

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

PBM - 6
Confederate Party

42 Fereday Drive
Eastlea,
Salisbury,
Southern Rhodesia
September 7, 1953

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
c/o Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Although the Federal Party has not admitted it officially as yet, the federal parliamentary election campaign is on. And the issue that has been raised to unwelcome prominence in these early days of charge and counter-charge is the race question, just as it was raised during the days of the referendum for federation.

There are two parties now on the field. There is the Federal Party, made up of Sir Godfrey Huggins, the "father" of the federation and present Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia; Sir Roy Welensky, ex-boxer and engineer and now leader of the Northern Rhodesia legislature; and Sir Malcolm Barrow, Governor of Nyasaland--and their followers. Other government leaders who supported federation have gathered under Sir Godfrey's flag to fight the good fight. Their motto seems to be "We brought you federation, now give us a chance to see if we can make it work."

The other party is the Confederate Party. Made up of a large number of those persons who opposed federation during the referendum, its leader is Dendy Young, at present an independent member of the Southern Rhodesia Parliament from Avondale, a Salisbury suburb. Its component parts especially from Southern Rhodesia (the only territory where party politics existed before federation) are the old Democratic Party, segments of the Rhodesia Labour Party, and various other factions labeled "negrophobes" by the Federal Party and who say themselves that they are merely "aware" of the dangers of native domination.

This first letter will deal with the Confederate Party, not through any personal preference, but because the Confederate Party was the first to organize, set itself a definite aim, and actually get down to the nasty business of chasing votes.

The Federal Party has been organized, but its aims and principles have not yet been released officially and therefore it is still a party without a policy and is hard to discuss in concrete terms.

After attending the inaugural congresses of both parties, it was easy for me to see that the main difference between the two is the question of a native policy. It is "integration gradually" on the Federal side as opposed to "separation" on the Confederate side.

The Confederate Party's inaugural congress was held Friday, July 24, at Athenaeum Hall, on Jameson Avenue here in Salisbury. My first impression, as I walked down the dusty sidewalk toward the old, yellow building, was that I was in for a day of light entertainment. The people gathered on the front porch of the hall were dressed poorly. They seemed listless, dispirited, and completely

unpolitical--almost as though they realized they were part of a lost cause even before the cause was lost.

I went inside and introduced myself to a largish woman at a desk who seemed to be in charge of seating arrangements and giving out bits of ribbon stuck on pins. I told her who I was--and after a hesitant moment she classified me as "overseas press" and found me a seat at the press table.

The hall was poor. There were far too few chairs--the folding kind--set up in rows on the soft wood floor. The floor had worn so unevenly that only three legs of a chair were ever on the ground at one time. The place had a weathered, tired look and the people who had come to be enrolled as charter members of the new party looked very much the same. Most of them had the hands, eyes, and clothing of farmers.

At 10 a.m. promptly the meeting came to order. I have attended "Farmers' Days" near Hartley, about 90 miles from Salisbury. As the chairman, Col. G. R. Musgrave, stood up I had the feeling that if I closed my eyes I would be able to hear cattle lowing in the background as the speaker began his talk on the importance of grass in the planting cycle.

It was the last time I had that feeling. The speech that Col. Musgrave delivered was short, precise, and catalytic. He said:

"By far the most important item in the Confederate Party manifesto is the Native Policy, and if Europeans and Natives are going to live and prosper in this Federation we cannot delay any longer in taking a firm and united stand in this connection.

"One thing we can't do, and that is to stand by and leave the future of this Federation and the future of Central Africa prey to the vagaries of United Kingdom Party Politics, to Big Business¹ interests and to a number of individuals who have declared that for quite a number of years the function of the Federal Government will be confined to setting up the administration. I can assure you there will be a lot more than routine problems to attend to.

"The Confederate Party wishes to make it quite clear that it supports the Federation but at the same time wishes to leave no one in doubt that the final aim of the party is dual development--that is, development of Europeans and Natives along their own lines. That is the only way. One has only to look back in history to see the failures which can be attributed to the experiment of multi-racial societies when the races have consisted of Europeans and African Natives or Europeans and Asiatics. In face of such evidence it would be gross folly to follow any other course but dual development. In saying this I do not mean that only the European would benefit, it is also the only way to the advancement and prosperity of the Native as well."

Applause came fast and thick during Musgrave's speech. From all over the hall came the thumping of feet and cries of "Hear, hear" and "Ja, ja." After the noise had quieted, I knew the fight was on. And, to inject personal feeling, I knew that in the success or failure of this new political party lay the

1. Word-for-word quotation from speech copy read by Musgrave. Capital letters his.

future of the federation. The noble experiment of partnership, instituted in what is one of the last strongholds of racial harmony in Central and South Africa, is at this early stage to be subjected to the crumbling effects of racial disagreement among the white citizens.

After the opening address, the first order of business was the drafting of a constitution. A rough, mimeographed copy of a draft constitution had been distributed throughout the hall, and Dendy Young, later to be elected president of the party, read each provision out loud.

