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Dear Mr. Rogers:

"Of all the six elections I have fought I have never seen such a mass attack on the intelligence of the people in the way of trying to mislead them." Sir Godfrey Huggins made that statement last night at a political meeting here in Salisbury. He also made the comment that he had never experienced such a bout of mud-slinging in Central African elections. He pointed out that in a Confederate Party campaign speech he had been referred to as a "liar and a cheat." "In previous elections," he said, "politicians might have cast doubts as to the intelligence of their opponents, but not their honesty of purpose."

The campaign is now going into its last two weeks. Speeches are becoming white hot and all available emotional fuel is being fed into the flames. The Confederate Party, which began its campaign a good month and a half before the Federal Party, has abandoned its reasoned, logical arguments and has come to a point where its platform rests solely on an appeal to the European fear of domination by Natives.

I pointed out in PBM-6 and PBM-7 that the main difference between the Confederate and Federal Party platforms was in Native Policy. This has undergone some change and now, there is hardly any difference at all between the two policies.

The Confederates at first attracted a great deal of support because they seemed to offer a clear, well-defined, <u>different</u> policy to deal with the Native situation. During the first weeks of their campaign they gained strength, as, point-by-point, they explained their new approach to the Native situation.

At that time, it went something like this: We will set up separate Native states. These states will include most of Nyasaland and Northeastern Northern Rhodesia. In these States, the Natives will develop their own industry, agriculture, education system, and government. They will be locally self-administrating but will be under Federal control.

These States will be so attractive to the Natives that a great many of the common laboring Native will leave the European urban areas to live and work in his own State. This will open a great many jobs (now held by Natives) to Europeans and will attract immigration here because of the great number of jobs that will have been opened up. In order to help this along we will set up strict ratios of Native labor to European labor--the white employer will only be able to hire a strictly regulated percentage of Native labor.

Until the time when these practices can be put into effect, Natives will be admitted to the Southern Rhodesia Parliament (they are already in the legislative

councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) so that when the time comes to set up their own local governments they will be experienced. In the meantime a separate voters' roll for Natives will be set up so that their representation in the Federal and Territorial parliaments will be on a separate racial basis and the position of white representatives in these bodies will not be endangered.

These were their arguments in favor of their own position. Against the Federal Party they argued that Federal Party candidates were members of the "old Huggins gang"--they argued that the Federal Party proposed social as well as economic and political integration with resulting miscegenation, mingling at cinemas and government social functions, a general drop in the European cultural level so as to include Natives. They argued that Huggins partnership meant that the Europeans would be out-voted in Parliamentary elections and eventually would be forced to leave Central Africa.

This policy was new, as they put it forth. It was pointedly different from the Federal Party policy as far as could be determined. As such, it attracted support from anti-Huggins sections of the population and the chances of the party at that time looked good.

Then came the changes. The Confederate Party still subscribed to the theory of building up Native States, but it was doubtful when these States would be set up. John Gaunt, Confederate Party candidate from Kafue, said that if Europeans and Africans could "get together" and ask for separate states the Federal constitution could be changed <u>after</u> ten years. Asked if the Confederate Party could do nothing before 10 years had passed, he replied, "Yes we can gain the full support of the country and then go to the British Government and ask for separate states."

Dendy Young has a different view of the setting up of separate states. He claims that the constitution can be freely altered right now--and therefore, as soon as a Confederate majority is returned, the separate states will be set up. This disagreement has not yet been settled.

The statement (made personally to me by J. R. Dendy Young, leader of the Confederate Party) that the proposed separate Native States would comprise most of Northeastern Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has now been altered a great deal. Now, the Confederates say, the Native States will be set up in existing Native reserves in all three territories. This change was made to answer a Federal Party question which asked "wouldn't it be rather difficult to move several hundred thousand Natives into new Native States?" And "if the states are set up on a large scale, isn't it possible that agitators might be able to do their work more effectively?" According to Dendy Young now, the Confederate Party proposes to consolidate the Native reserves already set aside in Southern Rhodesia by the Land Apportionment Act and to consolidate the present Native Trust and Reserve lands in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

When it was pointed out that Natives in Native States could hardly hope to attract enough capital from outside for industrial development, the Confederates were forced to admit that the Native States would have to be supported and aided by government money. They said that the government would still have to aid Native agriculture in the Native areas by providing government experts to demonstrate

soil conservation and irrigation. This is already done.

