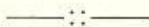


ELECTION MANIFESTO



PETER MARRIAN

for

MOUNT KENYA



MWEIGA

August 1956

THE LYTTTELTON PLAN

The Lyttelton Plan held that it was necessary for all races to be represented in the Government of the country. I fully support this principle and shall oppose all those who are seeking to destroy it.

PERSONAL

During the Emergency, like so many of you, I had little time for anything other than the protection of my farm and family and for doing what I could to help to end the rebellion. Now that it is nearing its end, I have begun to think more in terms of what is necessary for the future of Kenya and, perhaps in a selfish way, what is necessary for my own security. There have been days when, knowing that I should put in that new pipeline or paddock, I have hesitated to make the capital expenditure, because I felt I could not see far enough into the future to justify it. I have always hoped that one day one of my sons would want to farm my land, but lately I began to assess his chances and I realised that we were too close to making once again the mistakes we have made so often—the mistake which led the Dutch from Indonesia and has enveloped the French colonial empire in flames. And I thought, "Maybe there is still time here in Kenya—not much time, but perhaps just enough!" And so I decided to make this appeal to you. Your courage has just saved Kenya once. I am asking you to draw on it for a second time.

CRITICISM

My main criticisms of the Independent Group's policy are as follows :—

1. Much play is made with the term "non-racial approach". Here lies the core of the Group's opposition to the Lyttelton Plan, in that it wishes to amend the present method by disallowing the appointment of ministers on a racial quota basis and by substituting appointment strictly on merit. This is the real deception, for while apparently advancing a plausible theory, the Group quietly closes the door on any possible agreement between the races and is blind to the pressures building up against it. For who is to determine merit other than those who will be displaced by its recognition? And, assuming a lower level of ability among the indigenous peoples at the moment, they will be denied access to government when every indication up and down Africa is demanding their inclusion. To force the African to oppose—and at the risk of repetition may I reiterate that this is what the Group's policy must lead to—is to force him to extremism and to Black nationalism.

There is great merit in the "standstill" clause of the Lyttelton Plan. On the other hand if it is found to be unworkable, there will be a reintroduction of Colonial Office rule and Her Majesty's

Government will feel free to take what action they see fit. Therefore the failure of the Plan would mean that we should lose that control of our own affairs, which we have attained, that we should revert to the mercy of British party politics and that the British Government might well impose a constitution, the details of which might become known to the people of Kenya only after its presentation as a *fait accompli*. I therefore view with grave apprehension the policy of the Independent Group, which seeks so to amend the Lyttelton Plan that acceptance by other races and the British Government would be most unlikely.

2. While the non-racial approach is permitted where, as seen above, it can do no harm to the principle of White domination, it is abandoned as soon as our cherished institutions are threatened. Segregation is the substitute with no hope held out that, when standards are more equal, the discrimination will cease.

3. The bald statement that British European control *must* be maintained is of course very attractive to Europeans, but less so to the other races. I believe that by his qualities of leadership and integrity the European will in fact maintain himself in control of the country's affairs and, what is more important, under my policy with the good will of the other races. To attempt to keep himself in that position as a matter of racial right will be done in the teeth of racial opposition.

4. The Policy Statement seeks to unite the Europeans. I submit it is far more important to seek to unite a nation.

5. There is insistence that politics give way to economic considerations and that people are weary of politics. I believe that this is wishful thinking and that, whereas the European may be weary of politics, the African extremist is only just starting. Real economic advancement demands security and security demands political stability coupled with a high measure of racial tolerance and understanding. This is impossible of attainment under such a thinly veiled racist policy and so long as Europeans accept it, so long we must expect a lack of personal security and economic confidence.

6. Finally the refusal to recognise the existence of African Nationalism in Kenya when events are providing examples of its potency is the measure of the inadequacy of this Policy to meet the real needs of our time. It panders to the apparent

interests of Europeans, but ignores our great necessity—racial harmony.

Destructive criticism becomes mere insult unless something is put in the place of that criticised. The remainder of this manifesto is in very practical terms the short- and long-term policies on which I have offered myself for election.

THE CONSTITUTION

I support the principle of the Lyttelton Plan as an interim measure. I believe it is necessary to accept a possible degree of inadequacy in order that all races may play their part in government. It is vital that our own members of the Legislature should be prepared to enter the Government as ministers. Only in such a way can unwise and premature policies from England be countered. I reject the concept of government by opposition. The Opposition in any form of democratic government has a vital role to play in a critical capacity. It cannot govern. I believe the European members of Legislative Council should have a twofold objective:—

1. To introduce the best available into the Council of Ministers in as great numbers as the Constitution permits.

2. For the remainder of the members to attempt to form a strong opposition of all races with the object of putting forward the most vigorous constructive criticism of the Government for the benefit of Kenya as a whole and not from the viewpoint of racial gain. So long as the Opposition remains split into racial groups, each seeking their own particular aims and advantages, so long it will remain ineffective as a real spur to Government. Much has been said by opponents of the original Lyttelton Plan of the emasculation of the Opposition through the transfer, as Ministers and Secretaries, of Opposition members to the Government side. I believe this is valid criticism and I would support an increase in numbers of the Opposition.