It might be well here to say something of Dendy Young. He is a young, forceful man with dark hair and very clear eyes. He wears his clothes well and speaks in a well-modulated, controlled voice. At the last Southern Rhodesian parliamentary election he was voted in as Member of Parliament from Avondale, running on the United Party ticket. As you know, the United Party is the majority party in Southern Rhodesia, headed by the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins. The party as a whole is pro-federation and pro-partnership. During the early days of federation debate in parliament he found himself unable to swallow federation and all that it meant. So he crossed over--which means that he abandoned his desk on the right side of the legislative chamber where his confreres of the United Party sit, and went to the other side of the room as an independent member.

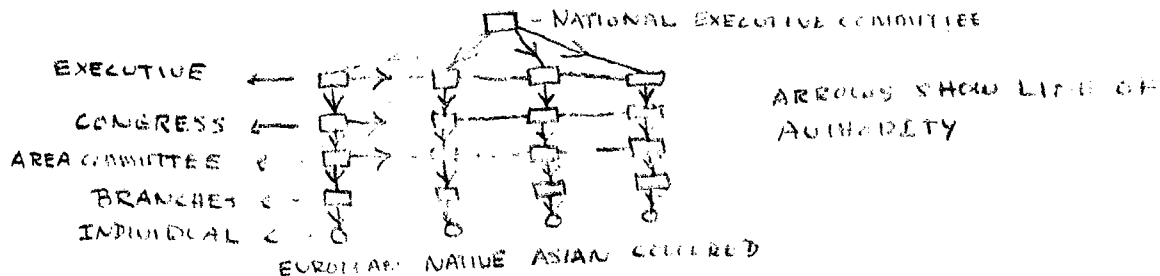
He fought federation tooth and nail, in parliament and out. A few months ago, when federation was a fait accompli, he, together with Percy A. Newton, a strong-minded private citizen who is an ardent separationist, decided to form the Confederate Party to give, as Newton put it to me, "Old Huggins a run for his money." What they were doing, although they will never admit it, was giving a party name and party affiliations to those who opposed federation.

Most of the reporters at the press table closed their notebooks and leaned back as Young began to read the constitution. Constitutions are dull reading, and they each were supplied with a copy anyway.

There was a rattle of chairs and a flapping open of notebooks, however, when Young came to section d, paragraph 4 of the constitution. It read:

"There shall be separate membership, branches, congresses, area committees, and executive councils for European, Native, Coloured, and Asian racial groups, but the European State Chairman and leader shall be ex-officio Chairman and leader of every group. This organization shall apply until such time as the Party's policy of separate states within the federation has been implemented."

He explained the make-up of the party by using the following diagram:



"European control of the coloured, native, and Asian branches starts at the area committee level," he explained.

This was important. It meant that even within the party structure there was to be strict separation between racial groups, and each of the non-European racial groups was to be under full control of the European group. No "partnership" here.

The rest of the constitution is normal. It names the party, sets up administration for it (of which the diagram above is the sum total), limits membership to those over 18 years of age, and provides for separate organization in each territory.

By tea time (11 a.m.) the constitution had been read through and approved. The group of delegates who met on the side porch of the hall to drink their tea and eat tomato sandwiches was no longer dispirited. There was an electric feeling humming over the rims of cups and sense of purpose and urgency in the lively conversation. Not that the Confederates can expect to send a majority to the federal parliament. But they can expect to elect a few M. P.'s and thus keep the policies they espouse in the public eye.

After tea, Col. Musgrave reopened the meeting. The next order of business was the approval of a statement of principles and policy. This is the most important single item in the makeup of the Confederate Party and I am going to treat it fully. Below, on the left, I shall quote each clause exactly as it was put to the congress. On the right below I shall quote the clause as it was amended by the congress and, later, the executive committee. This is the form it takes in newspaper advertisement and campaign literature.

The sections below extending across the page and enclosed by parentheses are my report of some of the debate on a few of the more controversial items, and the reasons behind them as revealed to me during an interview with Newton.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Party is based on loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and Successors. | 1. Approved in original form. |
| 2. The Party claims the right of the State to self-determination within the Constitution. | 2. The Party claims the right of the Federal and the several States to self-determination within the Constitution. |
| 3. (this clause was not included in the original draft) | 3. The Party pledges itself to make federation a success. |
| 4. The Party is pledged to maintain strengthen and extend western civilization in the Federal States and to suppress communism in all its forms. | 4. The Party is pledged to maintain, strengthen and extend western civilization in the Federal States and to suppress subversive Communism. |

(Representatives from the Rhodesia Labour Party, not yet fully committed to support the Confederate Party, were present at the meeting. They proposed the clause on the right above, since it did not seem to rule out socialism as part of "communism in all its forms")

5. The Party's aim is to combine the search for private profit and personal happiness with the achievement of the public good

6. The Party believes in freedom of religion and holds that the States should not encroach upon the domestic affairs of Church or family.

7. The Party recognizes the permanent existence of separate population groups and considers that the way to racial harmony lies in giving each group the opportunity of developing its capacities in its own area in the service of its own people. The ultimate political pattern visualized for the Federal State will provide for local political autonomy for European and Native areas with an overall federal political authority.

