<i>Total</i>	36,410	815,941	22
EASTERN			
Bagamoyo	3,722	78,979	21
Uzaramo	4,037	238,692	59
Kilosa	5,243	123,076	23
Mahenge	16,094	121,328	8
Morogoro	7,710	230,291	30
Utete	5,288	116,296	22
<i>Total</i>	42,094	908,662	22
LAKE			
Biharamulo	4,084	49,849	12
Bukoba	5,906	299,860	51
Kwimba	1,861	237,962	128
Mwanza	5,558	438,003	79
Maswa	8,794	244,968	28
Musoma	6,673	141,527	21
Ngara	1,045	104,706	100
North Mara	1,507	115,037	76
Shinyanga	3,706	212,503	57
<i>Total</i>	39,134	1,844,415	47
NORTHERN			
Arusha	990	107,904	109
Masai... ..	22,974	57,263	2
Mbulu	6,258	155,546	25
Moshi	1,943	264,280	136
<i>Total</i>	32,165	584,993	18
SOUTHERN			
Kilwa... ..	19,313	113,408	6
Lindi	4,744	197,761	42
Masasi	4,397	123,947	28
Mikindani	1,505	88,139	59
Newala	1,763	154,012	87
Songea	16,049	171,031	11
Tunduru	7,452	65,751	9
<i>Total</i>	55,223	914,049	17
SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS			
Chunya	10,622	37,649	4
Iringa... ..	14,057	180,906	13
Mbeya	10,912	184,046	17
Njombe	7,996	206,732	26
Tukuyu	1,885	236,678	126
<i>Total</i>	45,472	846,011	19

* Large water areas excluded.

<i>Province and District</i>	<i>* Area in sq. miles</i>	<i>African population</i>	<i>Density per sq. mile</i>
TANGA			
Handeni	4,906	75,478	15
Lushoto	3,540	219,152	62
Pangani	789	25,377	32
Same	3,051	85,599	28
Tanga... ..	1,517	141,606	93
<i>Total</i>	13,803	547,212	40
WESTERN			
Buha	9,880	298,803	30
Kahama	7,230	94,583	13
Kigoma	6,940	59,538	9
Mpanda	15,890	40,390	3
Nzega... ..	5,060	186,595	37
Sumbawanga	8,985	107,991	12
Tabora	24,420	158,334	6
<i>Total</i>	78,405	946,234	12
GRAND TOTAL	342,706	7,407,517	22

* Large water areas excluded.

(c) UGANDA

<i>Province and District</i>	<i>* Area in sq. miles</i>	<i>African population</i>	<i>Density per sq. mile</i>
BUGANDA			
Mengo	10,515	899,596	86
Masaka	4,101	317,688	77
Mubende	2,679	84,878	32
<i>Total</i>	17,295	1,302,162	75
EASTERN			
Busoga	3,709	505,998	136
Mbale	3,340	599,950	180
Teso	4,649	402,564	87
<i>Total</i>	11,698	1,508,512	129
WESTERN			
Bunyoro	4,847	108,380	22
Toro	5,143	258,873	50
Ankole	6,172	400,924	65
Kigezi	1,969	395,529	201
<i>Total</i>	18,131	1,163,706	64
NORTHERN			
Acholi	11,139	215,655	19
Lango	4,650	265,890	57
Karamoja	11,472	125,567	11
West Nile and Madi	5,907	336,063	57
<i>Total</i>	33,168	943,175	28
GRAND TOTAL	80,292	4,917,555	61

* Large water areas excluded.

Source :

East African Statistical Department, *Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin*.



APPENDIX

NET GEOGRAPHICAL PRODUCT OF

	(1) <i>Northern Rhodesia, 1952</i>	(2) <i>Southern Rhodesia, 1951</i>	(3) <i>Kenya, 1951</i>
1. Total Net Geographical (Money) Product (excluding Subsistence Activities)	£89,600,000	£100,100,000(d)	£80,800,000
2. Net (Money) Product of ' Commercial, Agricultural, Trading and Other Enterprises ' of Indigenous Economies ...	£600,000	£2,300,000	£4,700,000
3. Wages Earned Outside Indigenous Economies(a)	£13,200,000(b)	£21,700,000(e)	£13,200,000(f)
4. Total Money Product of Commercialized Activities of Indigenous Economies plus Outside Wages (2 plus 3) ...	£13,800,000	£24,000,000	£17,900,000
	1951	1951	1951
5. Total Population of which:			
(i) All Races	1,920,000	2,146,000	5,669,000
(ii) African	1,880,000	2,000,000	5,479,000
(iii) European	38,000	136,000	39,000
(iv) Others	3,700	10,000	151,000
6. Total Net Money Product per Head (1 ÷ 5 (i))	£47·1	£47·6	£14·1
7. Total Net Money Product per Head of Total African Population from Commercialized Activities in Indigenous Economies and from Wages Earned Outside them (4 ÷ 5 (ii))	£7·3	£12·0	£3·2
8. Wages of Africans from Employment Outside Indigenous Economies, per Head of Total African <i>de facto</i> Population (3 ÷ 5 (ii))	£7·0	£10·8	£2·2
9. Imputed Money Value of Subsistence Activities	£5,000,000(c)	£3,600,000	£23,837,000(g)
10. Imputed Money Value per Head of Subsistence Activities	£2·6	£1·8	£4·3

