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PBM - 14  
Election Predictions

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522 Fifth Avenue  
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Less than a week to go now and, unless something unforeseen happens, the voters in the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland should have made up their minds which way they will be casting their votes next Tuesday. I have been scurrying about myself in the past few weeks, listening to campaign speeches, talking to candidates, being charmed by political leaders, and taking part in bull sessions with the local press. Now I've decided to have a little fun and come out with some election predictions.

But before I talk myself out on a limb, there are a few points that should be noted about an election campaign in this part of the world.

Coming from the United States with the 1952 campaign still fresh in my mind, I had vivid recollections of smoothly prepared television speeches, of broadcast and rebroadcast radio talks, and vigorous slugging matches between large newspapers of great influence (especially in St. Louis where the Post-Dispatch was pro-Stevenson and the Globe-Democrat was pro-Eisenhower).

I had to scrap my ideas of a campaign being run on that basis in Central Africa. There is no television--and therefore such monumental shows as the Nixon talk with super-professional coaching by advertising firms are out of the question. There is radio--the government-owned Rhodesia station broadcasts six or seven hours a day, but it consists of records, programs of local interest ("Tobacco Digest") and the BBC news from England. Political candidates are not permitted to give campaign speeches over the air.

The only media by which a candidate can reach the electorate are the newspapers and the spoken word. In the Federation, there are a few good-sized newspapers. There is the Rhodesia Herald in Salisbury, the Chronicle in Bulawayo, the Umtali Post in Umtali, the Northern News and the Central African Post in Northern Rhodesia, and the Nyasaland Times in Nyasaland. Of these papers, the Rhodesia Herald, the Chronicle, the Umtali Post and the Northern News are all owned by the Argus Publishing Company--and the Argus group has directed all its member papers to support the Federal Party editorially. Theoretically the Argus newspapers are supposed to give all candidates an equal amount of publicity. Perhaps they do give the parties an equal amount of news space--but in method of presentation and in the prominence they give stories about the Federal Party, it is obvious that they favor the Federal candidates.

The other two newspapers are owned, in effect, by African Newspapers Limited

the company which prints the Bantu Mirror and the African Weekly in Southern Rhodesia. They also support the Federal Party.

To combat this, a so-called "independent" newspaper, the weekly Citizen, has been organized. The Citizen is designed, so I am told, to help put the Confederate Party into power the way the London Daily Mirror is supposed to have helped put the Labour Government in power in Great Britain. It is filled with sex and sensationalism (including the infamous comic strip "Jane" in which Jane manages to get most of her clothing off at least once a month) and is, in truth, a tabloid in the worst sense of the word. It does, however, present the Confederate side of the picture. Rumors have been circulated concerning ownership of the newspaper--and most of these rumors are to the effect that most of the money for the newspaper comes from the Nationalist element in the Union of South Africa.

In reality, Percy Newton and John Dalrymple (a Confederate Party candidate) have put up most of the money for the newspaper with full financial support by wealthy members of the Confederate Party in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. It is something of a burden, since it is not quite self-supporting, but it does not lose too much money each week that its usefulness is overshadowed by its expense. Circulation has now reached 10,000, a healthy total for a sheet of its size and type. Plans are now being made to continue publication even after the election campaign is finished. The paper is edited by two former members of the Sunday Mail, an Argus newspaper which comes out every Sunday in place of all the other Argus papers and is distributed throughout the Federation. It, naturally, also supports the Federal Party.

The only other way a candidate can put his views before the public is through public speeches and by canvassing his electoral district house by house. The public speech method would serve a useful purpose except for the fact that most of the people who attend Confederate meetings are either Federal Party hecklers or staunch Confederate Party supporters (who do not need persuasion). And, on the other hand, those people who attend Federal Party meetings are either Confederate Party hecklers or staunch Federal Party supporters. The people who really count in an election, the independent voters, are not effectively reached by the public meeting method.

To reach the independent voters, a house to house canvass is necessary. This is a hard and tedious process, because of the size of each electoral district. Where a party is well-organized, an effective canvass can be made, and almost every house can be visited. If a party lacks a strong organization, the canvass that can be made is sketchy at best and many independent voters are unavoidably neglected.

The Federal Party is well organized. Party workers have visited almost every home in Southern and Northern Rhodesia, explaining the party's policy and offering transportation to the polls for those who need it. This is to be expected, especially in Southern Rhodesia, since the Federal Party is made up of the old United and Rhodesia Parties and has their organizations to fall back on.