(This is the most important clause in the Confederate Party's statement of principles. The word "political" was inserted to allow Confederate Party candidates to say, "of course, this is not opposed to partnership. Natives will certainly be allowed to find employment in European areas. They are not to be fenced in. We only mean to keep them out of our politics and out of our beds." At the congress it was proposed, seconded and carried that a separate clause be inserted at this point stating that clause 7 is the most important clause in the entire statement of policy and deserves first priority. The leaders of the party decided not to insert the new clause since it might bring charges of unbalance and distorted values later. The last sentence of original clause 7 was added at the end of the next clause (8) since it reads more naturally there.)

8. The Party accepts the necessity for European political control and leadership for the foreseeable future, but recognizes the importance of providing training and adequate scope for advancement by the Natives in this sphere in their own areas.

9. (This clause was included in the original draft as clause 10) The Party considers it of basic and vital importance to foster a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation between all races.

10. The Party recognizes the desira-

5. The Party's aim is to create a society in which the search for private profit and personal happiness is combined with the achievement of the public good.

6. Approved in original form.

7. The Party recognizes the existence of different population groups and considers that the way to racial harmony lies in giving each group, i.e. European and Native, the opportunity to develop its political capacities in its own area in the service of its own people.

8. The Party accepts the necessity for European political control and leadership for the foreseeable future, but recognizes the importance of providing training and adequate scope for advancement by the Natives in this sphere in their own areas. The ultimate political pattern visualized for the Federal State will provide for local political autonomy for European and Native areas with an overall federal political authority.

9. Approved in original form.

10. Approved in original form.

bility for consultation and cooperation between all South, Central and East African States in the solution of common problems.

11. (This clause was not included in the original draft.) 11. The Party upholds English as the only official language.

(This was obviously inserted to take the sting out of charges that the party is controlled by Afrikaans Nationalists who do not consider themselves either British or Rhodesian.)

STATEMENT OF POLICY

12. The Party will operate in both Federal and State fields. 12. Approved in original form.

(This set off a torrent of outraged protests by Federal Party members, most of whom are members of either the United or Rhodesia parties in Southern Rhodesian politics. Despite the American example the Federal Party considers it a bad thing to mix territorial and federal politics at this early stage of federal development. It was argued by Confederates in favor of this clause that cooperation between territorial and federal governments would be impossible if they were not both elected on the same platform. There is no territorial political party to which most Confederates belong.)

13. The Party places the interests of the Federal and the several States first and foremost. 13. Approved in original form.

14. CONSTITUTIONAL. The Party will strive towards the early attainment of Dominion status, i.e., full responsible government for the Federation within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the removal of all provision for outside interference in government, and in particular the elimination of all interference by the Colonial Office. 14. CONSTITUTIONAL. The Party will strive towards the early attainment of Dominion status, i.e., full responsible government for the Federation within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the removal of all provision for outside interference in government whatsoever.

(In deleting the last sentence of the original clause, the congress eliminated a clause very dear to the hearts of most Rhodesians. In every political conversation I've had, it seems that a bad situation here is always caused by "meddling by the bloody Colonial Office." The clause was removed in the interests of conciseness.)

15. TERRITORIAL SEGREGATION. The Party will support the principle of territorial segregation of Europeans and Natives and will investigate the possibility of consolidating the Native and European areas in Southern Rhodesia. The application of the principle to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be on the basis of the existing division of land between Europeans and Natives. 15. SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND LAND APPORTIONMENT. The Party will support the principle of separate development and land apportionment as between European and Native and will investigate the possibility of consolidating the Native and European areas in Southern Rhodesia. The application of the principle to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be on the basis of the existing division of land between Europeans and Natives.

(There were no amendments to this clause put forward at the congress. Apparently the committee drafting the final statement of policy decided that segregation was a dirty word, and removed it. Instead they inserted the highly dignified "Separate Development and Land Apportionment.")

16. ECONOMIC. (a) In European areas the economy of the country will, to the greatest extent possible, be geared to the European wage structure and standard of living. (b) In Native areas the economy will, to the greatest extent possible, be geared to the Native wage structure and standard of living. (c) There will be overall coordination and planning of industrial development. (d) The aim will be a progressive standard of living for all sections of the community.

(This sounds very complicated at first reading. Boiled down, it means "we won't bring the Native up to the European level in any great rush and we won't feel compelled to take the European down to the Native level." The Federal Party would agree with this. The industrial phrase was put in for the benefit of European entrepreneurs. Eventually they were bound to ask, "If the Native can have his own industry in his own areas, what is to keep him from entering into competition with us, producing more cheaply, and forcing us out of business?" Confederate Party answer: "There will be overall coordination and planning of industrial development.")

17. THE FRANCHISE. In view of the special representation of Native interests in the Federal Assembly, only Europeans and those non-Europeans who live after the manner of Europeans will participate in the election of the remaining members of the House; such participation to be on the basis of high property and education qualification. SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND NORTHERN RHODESIA: The principle of special Native representation will be introduced and a pattern similar to that of the Federal State will be applied. NYASALAND: There will be special representation for Europeans, Asians and Natives.