For notes on the

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(b) KENYA

- Abdulla Bin Ali, Chief, Kwale
 Abdulla Mohamed, Shariff, Lamu
 Abdullah Salim, The Hon. Sheriff
 Abrams, Mr. P. D., District Officer, Ravine
 Achila, Councillor W., Central Nyanza
 Adams, Mr. H. L., Secretary for Commerce and Industry
 African Lands Development Board, Delegation
 African Social Services Sub-Committee, Nairobi, Delegation
 African Unofficial Members' Organization, Delegation
 Ali Mbembe, Councillor, Kwale
 Anderson, Dr. T. F., O.B.E., Director of Medical Services
 Asian Unofficial Members' Organization, Delegation
 Askwith, Mr. T. G., Commissioner for Community Development
 Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa, Delegation
 Association of County and District Councils of Kenya, Delegation
 Astley, Mr. B. A., Chief Inspector of Schools
 Awori, The Hon. Rev. Canon J., North Nyanza
 Baraza, Chief J., North Nyanza
 Baring, His Excellency, The Hon. Sir Evelyn, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Governor and Commander-in-Chief
 Barnes, Mr. R. O., Senior Soil Conservation Engineer, Agricultural Department
 Bartilol arap Rotich, Mr. Elgeyo/Marakwet
 Baumann, Mr. E.
 Bax, Mr. S. Napier
 Bebb, Mr. G. M., South Nyanza
 Belyon, Mr. George arap, Kericho
 Binns, Dr. H. R., O.B.E., Director, East African Veterinary Research Laboratory, Kabete
 Bistee Bisbas, Mr., Turkana and Northern Frontier District
 Board of Agriculture, Delegation
 Boit, Councillor Paulo arap, Nandi
 Bonyo, Councillor Chief Elijah, Central Nyanza
 Bouwer, Mr. W. A. C.
 Brayne-Nicholls, Mr. R. G., District Commissioner, Isiolo
 British Medical Association, Kenya Branch, Delegation
 Brown, Mr. G. H. H., District Commissioner, Kipini
 Brown, Mr. P. H., District Commissioner, Kilifi
 Carpenter, Mr. F. W., Labour Commissioner
 Carson, Mr. J. B., District Commissioner, Kwale
 Cavendish-Bentinck, Major The Hon. F. W., C.M.G., M.C., Minister for Agriculture
 Animal Husbandry and Water Resources
 Central Arab Association of Kenya, Delegation
 Chandler, Mr. S. J., Works Supervisor, Shimba Hills Settlement, African Lands Development Board
- Cheborge arap Tengecha, Chief, Kericho
 Chelagat, Mr. Edward, Elgeyo/Marakwet
 Chelelgo Councillor Chief Joseph, North Baringo
 Chelmino arap Maini, Mr., Eldoret
 Chemosit arap Chuma, Mr., Eldoret
 Chepkutuny arap Kipkules, Councillor, South Baringo
 Chepkwony, Chief Elijah arap, Nandi
 Cheptiony arap Lelmen, Councillor, South Baringo
 Cheptiony, Councillor Chief, North Baringo
 Chindoro, Chief, Kwale
 Chomangei arap Misoi, Mr., Eldoret
 Christian Council of Kenya Delegation
 Chuma arap Kirui, Chief, Kericho
 Classen, Mr. G. A., Engineer Geologist, African Land Development Board
 Coast African Association Delegation
 Coast Development Committee Delegation
 Cochrane, Dr. G. C., Provincial Medical Officer, Mombasa
 Colchester, The Hon. T. C., Secretary for Health, Lands and Local Government
 Cooke, The Hon. S. V.
 Copley, Mr. H., O.B.E., Fish Warden
 Culwick, Mr. A. T., M.B.E.
 Daudi, Councillor Chief, North Baringo
 Davies, Mr. D. A., Director, East African Meteorological Department
 Delmege, Mr. J. J. de G., District Commissioner, Nandi
 Dorobo Tindoret Delegation
 East Africa Women's League, Delegation
 Eggins, Mr. E. C., African Affairs Officer, Mombasa
 European Agricultural Settlement Board, Delegation
 European Elected Members' Organization, Delegation
 Evans, Mr. M. N., African Courts Officer
 Everett, Mr. S., Maize and Produce Control
 Fazan, Mr. S. H., C.M.G., C.B.E.
 Ford, Mr. J., East African Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Research and Reclamation Organisation
 Gachuki, Mr. S. J., Nairobi
 Gamble, Mr. G., Senior Agricultural Officer, Kakamega
 Gardner, Mr. J. A., District Commissioner, Elgeyo/Marakwet
 Gathoga, Mr. H., Embu
 German, Mr. R. E., C.M.G., Postmaster-General
 Gibson, Brigadier W. L., C.B.E., Director of Information
 Gichuru, Mr. J. S., Kiambu
 Giffard, Mr. V. C. St. G., Provincial Information Officer, Mombasa
 Githegi, Mr. D., Nairobi
 Glover, Mr. J., East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation
 Glover, Mr. P. E., M.B.E., Chief Field Zoologist, Veterinary Department
 Green, Mr. E. C. M., Provincial Agricultural Officer, Mombasa
 Guy, Mr. H. C. W., M.B.E., Livestock Improvement Officer, Kabete