One Confederate Party candidate raised a storm of controversy by saying that the Confederates would change the new, multi-racial Rhodesia University into an all-white university. A charter for the University has already been granted, the money raised, and construction started--all with the understanding that the University will be open to all races. The Confederate Party was forced to backtrack on this, making the statement that the candidate who made the statement (Brigadier A. Skeen) was merely expressing his own opinion and that it was not the opinion of the Confederate Party.

Such a howl was raised by industrialists and farmers in the Federation who depend on cheap, Native labor for their livelihood when the Confederates announced that the Natives would be going back to the Native States to live and work, that the Confederates had to reverse their position. They had to come out and say that there would be no loss of cheap labor in the European areas. The idea of ratios of black labor to white in an individual factory seems to have been forgotten.

Another howl went up when it was announced that Natives would enter the Southern Rhodesia Parliament under the Confederate regime. This was going further towards the liberal side of the picture than even the Federal Party had gone. The Confederates had to make several qualifying statements (that the number of Natives would be strictly limited and that the Natives would serve only until such time as their separate states had been set up--then they would be removed) before they could safely drop the whole scheme from their campaign propaganda.

There is only one main difference now between the Confederate Party and the Federal Party. That is, the Confederates propose a separate voters' roll for the Natives and the Federal Party says that the Federation should go along with the present system until it is proved to be unworkable and unequal. Then it should be changed.

The Confederates claim they differ from the Federal Party in that they propose local Native government in Native areas. This is different from the present system in Southern Rhodesia, but there has been local Native government in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for years. The Confederate plan therefore cannot be called new.

The setting-up of separate Native areas, proposed by the Confederates, is not new at all, since all land in the Federation has been divided between white man and Native almost since the beginnings of British Colonial administration in 1923-24.

The change in the Confederate Party policy has been gradual. That is to say, they followed their original policy until they were forced to change it. But in doing so, they have lost support. The question has boiled down to this-whether to vote for an experienced group of candidates to carry out a partnership policy or whether to vote for an inexperienced group of candidates who have changed their policy in a period of a few months so that it is very similar to the policy of the experienced group.

To give you an idea of the kind of campaign that is being conducted, I include here three accounts of meetings I attended in the Salisbury area in the past three days. One meeting was held by Percy Newton, the second was held by Dendy Young, and the third was held jointly by Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. E.C.F. Whitehead, former Southern Rhodesia Minister of Finance (not running in the Federal Parliamentary campaign because of poor health. Since I attended with two friends of mine who are reporters for the <u>Rhodesia Herald</u> the accounts below are as they appeared in the newspaper except for insertions by me where the newspaper meaning is not clear or needs further explanation.

ATTACK ON SIR GODFREY BY MR. P. A. NEWTON

"It is high time someone pricked the Huggins bubble," said Mr. P. A. Newton, Confederate candidate for Salisbury West, when he addressed a meeting at Mabelreign last night.

Sir Godfrey had claimed to be the architect of the new Federation, continued Mr. Newton, but he and the rest of his Federal "phoneys" would finish up like Samson of old by pulling down the Central African temple about the ears of the Europeans whose blood and tears and sweat had pioneered the project.

Sir Godfrey had condemned the Confederate plan as being a complete break with former tradition in Central Africa.

If a lucid enunciation of the philosophy that inspired the Confederate Native Policy was wanted, Mr. Newton said he could not do better than quote the following:--

"While there is yet time and space the country should be divided into separate areas for white and black. In the Native areas the black man must be allowed to rise to any position to which he is capable of climbing.

"He may be his own lawyer, doctor, builder, journalist or priest and he must be protected from white competition in his own areas.

"In the European areas the black man will be welcome on the understanding that he shall merely assist and not compete with the white man.

"The two races will develop side by side under white supervision, and help, not hinder, each other's progress. The interest of each race will be paramount in its own sphere."

That was the Confederate aim, went on Mr. Newton, but those words came not, as one might have expected, from a Confederate. They came from Sir Godfrey himself. They were written by him in 1934 when he was Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs.

Until 1950 Sir Godfrey had ardently believed in the wisdom of those words. Yet in three short years, at a time when, more than any other, the country had looked to him for leadership and a firm stand against the irresponsible theorists of the Colonial Office, he had allowed himself to be drawn deeper and deeper into their maw.

Sir Godfrey had told the electorate that there was no danger of the Native swamping the European vote, for only those who conformed to civilized standards of behaviour and culture would be given the franchise.