(Here again is one of the more important planks in the Confederate Party platform. Some people fear that if natives are left on the common voters' roll, eventually they will outnumber white voters and elect an all-black or native-dominated Parliament. Clause 17 very effectively eliminates all natives from

17. THE FRANCHISE. In view of the special representation of Native interests in the Federal Assembly only those not so represented will participate in the election of the remaining members of the House. SOUTHERN RHODESIA, NORTHERN RHODESIA AND NYASALAND.-- The principle of special Native representation will be introduced.

the common voters' roll since they are already represented in Parliament by special members. The elimination of the "only Europeans and those non-Europeans who live after the manner of Europeans" phrase was done when it was suggested that the phrase added nothing to the very important phrase that preceeded it. The deletion of the provision for high property and educational requirements was made when it was decided to everyone's satisfaction that the Native had already been eliminated in the first phrase and there was no point in taking from the roll poor white people who could not meet higher requirements.)

18. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. (a) In European areas, Local Government will be controlled by Europeans with Native representation by Europeans. (b) In Native areas Local Government will be handed over as rapidly as possible to Native control with European representation by Natives.

19. (This clause was not included in the original draft.)

18. Approved in original form.

19. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. The Party believes in the extension of Local Self-Government by the creation of Rural District Councils with wide powers, and the de-centralization of the Public Services from the territorial capitals to these local government authorities. The policy will be implemented as soon as the machinery can be set up and finance is available.

(This is largely a decentralizing move organized by farming and other rural interests to better serve themselves by government nearer their level and more subject to their control. I might note here that the Afrikaans group is a farming group.)

20. IMMIGRATION. The Party recognizes the absolute necessity for large scale European immigration into the European areas. Asian immigration will be debarred. Immigration by Europeans, Asians or Natives into Native areas within the Federal State will be prohibited, but those whose activities are for the benefit of the Native Peoples will be admitted. Holding up the development of large areas of land, especially by absentee landlords, will be vigorously discouraged as a means to encouraging immigration.

20. IMMIGRATION. The Party recognizes the absolute necessity for large-scale European immigration into the European areas. Asian immigration will be debarred. Immigration by Europeans, Asians or foreign Natives into Native areas within the Federal State will be prohibited, but those whose activities are for the benefit of the Native Peoples will be admitted.

(The move to bar all Asian immigration is a popular one since it is believed that Asian Communists are behind all the native trouble to the north and south of the federation. The last line of the original clause has been added to

the end of Clause 28, AGRICULTURE.)

21. MONOPOLIES AND CARTELS. Machinery will be set up to investigate conditions in industry and trades which tend toward public or private monopoly and which threaten the public interest by restricting supplies, blacklisting and price-fixing agreements, whether legally enforceable or not.

(The change here is apparent. The clause has been broadened to include everyone.)

22. TAXATION. The Party believes that taxation should be as light as possible in order to keep down the cost of living, attract capital and encourage production. Death duty legislation will be revised to avoid, as far as possible, the exaction of heavy capital levies from deceased estates. Receipts from death duties will be expended only on capital projects.

21. MONOPOLIES AND CARTELS. Private enterprise will be encouraged but machinery will be set up to investigate conditions in industry and trades which tend towards a monopoly, and which threaten the public interest by restricting supplies, blacklisting and price-fixing agreements, whether legally enforceable or not.

22. TAXATION. The Party believes that taxation should be low in order to keep down the cost of living, attract capital and encourage production. Death duty legislation will be revised to avoid the exaction of heavy capital levies from deceased estates. Receipts from death duties will be expended only on capital projects. The Party upholds the principle that taxation should be proportional to income and disapproves of the personal tax. It will investigate the feasibility of introducing a system of "pay as you earn."

(The Confederate Party is well aware that everyone pays taxes. The tax most people object to in Southern Rhodesia is a 5 pound male "head tax." Every man who is a Rhodesian citizen must pay an annual tax of 5 pounds, no matter how much he earns. Officially, this is called the "personal tax.")

23. DEFENCE. The Party places particular emphasis on Defence and adopts the policy that the Federal State must be prepared, within the limits of her capacity, to defend herself and contribute to the defence of western civilization.

23. Approved in original form.

24. THE PUBLIC SERVICE. The Party believes that in Departments such as Roads, Posts and Telegraphs, Mines and Agriculture, professional and technical branches should be separated from the administrative side and given direct access to the Minister concerned. The position of the Public Services Board will be examined and its functions revised.

24. Approved in original form.

25. HEALTH. The Party stresses the need for efficient and adequate health services, curative, preventive and promotive, with adequate attention to the needs of rural communities. The development of contributory medical aid schemes will be encouraged.

(Mr. L. J. Pearl, delegate from the Rhodesia Labour Party at Bulawayo and unsuccessful Labour Party candidate for election to the Southern Rhodesia Parliament, insisted that the original last line be changed to read as it appears in the final policy statement at right, above. He stressed particularly that it would be health insurance (of the Blue Cross type in the United States) rather than State Medicine which was so widely abused and ridiculed in Britain.)