- Hale, Mr. W. H., Game Warden
Hall, Mr. D. W., District Commissioner, Kisii
Hamley, Captain C. W., O.B.E., R.N., Retd., Superintendent of Ports and Lights, Mombasa
Hammond, Mr. R. A., O.B.E., Director of Veterinary Services
Harris, The Hon. Norman F.
Hart, Mr. J. F., O.B.E., Livestock Marketing Officer, Veterinary Department
Hartwell, The Hon. C. H., C.M.G., Minister for Education and Labour
Harveson, Mr. W. D., Commissioner for Mines
Hassan, Dr. The Hon. S. G., M.B.E.
Hennings, Mr. R. O., Secretary for Agriculture and Natural Resources
Hobbs, Mr. R. E. T., Deputy Director of Agriculture
Hope-Jones, The Hon. A., Minister for Commerce and Industry
Hopely, Mr. J., Labour Officer, Mombasa
Hunter, Mr. J. E., Commissioner for Local Government
Ignatio Morai, Chief, Fort Hall
Ingutia, Mr. F., North Nyanza
Jara, Mr. Ezekial, Tana River
Jared Nallo, Mr., Kitale
Jeremiah, The Hon. J.
Josiah, Chief, Kiambu
Jumba, Mr. George, Kitale
Kahia, Mr. W., Nairobi
Kaman, Mr. William, Turkana and Northern Frontier District
Kario, Mr., Eldoret
Karve, Dr. The Hon. S. D., O.B.E.
Kassim Bin Mohamed, Shariff, Vanga/Wasin District
Katam, Mr. George arap, Eldoret
Katan, Mr. M., Eldoret
Keen, Sir Bernard A., Director of East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organisation
Kenya Federation of Registered Trades Unions, Delegation
Kenya Indian Congress, Delegation
Kenya Meat Commission, Delegation
Kenya National Farmers' Union, Delegation
Kerre, Chief H., North Nyanza
Kikuyu Rehabilitation Team, Athi River Detention Camp
Kimemia, Mr. W., Fort Hall
Kimutai arap Maritim, Mr. W., Kericho
Kioko, Chief Simeon, Machakos
Kipande, Mr. Wilson, Kitale
Kipkenes arap Bemct, Mr. Reuben, Lembus
Kipkoech arap Sadalla, Councillor Josep, Lembus
Kiplangat arap Mungotit, Mr., Kericho
Kiptiony arap Katono, Chief, Nandi
Kipto arap Chirchir, Mr., Elgeyo/Marakwet
Kirby, Mr. A. F., C.M.G., General Manager, East African Railways and Harbours
Kirkpatrick, The Late Sq. Ldr. Sir James A., Bart., Senior Game Ranger
Kirpal Singh, Mr.
Kitok, Mr., Kapenguria
Kituri, Mr. D., Nairobi
Kiwiya Achuka, Chief, Turkana and Northern Frontier District
Knox Johnston, Mr. A. G., C.M.G., Acting Administrator, East Africa High Commission
Koinange, Ex-Senior Chief
Komen arap Daudi, Councillor, South Baringo
Kubara, Mr. S., Embu
Kundai ole Sangale, Chief, Masailand
Larby, Mr. N. B., Assistant Director of Education (African Education)
Lajar, Mr. John Said, Kilifi
Leakey, Dr. L. S. B., Curator, Coryndon Museum
Lemeke, Mr. F., Masailand
Leslie, Mr. E. J. A., District Commissioner, Kakamega
Lewis, Dr. E. A., Director, East African Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Research and Reclamation Organisation
Lewis, Mr. R. W. E., Senior Veterinary Officer, Southern Province
Lindsay, Mr. A. G.
Liwali for the Coast
Lokidap Kales, Mr., Kapenguria
Lokuddo, Chief, North Baringo
Luyt, Mr. R. E., Deputy Labour Commissioner
Macaulay, Mr. J. W., Chief Veterinary Research Officer, Kabete
Maconochie-Welwood, The Hon. L. R., Minister for Forest Development, Game and Fisheries
MacOwan, Mr. K. D. S., Deputy Director of Veterinary Services
Magige, Chief Joseph, South Nyanza
Magner, Mr. T., Assistant Welfare Officer, East African Railways and Harbours, Mombasa
Mahfood S. Mackawi, Sheikh The Hon., Mombasa
Makilya, Mr. Martin, Machakos
Malakwen arap Keino, Mr., Eldoret
Malde, Mr.
Maseghe, Mr. Frederick, Voi
Masumbuka Zani, Councillor, Kwale
Mathu, The Hon. E. W.
Matuku, Chief, Kitui
Mboya, Mr. P., South Nyanza
McKnight, Mr.
Messenger, Mr. J. M., Superintendent of Technical Education
Micah arap Bomet, Chief, Nandi
Miller, Commander J. P., G.C., Provincial Education Officer, Mombasa
M'Imathiu Athinya, Senior Chief, Meru
Mirian ole Kirtete, Chief, Masailand
Mitchell, Sir Philip, G.C.M.G., M.C.
Mithamo, Mr. E. G., Nyeri
M'Magambo, Mr. Solomon, Meru
Mneme, Mr. Mathew, Voi
Moipei ole Kedonyo, Mr., Masailand
Mombasa Chamber of Commerce, Delegation
Mombasa Municipal African Advisory Committee, Delegation
Mombasa Municipal Board, Delegation