The Confederate Party, being new, does not have such smooth machinery and

their canvassing has left much to be desired.

So we have the unfortunate situation that an election is about to be held without the voter having had a chance to examine each party's views in an equal light. It can truly be said of a great many people who will be going to the polls next Tuesday that all they know is what they read in the papers.

Another factor which must be taken into account is the type of campaign that is being fought. Previously in Southern Rhodesia there have been two parties to choose between, but both parties were running on much the same platform. The voter, therefore, cast his ballot for the candidate who appealed to him the most. In Northern Rhodesia there has never been party politics and all the elected members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council were voted in according to their local popularity.

In the current campaign, however, there are two parties in the field who differ strongly on the issue of the common voters' roll. And, as far as many voters are concerned, the parties still differ widely on many other points of Native Policy. Sir Godfrey Huggins has said that anyone who votes for the Confederate Party after having voted for Federation will be committing perjury. The Confederates say that anyone who votes for the Federal Party will be selling the country out to the Native African. Therefore the election will be decided in many districts, not on the basis of which candidate do you like best, but on the basis of which party do you support? That will make a big difference in the outcome of the election.

One other factor bears mentioning. Yesterday it was announced that the battle in Northern Rhodesia (PBM - 12) was over with the victory going to Sir Roy Welensky. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has agreed to visit Northern Rhodesia in January and he has agreed not to consider giving British protected persons the franchise at least for the next five years. Sir Roy and his supporters have withdrawn their resignations from committee and cabinet posts. The other constitutional changes, against which Sir Roy told me he had no complaint, stand and will go into effect with the election of a new Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council in January or February of next year.

This victory of Sir Roy's will increase the chances of the Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia to a point where it is doubtful that there will be one Northern Rhodesian Confederate seat in the Federal Parliament.

All of these factors must be taken into account before an observer can judge either party's chances. The following are my predictions: <sup>1</sup>

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIA

BORDER--B. D. Goldberg (Federal) well-liked in the district, should win. His opponent, Brigadier A. Skeen (Confederate) has strong support but is new to the area and has made some foolish and irresponsible statements. The election

1. It might be well to follow these predictions with the list of candidates included in PBM-11.

here depends on the independents--there is a strong Federal bloc and an equally strong Confederate bloc. FEDERAL SEAT.

BULAWAYO--D. MacIntyre (Federal) will win handily. He has no opposition to speak of and the area is a Federal Party stronghold. FEDERAL SEAT.

BULAWAYO SUBURBS--The same is true here. Eastwood (Federal) has a large following to add to the voters who will vote Federal regardless. FEDERAL SEAT.

DARWIN--Christie (Confederate) is a strong and appealing candidate but he will not be able to overcome the strength of the Federal Party. Caldicott (Federal) should win. FEDERAL SEAT.

MIDLANDS--Smith (Federal) should win here. His Confederate opponent, Weedon, does not have much support and Williamson, the Independent, is not strong enough to take enough votes from Smith to allow a Confederate to win. FEDERAL SEAT.

MREWA--The fight here is a close one. The Federal Party has been using its heaviest artillery in this district including talks by Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Godfrey Huggins. On the strength of this I will give the seat to N. G. Barrett (Federal) although I have a feeling that Col. G. R. Musgrave (Confederate) may be able to rally his Confederate Party support and pull an upset. \*FEDERAL SEAT.

SALISBURY--Hodson (Federal) should win handily. Federal Party is strong here. FEDERAL SEAT.

SALISBURY SOUTH--A close fight since the constituency includes a great many laboring people whose sympathies are with the Confederate Party. Strong Federal Party organization should give the seat to Winterton (Federal), however. \*FEDERAL SEAT.

SALISBURY SUBURBS--Sir Godfrey Huggins (Federal) will win hands down. FEDERAL SEAT.

SALISBURY WEST--Although Newton (Confederate) is a stronger candidate, he will not be able to beat the Federal Party support behind Swan (Federal) who is something of a political nonentity. FEDERAL SEAT.

SEBAKWE--Smit (Federal) got off to a very shaky start but has done a great deal of what is called Huisbesoek (home visit). He is an Afrikaner and so are a large number of his constituents. However Dendy Young (Confederate) is leader of the party towards which Afrikaners are naturally inclined. I give the seat to Young, but with mental reservations. \*CONFEDERATE SEAT.