But on January 24, 1952, when addressing the Royal Empire Society in London, he was quick to assure his audience that property qualifications would not keep the enterprising Native off the voters' roll and that when they had all got the vote they would not swamp the Europeans because "we would all go along together and shape our party politics."

Sir Godfrey had added that if this partnership did not materialize it would be the duty of his grandchildren to make an agreement and alter the constitution. How could the Frime Minister talk such dangerous, dreadful rubbish? asked Mr. Newton. When the day came when the Native would be in a position to take over political control--and come it inevitably would unless the Confederate policy of separate voters! rolls for European was adopted--Sir Godfrey's and any other Rhodesian's grandchildren who still remained in the Federation would not be able to do anything about it. It would be too late.

Events in British Guiana, concluded Mr. Newton, were a dreadful pointer to what the European in the Federal State of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland might expect as a result of the Federal Party's folly of partnership and poltical intergration.

Forty-eight people were present.

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MASS MOVEMENT OF NATIVES NOT INTENDED

Mass movement of Natives was not implied in the policy of the Confederate Party, said Mr. J.R.D. Young, the leader of the Party, when he addressed a meeting organized by the Rhodesia National Affairs Association in Salisbury yesterday and attended by more than 150 people (Not all Confederates--PBM).

He said the Party had no intention of interfering with the present Native reserves, but the possibility would be examined of consolidating those areas to some extent.

To say that Native Affairs did not enter into the Federal field was a complete misconception, Mr. Young declared. It needed only a little time to examine the Federal Constitution and a certain amount of common sense to see that Native Affairs really permeated the whole field of national activity, whether in the Federal or Territorial field.

The all-important question in the sub-continent was the relations between European and Native. It was imperative that a solution be found for the problem.

"The policy of drift which has to some extent become fashionable at the moment is, to my mind, a dangerous policy and must lead to disaster. We of the Confederate Party have attempted to provide a clear-cut policy in order to enable the electorate to decide exactly what they want.

"If they want a policy of drift, then I think they would be right in supporting the Federal Party. But if they want a clear-cut policy which provides, to the best ofour ability, a solution to the problem, I suggest the Confederate policy is the best one."

The Confederate policy was the traditional policy of Southern Rhodesia and Southern Africa. He believed the policy was acceptable to the ordinary Native, and he was not particularly concerned to appease the discontented urban African leaders.

The Party was concerned with providing adequate scope and encouragement for the mass of the African people.

"The policy of integration which is implicit in the Federal Party program is something which is not as yet capable of realization in this country," he said, "and must degenerate into a policy of domination."

The Europeans would not accept integration, and if such a policy were applied honestly, it would fail.

The policy of the Federal Party was a policy of hypocrisy, and they did not propose to carry out their principles according to the spirit, said Mr. Young.

"You have a choice between an honest policy and hypocrisy," he added.

It was a choice between a liberal policy and one that must degenerate into one of demination.

If a certain amount of consolidation of Native reserves came about, he did not expect opposition from the Africans. He described it as a "certain degree of sacrifice and a little to pay for the ideal of good race relations in Central Africa."

To say that the Confederate Party policy allowed for Gold Coast states was, he said, gross misrepresentation. It was proposed to establish provinces which would be part of the Federation and controlled by the Federation.

The Party stood for the elimination, as far as possible, of Colonial Office control in this part of the world and for dominion status in the sense that we would control our own affairs.

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STATIC NATIVE POLICY WOULD NEED POLICE STATE Sir Godfrey Defends his Change 600 At Meeting in Salisbury

"You cannot produce a (static) blue-print for a Native policy. If you try to, and you want to carry it out, you have got to produce a police state in order to do so," said Sir Godfrey Huggins, the interim Federal Prime Minister, when he addressed an audience of about 600 in Salisbury last night.

Sir Godfrey was replying to Confederate Party candidates who had mentioned at meetings earlier this week that he had once advocated separate areas for black and white, in which the interest of each race would be paramount.

(Mr. E.C.F. Whitehead was the first speaker--P.B.M.) Mr. Whitehead said the forthcoming election was the most important ever to be held in this country. Every single voter should go to the polls.

Any development along lines suggested by the Confederate candidates would be disastrous for Central Africa. It would not be a bit like the policy in the Union of South Africa, where most of the land was European owned (as opposed to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland where most of the land is Native owned or held in trust for Natives--PBM).