- Mortimer, The Hon. Sir Charles E., C.B.E.,
Minister for Health, Lands and Local
Government
- Muhoro, The Rev. C., Nyeri
- Muhoya Kagumba, Chief, Nyeri
- Mundy, Mr. J. C., C.M.G., Member for
Finance, East Africa High Commission
- Munyao, Mr. Joseph, Machakos
- Murgor, Mr. William, Elgeyo/Marakwet
- Murramba, Mr. Johnston, Kilifi
- Mutungei ole Njoonga, Chief, Masailand
- Mutiso, Mr. Joseph, Machakos
- Mwau, Mr. Peter, Machakos
- Nairobi City Council, Delegation
- Nairobi City Council African Affairs Com-
mittee, Delegation
- Nathoo, The Hon. I. E.
- Ndalamia ole Korton, Chief, Masailand
- Newbold, Mr. C. D., Q.C., Legal Secretary,
East Africa High Commission
- Ngale, Mr. Ronald G., Kilifi
- Ngatia Mapi, Mr. J., Masailand
- Nguzo, Mr. Paul H., Kilifi
- Ngwei Mutemi, Mr., Kitui
- Njuguna, Mr. S., Fort Hall
- North, Mr. M. E. W., District Commissioner,
Voi
- Nyamunga, Mr. G. A., South Nyanza
- Nzau, Mr. J., Kitui
- Nzukie, Chief, Kitui
- Oduk, Mr. C., South Nyanza
- O'Hagan, Mr. D., Provincial Commissioner,
Coast
- Olimeru Masikonde, Chief, Masailand
- Omido, Mr. J., North Nyanza
- Ondiek, Mr. P., South Nyanza
- Ongori, Mr. Henry, Elgeyo/Marakwet
- Oranga, Councillor, Central Nyanza
- Otiende, Mr. J. D., North Nyanza
- Parmenas Keritu, Mr., Naivasha
- Patel, The Hon. A. B., C.M.G.
- Pereira, Dr. H. C., East African Agriculture
and Forestry Research Organisation
- Pkemei s/o Lokit, Chief, Kapenguria
- Porit s/o Lotiwale, Chief, Kapenguria
- Portsmouth, Lord
- Price, Mr. D. H., Registrar of Titles, Mom-
basa
- Rarieya, Mr. William, Kitale
- Renja, Mr. E. O., Nairobi
- Rice, Mr. E. P., Assistant Director of Veter-
inary Services
- Richard, Chief, Voi
- Riddoch, The Hon. J. L., O.B.E.
Road Authority, Delegation
- Robinson, Mr. P., Statistician, East African
Agriculture and Forestry Research Organ-
isation
- Roddan, Mr. G. M., Director of Agriculture
Roman Catholic Missions, Delegation
- Roscnwald, Dr. C. D., Medical Officer,
Mombasa
- Royal National Parks of Kenya, Trustees'
Delegation
- Rupia, Chief Elijah, Kwale
- Samburu Elders