UMGUZA--No doubt here. Greenfield (Federal) will win. FEDERAL SEAT.

UMNIATI--Here is a seat where personal popularity will probably decide. Cullinan (Federal) is not popular and does not live in the district.<sup>1</sup> The Marquis of Graham (Confederate) is popular and does live in the district. The farmers

\* Doubtful seats.

1. A candidate here, as in England, need not live in the district he seeks to represent.

there should elect the latter. CONFEDERATE SEAT.

WESTERN--Halsted (Federal) with strong party support should win. FEDERAL SEAT.

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIAN NATIVE CANDIDATES

MASHONALAND--Since the white electorate will vote for the Native candidates, Federal Party-supported Savanhu will win since the Federal Party will have an overall majority in the eastern half of Southern Rhodesia. It cannot be called a Federal seat, however, since Savanhu will be elected to represent African interests.

MATABELELAND--The same goes for Hove, similarly sponsored by the Federal Party.

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIAN EUROPEAN CANDIDATES TO REPRESENT AFRICAN INTERESTS

This is a four-way fight for one seat since the nomination application of Confederate Ian Finlay McLean was approved. He should win since he is the only candidate with any party affiliation and the Confederates will vote in a bloc for him throughout the country. The Federal Party, which is kicking itself for not nominating its own candidate for this seat, will split its vote among the other three candidates. Since he is elected to represent African interests, this seat should not be called either Federal or Confederate. But Confederate policy being what it is, he will represent the Confederates more than he will the Africans. CONFEDERATE SEAT.

#### NORTHERN RHODESIA

BROKEN HILL--Sir Roy Welensky (Federal) will take it. FEDERAL SEAT.

KAFUE--Van Eeden, although he is running on the Federal Party ticket, is at heart a Confederate and will therefore collect all the Confederate votes that otherwise would have gone to John Gaunt. FEDERAL SEAT.<sup>1</sup>

LIVINGSTONE--Not much has been heard from this constituency and it is generally considered a "safe" Federal Party seat. However Derby (Confederate) has strong support among the many railway men there and may pull an upset. \*FEDERAL SEAT.

LUANGWA--Sir Roy's victory in the dispute with the Colonial Office over the franchise question should pull this seat to the Federal Party although it at first was considered safe for the Confederates. FEDERAL SEAT.

LUANSHYA-MUFULIRA--The same may be said for this Copper Belt seat. FEDERAL SEAT.

LUSAKA--Sergeant (Federal) is a weak candidate largely known for his good works. The Confederate candidate is not strong enough to take advantage of this, and I have a feeling that the seat will go to the Independent candidate, Dr. A. Scott, who has strong Civil Service and Indian support. The Federal candidate and the Confederate candidate should sidetrack enough votes to give Scott the seat.

1. A fight for power between Sir Roy and Van Eeden is expected, I understand.

NDOLA--Van Zyl (Confederate) is very weak. FEDERAL SEAT.

NKANA-CHINGOLA--This is hard to tell. All three candidates have strong followings. I think that Sir Roy's victory should pull enough votes to l'Ange (Federal) to give him the seat. FEDERAL SEAT.

#### NYASALAND


Although there are two Indian candidates, there are not enough Indian voters to put them in. It must be remembered that each voter in Nyasaland has four votes and he cannot cast all four of his votes for the same man. The country is almost entirely Federal and since all Federal voters will cast their ballots for the Federal Party candidates, that will give the Federal Party quite an edge. Also, the Indian voters will have two votes left after they have voted for their two Indian nominees. It is reasonable to expect these votes will be split up among the Federal candidates. FOUR FEDERAL SEATS.

Summing up, I imagine the makeup of the new Federal Parliament to be as follows: Twenty-three Federal Party seats, three Confederate Party seats, and one Independent seat. The other seats in Parliament will be filled by non-partisan members--two Africans and one European to represent African interests from Northern Rhodesia, the same from Nyasaland, and two Africans (sponsored by the Federal Party) from Southern Rhodesia. The Federal Party should have a strong, working government; the Confederate Party will have a small opposition; and the Natives are likely to side with the Federal Party except when they have a particular axe to grind.

If, however, the doubtful seats go Confederate (which they well might do), it would give the Federal Party twenty seats and the Confederates six.

In any event, the Federal Party will wind up with a very useful majority and should be able to get Federation under way as was originally planned by Sir Godfrey Huggins.

Sincerely,



Peter Bird Martin

Received New York 12/17/53.