26. (This clause was not included in the original draft.)

25. HEALTH. The Party stresses the need for efficient and adequate health services, curative, preventive and promotive, with adequate attention to the needs of rural communities. A State Medical Aid scheme will be established.

26. INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION. The Party's aim is to maintain and improve industrial and Workmen's Compensation legislation with the object of achieving uniformity in all three States.

(This was not proposed at the congress itself. It was obviously inserted at a later date by a party leader conscious of the importance of the labor vote.)

27. EDUCATION. EUROPEAN: The Federal State should ensure that an adequate standard of education is maintained sufficient to equip its citizens to assume their responsibilities towards western civilization. Education, primary and secondary, will be free and compulsory. NATIVE: The Party recognizes the advantages of education to the Native with special regard to improving his productive capacity, and will endeavor to meet his needs to the full according to the means of each state. Education will be free. HIGHER EDUCATION: The Party stands for separate facilities for Europeans and Natives as far as practicable. Gifted children will be assisted.

27. EDUCATION. EUROPEAN: The Federal State should ensure that an adequate standard of education is maintained sufficient to equip its citizens to assume their responsibilities towards western civilization. Education, primary and secondary, will be free and compulsory. NATIVE: The Party recognizes the advantages of education to the Native and will endeavor to meet his needs to the full according to the means of each state. Education will be free. HIGHER EDUCATION: The Party stands for separate facilities for Europeans and Natives. Gifted children will be assisted.

(The phrase "with special regard to improving his productive capacity" smacked of exploitation to a good many of the delegates at the congress. The section above on "higher education" is especially interesting in view of the fact that the Queen Mother has just laid the cornerstone for the new multi-racial Rhodesian University. The university has been highly talked of, both here and overseas, for one reason--its lack of color bar. A large sum of money has been donated to the university for building purposes with the understanding that both Europeans and Natives are to be permitted to attend.)

28. LAND AND AGRICULTURE. (a) SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION: The Party considers this of primary importance. (b) GUARANTEED PRICE SYSTEM: The Party stands for guaranteed prices for agricultural produce as far as possible subject to acceptance by the producers of corresponding checks on bad husbandry practices. (c) PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS: will be encouraged by means of taxation relief. (d) CREDIT FACILITIES: Improved credit facilities for the farming industry will be provided. (e) VETERINARY AND OTHER SPECIALIZED SERVICES: Adequate provision will be made by means of State-aided and free services.

28. AGRICULTURE: (a) SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION: The Party considers this of primary importance and should be a Federal responsibility. (b) GUARANTEED PRICE SYSTEM: The Party stands for guaranteed prices for agricultural produce as far as possible subject to acceptance by the producers of corresponding checks on bad husbandry practices. (c) PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS: These will be encouraged by means of taxation relief. (d) CREDIT FACILITIES: Improved credit facilities for the farming industry will be provided. (e) VETERINARY AND OTHER SPECIALIZED SERVICES: Adequate provision will be made by means of State-aided and free services. (f) Holding up the development of large areas of land, especially by absentee landlords, will be vigourously discouraged as a means to encouraging immigration.

(Conservation of soil and water has not been designated a federal area of responsibility. Hence the addition of "should be a federal responsibility" in section (a). Section (f) was brought over from clause 20, IMMIGRATION)

29. MINING: The Party recognizes the fundamental importance of both precious and base metal industries, and the desirability of promoting secondary industries for processing the primary products. Special taxation formulae will be developed for the various classes of the mining industry.

29. MINING: The Party recognizes the fundamental importance of both precious and base metal industries, and the desirability of promoting secondary industries for processing the primary products. Special taxation formulae will be developed for the various classes of the mining industry. A commission of inquiry will be established to report on the question of mining concessions.

(One of the reasons for the addition of the last sentence above was, I learned from Newton, that mineral rights in native territories might cause disputes; hence, the commission of inquiry.)

30. SECONDARY INDUSTRY: The geographic advantages of the territory will be exploited to the full. An Industrial Development Commission will be established for the purposes of providing financial assistance and encouragement in proper cases. In European areas, a minimum ratio of European to Native employees will be established for each industry.

30. SECONDARY INDUSTRY: The geographic advantages of the territory will be exploited to the full. An Industrial Development Commission will be established for the purposes of providing financial assistance and encouragement in proper cases. In European areas, a minimum ratio of European to Native employees will be established for each industry. The ratio to be determined in each case in consultation with the industry concerned.

(Newton considers the last two sentences of the above clause one of his most valuable contributions to the Party's policy. According to him, Europeans have come to rely too heavily on cheap native labor and some system of native labor quotas should be imposed in European areas to teach the now-lazy European the values of doing the job himself and to encourage immigrants to come here to take over jobs for which they are trained but which are now filled by natives.)

31. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS:

(a) RAILWAYS: The Railways of the Federation will be administered on business principles, due regard being made to agricultural and industrial development within the Federation and the promotion by means of cheap transport of an agricultural and industrial population in all the States. (b) ROADS: The Party believes in the necessity for an adequate road system with particular emphasis on areas not served by the railways. A tourist toll system will be introduced on First Class roads. A National Road Fund will be established into which will be paid the receipts from Customs Duty on petrol, tolls and any moneys appropriated by Parliament. (c) AIRWAYS: The Party believes in the necessity for an adequate Federal Air Service.

31. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS:

(a) RAILWAYS: The Railways of the Federation will be administered on business principles, due regard being made to agricultural and industrial development within the Federation and the promotion by means of cheap transport of an agricultural and industrial population in all the States. (b) ROADS: The Party believes in the necessity for an adequate system to facilitate the economic use of road transport with particular emphasis on areas not served by the railways. A National Road Fund will be established into which will be paid the receipts from Customs Duty on petrol and any moneys appropriated by Parliament. (c) AIRWAYS: The Party believes in the necessity for an adequate Federal Air Service.

(The toll was considered a vote-loser for two reasons. There is a controversy here between the government and truck owners concerning the damage done to roads by heavy trucks. The government does not allow trucks to be loaded to their full capacity in order to prevent extensive road damage. Also, to charge anyone a toll for riding on a strip road is literally adding insult to injury.)

32. BANKING AND CURRENCY: The Party will take immediate steps to establish a Federal Reserve Bank to control and organize currency and credit and for the other purposes associated with a Reserve or State Bank.

32. Approved in original form.

33. NATIVE LABOR: With a view to providing more adequate protection for the employer and with the object of promoting industry on the part of the Native, and rewarding merit, the Party will revise the Native Employment Laws to improve discipline and control.

33. NATIVE LABOR: With a view to providing adequate protection for the employer and the employee and with the object of promoting efficiency on the part of the employee and rewarding merit, the Party will revise the Native Employment Laws.

(The original clause had a definite tang of exploitation and repression to

it and was changed to fit in more fully with the Confederate brand of "partnership.")

34. WEST COAST OUTLET: Immediate negotiations will be opened with the United Kingdom and Union governments for road and rail access to the West Coast.

34. WEST COAST OUTLET: Immediate negotiations will be opened with the United Kingdom, Union and other Governments for road and rail access to the West Coast.

35. NORTHERN BECHUANALAND: The Party will open negotiations with the United Kingdom and Union governments for the incorporation of Northern Bechuanaland in Southern Rhodesia.

35. Approved in original form.

In my next letter I will give the Federal Party's statement of principles and policy equally full treatment. You will be able to see marked differences. In one way, the Confederate policy is better than the sheet which will be issued by the Federal Party. The Confederate's policy is concrete; the Federal's is somewhat vague.

The main difference between the two is in Native Policy, although there is a split in the Federal Party between those who want a hide-bound definition of "partnership" and those who want to leave it to a loose and all-encompassing interpretation. The Federal Party may omit any mention of native policy whatsoever, since it has been and still is Sir Godfrey Huggins' belief that the matter is a territorial, not a federal, responsibility.

Since the birth of the Confederate Party the newspapers and lecture stands have spewed out angry discussion of its principles, pro and con. The main charges which have been leveled against the Confederates include the claim that the party is too closely allied with the Union of South Africa through its absorption of the Democratic Party (which is largely made up of immigrants from the Union), the charge that separatism cannot and never has worked, the claim that now is the wrong time to divide the country's voters on a purely racial issue, the claim that the party is illiberal when the time has come for liberalism, and the charge that the Confederate Party is advocating a policy contrary to the one passed by two-thirds of the electorate during the referendum.

The Confederate Party, in the middle of all this notoriety, has been making hay while the sun shines. Between the time of their congress and the meeting of the Federal Party Congress, July 24 to August 7, they have been filling the letters-to-the-editor columns of the local Rhodesia Herald with arguments for their cause. This has caused a chain reaction of correspondence which causes at least one letter to appear in print each day. This is a remarkable feat since all the newspapers printed on a large scale for white readers in the federation are owned by Argus Publications--and Argus publications have decided to support the Federal Party.

The Confederates have also been using newspaper advertisements in their campaign. On the second day of the Federal Party's inaugural congress when an attempt was being made to define partnership, the Confederate Party ran a 2-column full

page length advertisement, listing their policy in full. They have run it again since, plus several advertisements quoting the late Field Marshall Smuts purporting to show that if Smuts were alive today he would be a Confederate.

To find out more about the Confederate Party, its origins, its purposes and its motives, I have had a few talks with Percy A. Newton. The first talk lasted for three and one-half hours over two cups of long-forgotten tea, and the second when Percy invited my wife and me to dinner.

A middle-aged man, Newton is owner of a vegetable market on the grand scale called "Vitagreens" on Baker avenue here in Salisbury. His vegetables are more expensive than those carried from door to door by native boys, but a great many of the middle class and upper middle class wives buy their vegetables there. He wears a moustache and a small, well-controlled beard shot with grey and has a sincere look in his clear blue eyes that leads you to believe he is personally convinced by what he is saying.