In order to maintain the racial proportions laid down in the Lyttelton Plan, such an increase would involve extra seats for all races. This would give an opportunity for providing for direct representation for such tribes as the Wakamba and Nandi, who have given such loyal support during the Emergency.

I believe that unofficial ministers should continue to owe allegiance to an electorate, but that possibly through some system

regional seats they should be relieved of their routine responsibility to their constituents.

CAPRICORN CONTRACT

I enclose a copy of the Capricorn Contract on which my policy is based. I believe it to be a great document and find nothing that any fair-minded man need take exception to. The need for correct timing is carefully stressed and I wish to emphasize that it is a long-term plan and not for immediate implementation in full. It provides a policy that is receiving, as none other, the support of other races.

MAINTENANCE OF STANDARDS

It is of the greatest possible importance that the standards of Western civilisation should be preserved. Not least among our problems is to find the means by which this can be done without shutting ourselves away within an exclusive society. I believe we shall only be able to achieve this by combining what is best in all races to defeat what is worst—to defeat prejudice, pride and apathy as well as ignorance, laziness and atavism. Colonel Blimp and the thug are equally the destroyers of our standards. Reaction feeds on one and nationalism on the other. Let us have none of either.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

I hold that there is a most urgent necessity for the removal of racial discrimination in all its forms. If this is not done then nothing will withstand the great pressure of ill will that will build up against us. Quite apart from the moral factor involved, the pattern is surely too well known in the world today for Europeans not to accept this as a vital requirement. On the introduction of my policy, perhaps for the first time Africans and Asians could say, "Here is sincerity of purpose". For Europeans, some aspects will of necessity be contentious. Many—particularly we English—have imbued in us a feeling of insularity that makes it difficult for us to mix freely, particularly with those we consider our inferiors. Nevertheless, unless we can produce a deeper understanding in human terms, we shall continue the distressing drift to a situation which will become impossible of solution. I ask not that we should condone the worst, but that by offering the right of opportunity we behave as worthy successors of our great political tradition.

THE FRANCHISE

The pressure on the communal roll is now so great that for this reason alone the present system must be changed in the interest of Europeans. There can be no method by which, over a period, the communal roll will prevent a statistical preponderance of the majority races in the Legislature—and what is of even greater importance all representatives, having been elected on race, *will owe allegiance only to race.*

I recommend the setting up of a Select Committee which, over the next four years, will consider all aspects of the gradual establishment of a high quality multiple vote common roll.

SELECT COMMITTEE—because without full agreement there can be no alteration to the present method of government before 1960 and because 4 years is not too long for such immensely important deliberations.

HIGH QUALITY—because the maintenance of our standards is the very backbone of my policy.

MULTIPLE VOTE—because in all men there are degrees of fitness for responsibility: the greater the fitness the greater the voting power.

COMMON ROLL—because it is necessary to avoid the purely racial allegiance that is at present owed by a member to his constituents. The functioning of the Legislature will always become a racial affair under such circumstances.

POINTS OF PREJUDICE

For the sake of clarity I have attempted to explain certain contentious points in question and answer form.

Franchise

Q. *Under a common roll why will the Europeans not be swamped by the other races?*

A. 1. The high quality franchise will avoid the irresponsible use of the vote so often seen under universal adult suffrage.

2. If you take it at its worst and believe that Nehru is out to produce an Indian colony here and that Asians are plotting to support him (which I do not believe), then surely every African will combine with the Europeans to defeat such a scheme. Alternatively, Asians and

Europeans and moderate African opinion would combine to defeat African extreme nationalism.

3. The growing African middle class of consolidated land owners, government servants, churchmen and business men are no more interested in the appeal by the agitator to mob rule than the Europeans or Asians. As seen in the last rebellion they are the first to be attacked.

4. The candidature of anyone appealing to the electorate on racial grounds would be invalidated by law under a system by which racial discrimination was outlawed.

Land

Q. *Do you not know that the "Sanctity of the White Highlands" is vital to our security and that were all land opened up, the European areas would be bought up by the Africans, and the Asian creditors ?*

A. 1. If this country is to be freed from racialism it follows that even land should not be held on a racial basis for ever. Our security of land tenure, short of being destroyed, would be most markedly increased.