- Shaw, The Hon. Mrs. A. R.
- Simpson, Mr. H. J., District Commissioner,
Kabarnet
- Simson, Mr. G., Agrarian Liaison Officer,
Mombasa
- Sinclair-Lockhart, Mr. J. B., District Com-
missioner, Lamu
- Songolo Wekele, Mr., Garsen
- Sowene Laroghwa, Mr., Voi
- Spendlove, Mr. P. R., District Officer, Meru
- Squires, Mr. H. J., Hydraulic Engineer,
Public Works Department
- Stapledon, Mr. R. de S., O.B.E., Economic
Secretary, East Africa High Commission
- Swann, Mr. A. C. C., O.B.E., District
Commissioner, Kiambu
- Sweatman, Mr. E. A., Provincial Commis-
sioner, Southern Province
- Swynnerton, Mr. R. J. M., O.B.E., M.C.,
Assistant Director of Agriculture
- Syemda, Mr. Jonathan, Kitale
- Taita arap Towett, Mr., Kericho
- Taylor, Mr. R. W., C.M.G., Director, Public
Works Department
- Tea Board of Kenya, Delegation
- Templer, Commander J. T., Divisional Forest
Officer, Mombasa
- Thuku, Mr. Harry, Kiambu
- Thornley Dyer, Mr. H., Town Planning
Adviser
- Trim, Dr. E. A., Deputy Director of Medical
Services
- Uku Mukima, The Hon., Chief, Machakos
- Usher, The Hon. G. C., M.C.
- Vasey, The Hon. E. A., C.M.G., Minister for
Finance
- Vincent, Sir Alfred
- Wadley, Mr. W. J. D., Director of Education
- Walford, Mr. A. S., Acting Registrar of
Co-operative Societies
- Walker, Dr. A. J., Assistant Director of
Medical Services
- Waterer, Mr. R. R., C.B.E., Chief Conser-
vator of Forests
- Water Resources Authority Delegation
- Webster, Dr. C. C., Assistant Director of
Agriculture (Research)
- Whitehouse, Mr. L. E., District Commis-
sioner, Lodwar
- Whitton, Mr. N. K., Bukura Farm Manager,
North Nyanza
- Whyatt, The Hon. J. A. C., Minister for
Legal Affairs
- Wilks, Mr. H. C. F., District Commissioner,
Kapenguria
- Williams, Mr. C. H., O.B.E., Provincial
Commissioner, Nyanza
- Wilson, Mr. P. E. D., M.C., Senior Labour
Officer, Mombasa
- Windley, The Hon. E. H., C.M.G., Minister
for African Affairs
- Wooldridge, Mr. R. L., D.F.C., Senior Veter-
inary Officer, Mombasa
- Wolff, Mr. J. A. H., District Commissioner,
Eldoret
- Zachariah, Chief, South Nyanza