He fought tooth and nail against the federation; not because the idea of joining the three territories together into a single federal unit was abhorrent to him, but because of the "integration" clauses which were part of the original federal scheme.

Now that federation is an accomplished fact, he is fighting again to elect legislators who agree with him that integration is a threat to the position of the white man in Central Africa. He has been a Rhodesian since 1935; his father was one of the pioneers who came to Rhodesia in 1890. Percy showed me a picture of his father--a tall man with a wispy moustache, a determined look, and a lump of gold as big as an ostrich egg.

He was educated in the Union of South Africa and was a journalist there and later in Southern Rhodesia. He worked for Argus Publications, which now is opposing him politically.

He told me he came to Salisbury in 1935 with the strict understanding that he would not be stranded in this "wilderness" and would be returned to Johannesburg after six months at the Rhodesia Herald. Long before the time came for him to return he had torn up his agreement with the publishing firm and had, as he put it, "fallen in love with Rhodesia."

He continued working for Argus publications, taking a few years off during World War II to serve in the RAF, but disliking newspaper work more and more as the years went by. Then he married (in the early 1940's) and his dislike for journalism was crystallized when his wife became more and more vocal about the uncertain working hours, the poor pay, and their low social standing. Finally he turned to her and said, "Well, I have a bit of land--would you like to be a farmer's wife?" She allowed as how anything would be better than being a reporter's wife, and they began the cultivation of vegetables on a large scale--which eventually grew until they opened their own store in Salisbury.

Newton's wife has her own version of why her husband stopped being a journalist and began being a farmer. "He just isn't the kind to say 'Yes, Sir' and 'No, Sir'." This commentary is colored somewhat by the very deep affection evident between the two, but seems to hold water, from my brief relationship with the Newtons.

Newton's marriage brings home more than anything else the feeling that he is desperately serious about the role of the Confederate Party. His wife is the former Mrs. Dendy Young. Newton says that he and Young settled their differences a long time ago, but I got the impression that there was no love lost between the two until they were driven together by their common views on federation and their common fears of "black domination."

Newton feels that if a policy of integration is followed, the white man will eventually be driven out of Central Africa. He aims most of his heavy artillery at the clauses in the constitution which guarantee that when a native becomes "civilized" by western standards he is automatically entitled to the rights and privileges of the white man.

He gives, as an example, the common voters' roll. Voting qualifications in the federation will follow the lines set down by each individual territory. In Southern Rhodesia a voter must earn 240 pounds or own property equivalent to that amount. He must have sufficient education to fill out the voter's registration form.

"Right now," Newton says, "there are 125,000 Natives going to school. ¹ There are only 35,000 Europeans. If this continues, and the practice of the common voters' roll is continued, it will not be long before the native voter outnumbers the European voter by a tremendous margin and will be able to elect an almost all black parliament."

And, speaking of education, Newton says he has had many conversations with native leaders about the new, multi-racial Rhodesian University. He told me of a conversation he had with a Mr. S. Samkange, a native who is a member of the Federal Party and who I heard talking at great length on native rights at the Federal Party congress. Newton's account of the conversation is as follows:

"Look, Sammy, perhaps in the first year of the new university there will be five natives qualified to enter. That will be all right and you won't have any trouble. Suppose in the fifth year 50 natives are qualified to enter. That may be all right too, just so long as the natives don't outnumber the white students. But suppose in 10 or 15 years there are 500 or 1000 native students qualified to enter. And suppose that there are only 250 or 300 European students qualified to enter. If you believe that those fellows in the Federal Party are going to let natives take over the university completely, or even let natives outnumber the white students, you are just fooling yourself and the Federal Party is fooling you."

Newton is sure this will happen, basing his beliefs on the fact that most European children who are educated in primary or secondary schools here go on to Oxford or Cambridge--or other universities in the United Kingdom or the Union of South Africa. He sees no reason that this will not continue, even after the opening of the new university in Salisbury. He also bases his beliefs on the previously mentioned figures of 125,000 natives to 35,000 Europeans now in primary and secondary schools in Rhodesia.¹

I asked Newton about the charges that have been leveled at the Confederate Party concerning the similarity between "dual development" or "parallel

¹. Newton was wrong in his figures. There are 250,000 Natives in primary and secondary schools.

development" which the Confederates call their separation scheme and "apartheid," the separation scheme followed by the Nationalist Party in the Union of South Africa.

"Call it what you like," Newton answered. "Apartheid, separation, dual development, segregation--no matter what you call it, it is the native policy that has been followed all over South Africa and it is the only scheme that can work in a situation like this where the Europeans are out numbered 35 or 40 to one."

Newton admits that apartheid has not been successful in the Union, but he claims that the Confederate scheme will work better here. "For years the whites and natives practiced apartheid in the Union without actually naming it or laying down special laws for it. When a native walked into a post office and saw a white man standing at the counter, he automatically started another queue and thought no more of it. It seemed natural to him. He lived in his own district, he went to his own shops, he lived at his own level in life and enjoyed himself.