2. A land control board would exercise the strictest control on any land transfer and ensure the highest standard of farming. It is absurd to suggest that an Asian shopkeeper, merely because he was a creditor, would be allowed to own land, being ignorant of the techniques of farming.

3. At the insistence of the African any question of opening up land for purchase is abandoned until the African is "fully integrated economically into the life of the country." Thus a measure which is unpopular with some European land owners is being deliberately and effectively postponed by Africans.

Education

Q. *How can you possibly suggest your son should go to school with your kitchen toto ?*

A. 1. I don't.

2. I do not recognise multi-racial education as an issue in this country today except at University level.

3. I do not believe multi-racial education is possible or desirable until :—

(a) English is the fully accepted and understood common language.

(b) There are equal standards in hygiene, living standards, nutrition, dress and teacher qualifications.

4. Meanwhile the standard and scope of education must be increased for all races.

Inter-marriage

Q. Do you believe in a coffee-coloured race as a cure for all our ills ?

1. No. I am strongly opposed to miscegenation and feel that races should develop as distinct groups and not as mixtures. There is no evidence to suggest that where the sexes are evenly balanced, miscegenation will occur. It happens when white men without their womenfolk have gone to coloured countries or where today black or brown men find themselves without their women in America, Canada or Europe.

African Mentality

Q. Do you not think your proposals will make the African ask for more and more ?

A. 1. He is already asking for the lot—full democracy.

2. The European must find common interest with the best in other races for the protection of standards. Only by doing so will the continuous appeal of the agitator to the illiterate mass be countered.

AGRICULTURE

If my policy is accepted and if the Lyttelton Plan is allowed to remain, the security of our own land tenure will be so immeasurably increased that plans that we now hold back by reason of risk would be enabled to go forward. No effort must be spared to bring to the farmer the research, the techniques,

the knowledge, the livestock and the financial grants that will bring the fullest productivity from the land once the restraining hand of uncertainty is removed. I am confident that the Agricultural Committees, which have done such great work and our own farmers' organisation, the K.N.F.U., will be equal to the task. I have been an Executive of the K.N.F.U. for five years and your chairman for three. I shall continue to work to improve and widen its function and service to the farmer. The problems of the farmer are too lengthy to mention here in detail, but are well known to me—grassland research, diseases of stock, control of game and vermin, annual price reviews, the price of posho, the grading of beef, the marketing outlets for milk, the provision of loans, a stable and happy labour force and the need for taxation allowances. The list is inexhaustible, but I recognise research as the first prerequisite and would make an immediate move in this direction with the Minister of Agriculture.

ECONOMICS AND TAXATION

Kenya needs money badly. There is every indication that America, Canada and the City of London will require a broad-based multi-racial government as security against the lending of money on reasonable terms. Contrary to certain beliefs, there is no evidence whatever to suggest that purely White domination will provide the required conditions. Kenya needs relief from taxation—particularly direct taxation, but so long as the Police estimate remains at the present figure of £3,900,000 a year any real relief from taxation is unthinkable. A degree of entry into government by the other races will produce conditions in which a recurrence of Mau Mau becomes most unlikely. Only then will our police estimates and thus our taxation be capable of reduction.

Let us clearly face the realities of this question of economics. The present Minister of Finance knows more than any other man the best ways of attracting money to this country. His recent public statement accepting in full the Capricorn philosophy shows exactly his opinion of the necessary conditions.

CIVIL SERVICE

It is essential that the present high standard of the Civil Service be maintained. Neither expediency nor political pressure must be permitted to impair the qualities of resource, courage and integrity that are well known today.

Whereas it is necessary for the younger administrative officers to have fairly frequent moves to gain experience, it must be in the interests of the country and of the officers and their wives to remain as static as possible in the senior grades.

I suggest officers of the Service should be given an option with regard to leave. Now that leave facilities within Africa are much improved, it seems that some would prefer to take their leave locally and accept a higher rate of pay.

CONCLUSION

For too long little-minded men have pointed a finger at the people of Kenya. Now is the moment to be true to yourselves and to show for all the world to see that tolerance, understanding and compassion are qualities that we have not buried in the soil of the land we love.

PURELY PERSONAL

Aged 40, married, with three children.
Educated Shrewsbury and Trinity College, Oxford, where I obtained an Honours degree in history.

Member of the Oxford University Air Squadron, but failed the medical into the R.A.F. Volunteer Reserve through mastoid. Joined Colonial Administration in 1939, but did not take up my appointment owing to the 1939-1945 war.

Soldiered with East African forces in Abyssinia, Madagascar, Ceylon, Burma and finished as Adjutant of a Field Regiment of Artillery. Mentioned in despatches.

Resigned Colonial Administration and returned to Kenya to farm in 1947.

Subsequently Chairman of the local branch of the K.N.F.U. and member of the Executive Committee for three years.