(c) TANGANYIKA

- Ali Abdallah, Mr., Singida
 Ali Hamedi, Sheik, Tanga Province
 Ali Ponda, Mr., Dodoma
 Amashi Husein, Mr.
 Arusha Tribal Council, Delegation
 Attenborough, The Hon. J. P., C.B.E.,
 Director of Education
 Avery, Mr. M. T., Engineering Hydrologist,
 Water Development Department
 Bancroft, Mr. C. L., Divisional Forest
 Officer, Bukoba
 Barakabine, Mr. Juma, Tabora
 Barkley, Mr. A. N., Superintendent of Police,
 Bukoba
 Barrett, The Hon. Dr. R., Acting Director of
 Medical Services
 Bayldon, The Hon. I. C. W., O.B.E.
 Bell, Mr. G. T., O.B.E., District Commis-
 sioner, Bukoba
 Biggs, The Hon. C. E. J., Director of
 Agriculture
 Bissett, Mr. C. B., Director of Geological
 Survey
 Brideson, Mr., Acting General Manager of
 Kongwa Farms
 Brodie, Mr. H., Grain Storage Department,
 Mwanza
 Buhaya Council, Delegation
 Buhaya Union, Delegation
 Bukoba Native Co-operative Union, Dele-
 gation
 Cadiz, Mr. C. F. C. V., Provincial Commis-
 sioner, Northern Province, Arusha
 Carbonell, Mr. J. R., Provincial Education
 Officer, Arusha
 Chacha, Mr. Newlands, Lake Province
 Champion, Mr. F. W., O.B.E., Provincial
 Forest Officer, Arusha
 Chapman, Mr. L. A., Co-operative Officer,
 Bukoba
 Cleaguc-Smith, Mr. S. H.
 Clegg, Mr. W. B. V., Co-operative Officer,
 Bukoba
 Clinton, Mr. S. G., Labour Officer, Per-
 sonnel, Dar-es-Salaam
 Corbett, Mr. D. M., Provincial Veterinary
 Officer, Dodoma
 Cory, Dr. H., Sociologist, Mwanza
 Coster, Mr. F. M., Engineering Geologist,
 Water Development Department
 Dantes, Mr. Louis Paul, Western Province
 Dar-es-Salaam Municipal Council, Dele-
 gation
 Dawe, Mr. E. C. S., Director of Veterinary
 Services
 Dawson, Mr. W. E. M., Acting Member for
 Legal Affairs
 Edmunds, Mr. D. H. M., Executive Engineer,
 Water Development Department, Arusha
 Eggeling, Dr. W. J., Chief Conservator of
 Forests
 Elwes, Miss E. P. W., Woman Welfare
 Officer, Bukoba
 Emms, Mr. A., Superintendent of Technical
 Education, Education Department
 Fipa, Mr. Andrea, X., Western Province
 Fosbrooke, Mr. H. A., Senior Sociologist,
 Arusha
 Frazer-Smith, Mr. S. W., M.C., District
 Commissioner, Monduli
 Gande Nzio, Mr., Iringa
 Gibson-Robinson, Mr. P. H., Provincial
 Labour Officer, Central Province
 Ginner, Mr. H. W. E., Assistant Director,
 African Education, Education Department
 Gray, Mr. G. J. M., Factory Inspector, Dar-
 es-Salaam
 Green, Mr. J. B., Co-operative Officer, Lake
 Province
 Guthrie, Mr. W. A., O.B.E., Irrigation
 Engineer, Dodoma
 Hamsa Mpwachu, Mr., Lake Province
 Heaney, Mr. L. M., Provincial Commis-
 sioner, Central Province
 Heri Salim, Chief, Kondoa Irangi
 Hinds, The Hon. F.
 Hitchcock, Mr. E. F., C.B.E.
 Humbi Ziota, Chief, M.B.E., Western
 Province
 Hunter, Mr. F. B., Trade Testing Inspector,
 Dar-es-Salaam
 Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam
 Jervis, Mr. T. S., Agricultural Officer, Bukoba
 Johansen, Mr. K., Agricultural Officer,
 Dodoma
 Juma Kisuke, Mr., Eastern Province
 Karilo Japhet, Mr., Arusha
 Kandya, Mr. Peter M., Mbozi
 Kasanda, Chief, Western Province
 Kasembe, Mr. George, Southern Province
 Kilimanjaro Citizens Union, Delegation
 Kisenge, Mr. E. A., Tanga Province
 Kombo Suleman, Mr., Mpwapwa
 Kunambi, Mr. Patrick, Eastern Province
 Labour Utilisation Board, Arusha, Dele-
 gation
 Land Utilisation Board, Northern Province,
 Delegation
 Land Utilisation Committee, Southern High-
 lands Province, Delegation
 Lawson, Mr. E. F., District Officer, Monduli
 Leechman, The Hon. B., C.M.G., O.B.E.,
 Member for Social Services
 Lenguana, Mr. M., Northern Province
 Lloyd, Mr. H. M., Director, Tsetse Survey
 and Reclamation Department
 Mabenga, Mr. Mustapha, Lake Province
 Macgregor, Mr. C. J., Regional Assistant
 Director of Agriculture, Arusha
 Magembe, Mr. George, Western Province
 Majeberre Masanja, Chief, Lake Province
 Malcolm, Mr. R. S. W., Commissioner for
 Co-operative Development
 Masanja, Mr., Lake Province
 Masanya, Mr. Stephen, Lake Province
 Max, Mr. Joachim, Lake Province
 Mdachi, Mr. Sylvester, Lake Province
 Mdoe, Mr. Clement, Tanga Province
 Mdoe, Mr. M. G., Lake Province
 Meek, Mr. C. I., District Commissioner,
 Mbulu