"What many of the Confederates have been saying to you about their Native policy," said Mr. Whitehead, "is in fact what has been tried and has failed in Kenya."

The choice was between two parties; one whose members had supported Federation because they believed it was the best for the country, and the other whose members said it would not work but were now prepared to try it.

"If you return them as your government, with the best will in the world they must approach the problem in rather a depressed manner," said Mr. Whitehead.

"There is going to be a tremendous amount of very difficult legislation at the beginning and this is hardly the moment to take a gamble on an entirely new theory of government which has been built up in the past few months by an entirely new and untried party.

"We have grown into a very important state and we are known throughout the world." (Applause).

"Now we are taking the next step forward. We are moving from Rhodesia into the whole of Central Africa.

"I suggest that future generations will regard our electorate as completely crazy if at the crucial moment of change-over you decide to sack the pilot and put in an entirely new group of no-doubt very excellent people who have

not got any experience at all." (Applause.)

"I suggest that those of you who feel that the Prime Minister (Sir Godfrey Huggins) has been for a little too long should wait for the next election before casting your votes against him, because this is the period when experience will tell more than any other." (Applause.)

"This is the period when we particularly want a man in charge to whom the British Government have got accustomed to listening."

Mr. Whitehead was certain that the Federation could become a dominion within 10 years.

Sir Godfrey Huggins said he was taking a smaller part in the election than any other because the spadework had to be done so that the new government could take over.

"Of all the six elections I have fought I have never seen such a mass attack on the intelligence of the people in the way of trying to mislead them."

The biggest deception was that territorial and federal functions were being completely mixed up. Basic Native policy had nothing to do with the Federal Government.

One Confederate candidate in Salisbury had said they would remove personal tax (PBM-6) but personal tax was not one of the taxes that the Federal Parliament would have anything to do with.

"That is the sort of way in which they are pulling your leg," said Sir Godfrey. On Native policy, Sir Godfrey said: "We are the only part of British Africa that has not shot a Native since '96--because we have had an understanding between the races on roughly how to behave."

"Referring to what he called "Mr. Newton's bubble," he said he really wrote his opponents' policy in 1933--- "and they have never even thanked me for it." (Laughter.)

My change started 15 years ago, (not in 1950) because when I enunciated that policy I was very green and inexperienced. I know now that that policy would have been fatal to Europeans in Southern Rhodesia." (Sir Godfrey repeated the phrase, "green and inexperienced" with great significance--as if to prove the nature of his opponents--FBM.)

Native policy was a human problem and was not static.

Who was likely to get dominion status first? Those who had had a policy which could not be implemented under the constitution or people who said they were going to try and make the constitution work?

"A lot of bolshies," said Sir Godfrey, "were trying to tear up an agreement made at the referendum between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, the House of Lords and the House of Commons."

The Federal House was to small to have a Government and a "Government-inwaiting." which was the essence of the British parliamentary system.

One of the most important amendments to the Federal Constitution would have to be to get a bigger Parliament so that the British parliamentary system could operate in the Federation.

As there were not enough Federal Members of Parliament from the beginning it would have been better if party politics had been avoided for the first election.

Reverting to Native policy, Sir Godfrey said: "The Federal Party does not have as its focal point the emphasis in difference between the races.

"All the races in this country have to work together."

"The policy of the Confederate Party has a life of 25 years whereas the Federal Party policy has every possibility, given common sense and good management, of

leaving us here with a permanent multi-racial society living in prosperity and happiness.

Questioned about his reference to perjurers, Sir Godfrey said people who voted against federation at the referendum did not come into it.

"The people who voted for the constitution at the referendum who now vote for a party which would destroy the constituion I regard as perjured people." -30-

It is obvious from what has been said above that the Federal Party is running on its record. It bases its campaign against the Confederate Party on the known fact that most of the candidates of the Party opposed Federation at the time of the referendum campaign.

Since the Confederate Party policy has suddenly become so mild and so much like the Federal Party policy, the Confederate Party is losing hope. I understand from a couple of very politically wise informants that Sir Roy should come through with a smashing victory in his dispute with the Colonial Office over the constitutional changes. The announcement of that victory should come within the next four or five days and that will seriously cripple Confederate chances to a great extent in Northern Rhodesia--and to a lesser extent here in Southern Rhodesia.

Sincerely,

Peter Bil Malin

Peter Bird Martin

Received New York 12/11/53.