IX
SELECTED AFRICAN TERRITORIES

(4) <i>Uganda,</i> 1952	(5) <i>Tanganyika,</i> 1952	(6) <i>Union of</i> <i>South Africa,</i> 1951-52	(7) <i>Gold Coast,</i> 1950-51	(8) <i>Belgian Congo,</i> 1952
£81,200,000(h)	(£62,000,000) (k)	£1,273,000,000	£152,000,000(o)	£290,000,000
£51,100,000(i)	(£10,000,000)	(£20,000,000) (m)	N.A.	£36,000,000
£9,300,000(j)	£12,800,000(l)	(£180,000,000) (n)	N.A.	£64,000,000(p)
£60,400,000	(£22,800,000)	(£200,000,000) (n)	N.A.	£100,000,000
1952	1952	1951	1953	1952
5,262,000	7,944,000	12,600,000	4,478,000	11,864,000
5,208,000	7,847,000	8,500,000	4,467,000	11,788,000
6,000	18,300	2,600,000	9,000	77,000(q)
47,900	78,900	1,500,000	2,000	—
£15·3	(£7·8)	£101	£34	£24·5
£11·6	(£2·9)	(£23·5)	N.A.	£8·8
£1·8	£1·6	(£21·2)	N.A.	£5·6
£26,000,000	(£40,000,000)	(£20,000,000) (m)	N.A.	£64,000,000
£5·0	(£5·1)	(£2·3)	N.A.	£5·7

above table see pp. 480-481.

Tanganyika Territory, Report on the Enumeration of African Employees, July, 1952, East African Statistical Department, 1953.

The Net National Income of the Union of South Africa, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Pretoria; and additional information from the Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, Division of Economics and Markets.

Report on Financial and Physical Problems of Development in the Gold Coast, D. Seers and C. R. Ross, Government Printer, Accra, July, 1952.

Le Revenu National du Congo Belge en 1952, Bulletin de la Banque Centrale du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, November, 1953, Brussels.

GENERAL STATISTICAL NOTE TO APPENDIX IX

1. The table has been compiled from official and other estimates for selected African territories, and is designed to illustrate the magnitude and the composition of the total and the *per capita* 'net geographical money product'. We have used the words 'net product' instead of 'net income' merely in order to avoid any confusion and to make it clear that our figures of *per capita* net product do not reflect the distribution of the product among the individual recipients or the actual incomes received by them.

2. We have taken the 'net geographical money product' to mean the value of the net product which results from market-orientated activities within the geographical borders of the

particular territory. Subsistence production has been excluded from the main data in the table, because, not only do the methods of calculating the imputed money value of subsistence activities in the different territories vary considerably, but it is doubtful whether such imputed valuations can be meaningfully compared with statistics of money income. Those valuations of subsistence production that have been made are shown, for purposes of information, in lines 9 and 10 of the table.

3. Part of the product generated in the money economy of certain territories is paid outside them in the form of dividends, or forms part of the wages of migrant labourers returning home. Such incomes as are thus remitted to recipients abroad have not been deducted from the amounts shown in the table. Thus the estimates should be regarded as a monetary measure of the net output of the selected territories irrespective of its distribution, and indicating the extent to which the resources of land, labour and capital have been utilized in the commercialized sector of the several territories' economies for the production of money income.

4. It is important to recognize that, among the different territorial estimates, there exist certain variations in definition and accounting technique. These differences, which do not affect the general picture that emerges, are as follows:

- (a) The 'net money product of "Commercial, Agricultural, Trading and Other Enterprises" of Indigenous Economies' (line 2) covers a wider field of activities in some territorial estimates than in others. The Uganda estimate, for example, includes not only farm income but African income from fishing, trade and transport. In Kenya, on the other hand, this item includes only the value of produce grown by Africans and sold for cash. But as farm income in Uganda amounts to more than 90 per cent of the total, the over-estimation is not substantial. The Northern Rhodesian estimate for this item is calculated in a similar manner to the Kenya figure; the Southern Rhodesian estimate is on a slightly more comprehensive basis.
- (b) The statistics of 'Wages Earned Outside the Indigenous Economies' (line 3) also vary slightly in their composition. In the main, they consist of cash received together with the monetary value of income in kind from food and housing where provided. The Uganda estimate, however, excludes housing, and in the Belgian Congo medical attention is included.

5. An important characteristic of the statistics of wages is that they include the earnings of immigrant African labourers (and exclude those of emigrants). This is in accordance with the concept, used in the table, of 'net geographical money product'. This movement of labour across political boundaries affects all the territories' incomes in some degree, but special care should be taken in the interpretation of the Southern Rhodesian wage estimates. Over 50 per cent of the total labour force in Southern Rhodesia consists of immigrant African labourers and thus the wages earned by that territory's nationals are approximately half the total shown. If this adjustment were to be made in the table it would be reflected in considerably lower *per capita* incomes for the African population, because, while the total money incomes earned would be halved, the reduction in the numbers of the *de facto* population (which, in the table include those Africans who have migrated from other territories into Southern Rhodesia) resulting from the exclusion of the immigrant labourers, would be comparatively small.

6. There is, in fact, no connexion between any of the *per capita* incomes shown in the table and the actual incomes received by individuals. The *per capita* calculations have been based on total *de facto* population estimates which include women and children, who, in general, are not income earners in the money economy; and in the case of Uganda a considerable portion of the net product of the African community is not distributed to the producers but is held by the marketing boards for cotton and coffee. The amounts so withheld from producers have, of course, been included in our net product estimates, and so too have export taxes.

NOTES TO TABLE ON PP. 478-479

- (a) Wages paid by African employers to African employees are generally excluded. Variations in the methods of compiling wage estimates in the different territories are noted below.
- (b) Total remuneration paid to employees in cash and in kind.
- (c) Nominal estimate.
- (d) Provisional estimate.
- (e) In Southern Rhodesia the number of immigrant labourers amounted in 1951 to some 274,000 persons, or 56 per cent of the total labour force. Thus wages earned by nationals of the territory are less than half the total shown, i.e. approximately £10,000,000.
- (f) Includes cost of living allowances and the value of free rations and quarters.
- (g) Revised estimate.
- (h) Includes export taxes; these are excluded in the official estimates.
- (i) Includes export taxes and the profits of Statutory Marketing Boards, representing income withheld from the producer.
- (j) Excludes the value of free housing.

(k) With the exception of the wage figure all the Tanganyika calculations are very rough estimates. They are shown in brackets but only to give some idea of the magnitudes involved.

(l) Cash earnings plus value of free rations and value of free accommodation.

(m) The estimate of £20,000,000 is the value of native production for 1949-50 including that of natives in native territories as well as that of natives residing on European farms. It has not been possible to distinguish what proportion of this is the imputed value of subsistence production and what proportion relates to marketed produce. Because of this the combined total is shown both in line 2 of the table and in line 9.

(n) Rough estimate.

(o) Rough estimate by D. Seers and C. R. Ross in their 'Report on Financial and Physical Problems of Development in the Gold Coast'.

(p) Cash wages plus value of rations and accommodation and medical attention.

(q) This total includes a few Asians.

General. The use of decimal points does not indicate that degree of accuracy.

N.A. = Not available.

APPENDIX X
EAST AFRICAN TRADE INDICES

Year	1950 = 100				1950 = 100				1938 = 100			
	(1) Import Price Index	(2) Export Total Value Index			(3) Import Value of Exports i.e. Col. (2) ÷ Col. (1)			(4) Import Value of Exports i.e. Col. (2) ÷ Col. (1)				
		Kenya	Tanganyika	Uganda	East Africa	Kenya	Tanganyika	Uganda	East Africa	Kenya	Tanganyika	Uganda	East Africa
1938	26	21	15	16	17	0.81	0.58	0.61	0.65	1.00	1.00	1.00
1939	24	23	17	13	17	0.96	0.71	0.54	0.71	1.12	0.88	1.09
1940	32	22	18	18	19	0.69	0.62	0.56	0.59	0.85	0.92	0.91
1941	39	26	21	20	22	0.67	0.54	0.51	0.56	0.84	0.86	0.86
1942	50	27	26	16	22	0.54	0.52	0.32	0.44	0.67	0.52	0.68
1943	66	23	23	18	21	0.35	0.35	0.27	0.32	0.43	0.44	0.49
1944	67	26	29	24	27	0.39	0.43	0.36	0.40	0.48	0.59	0.61
1945	65	31	33	32	32	0.48	0.51	0.49	0.49	0.59	0.80	0.75
1946	69	37	37	34	34	0.54	0.54	0.45	0.49	0.67	0.74	0.75
1947	78	52	46	37	44	0.67	0.59	0.47	0.56	0.83	0.77	0.86
1948	91	60	69	47	58	0.66	0.76	0.52	0.64	0.81	1.31	0.98
1949	94	64	86	82	79	0.68	0.91	0.87	0.84	0.84	1.43	1.29
1950	100	100	100	100	100	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.23	1.64	1.54
1951	124	140	170	165	160	1.13	1.37	1.33	1.29	1.39	2.36	1.98
1952	133	150	204	165	174	1.13	1.53	1.24	1.31	1.39	2.64	2.01
1953	121	114	150	116	127	0.94	1.24	0.96	1.05	1.16	1.57	1.61

Source:

The East African Statistical Department.