"Then the Nationalists came into power. They belittled the native, emphasized to him that he was naturally inferior because of things like brain capacity. They said the native never has been and never will be capable of governing--and therefore he cannot be given control anywhere. They put up signs saying 'for whites only' and went about legal separation with great thoroughness. Naturally, the natives resented this, and that led to the unrest and trouble you now find in the Union."

Admittedly the Confederate Party advocates the separation of black from white, he pointed out, but a great deal of the tension now present in the Union will be avoided by allowing the natives self-government in their own areas and allowing them to have their own local industry, customs, and police. If the native is allowed to advance on his own merits on a basis of integration with whites as is proposed by the Federal Party, eventually you will have a native, in a post office for instance, in a position superior to two or three white men. "That sort of thing is bound to lead to bloodshed."

The Federal Party has accused the Confederate Party of being to a large extent controlled by the old Democratic Party. I asked Newton about this and he quickly admitted that the Confederate Party had been very anxious to enlist the aid of the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party was formed in Southern Rhodesia to combat Sir Godfrey Huggins, but has never contested an election because it was formed after the last territorial parliamentary election.

Newton says that the reason the Afrikaaners dislike Huggins so much is because Huggins has always treated them as inferiors, poked fun at their language and their customs, and, on one occasion, called them wicked, horrible, little people in a public speech.

The ordinary Rhodesian seems to think that the Afrikaaner constitutes a menace and is merely here to impose his way of life on the federation, turning the country into a satellite revolving around the sun of the Union. Newton told me of the meeting he had with the leaders of the Democratic Party.

"I had three questions to ask them," he said. "The first was whether

they would accept membership in the Confederate Party as Rhodesians, not Afrikaaners or Nationalist Party members or Transvaal men or farmers or gold miners. Their answer was yes. Then I asked them whether they would agree to accepting English as the official language of the country. They said yes, so long as they could speak Afrikaans in their homes and in their private lives.

"I accepted this, since I remembered that my mother always spoke Gaelic at home, and no one ever accused her of being stupid or disloyal.

"Then I asked my third question, and I knew if they were going to object to anything, this would be it. Would you agree, I asked, to being loyal British subjects, for that is what you must be if you are to live happily in Rhodesia.

"At that question there was a great consultation. And then an old man got up on his feet and said, 'Mr. Newton, I can speak for the others. We will be British if we can be Rhodesians first and British second.' That is the way I feel myself, and I then knew they would be welcome in our party."

Newton said there were a few hardshell Nationalists in the Democratic Party. "But when you get right down to it, we've done the country a favor. Those Nationalists could do a great deal of damage and exert a great influence in the small, compact group that was the Democratic Party. Now they are spread out throughout the Confederate Party and their influence has been dissipated."

In other words, Newton's answer to the charge of domination by Nationalists is merely that the Afrikaaner is as good a Rhodesian as anyone else and is as interested in the future of the country.

All the preceeding I learned from Newton at the tea-table talk. He did not have much more to say at dinner, except to elaborate and to try to prove that the Confederate Party's policy is, in fact, the "liberal" policy while the Federal Party's policy is just a collection of unrealist dreams.

To do this, Newton quoted from the late Professor Alfred Hoernle, a former president of the Institute of Race Relations. Newton told me, and I have had it confirmed, that Hoernle said, "Separate areas of liberty for separate racial groups seem the only alternative to domination in a racial caste-society."

Mrs. Newton did not contribute much to the conversation, I'm afraid. She kept saying over and over, "Huggins has said that partnership does not mean sleeping with the natives, but I'm afraid that's just what it does mean."

As Newton was telling us how good separation would be for the natives, I asked about industry--how would it differ in native and white areas?

"Why," Newton said, "the native will be allowed to begin his own industry in his own area. He will be able to create a middle class all by himself by means of his own industry, instead of getting a lift to the top of the ladder non-stop with the help of the white man."

"But," I persisted, "what will the native be allowed to manufacture? Suppose he begins to make shirts. Since his labor will be cheap and his

raw materials will be cheaply produced by other natives in his native state, he will be able to make shirts that cost less than the white man's. He will run the European shirt maker out of business. And given a proper start, almost any native operating in free competition with Europeans will be able to run the Europeans out of business."

Newton looked as if he still did not follow this line of reasoning.

"Well," I said, "do you think white men are going to stand for being run out of business by natives under a Confederate administration?"

Newton thought for a minute. "Well," he said, "I hadn't thought of it that way before, but I guess we'll have to limit the native to producing things that aren't made by white men. That's one of those problems that will have to be ironed out once we get things going."

I ventured to say that the only things that white men don't produce now are things on which they can't make a profit, and that leaves a pretty poor field of choice of items which can be manufactured by natives, and we went on to other topics.

By and large, I have tried to be objective about the Confederate Party. Speaking personally, I don't think their chances of winning a substantial number of seats are very great. There are too many objections rising out of the simple fact that the leaders of the party have not looked ahead to see where their policy will ultimately lead the country. And they are hiding, ostrich-like, from the fact that as the native learns more and achieves more, he is, eventually, going to rebel against the form of separation proposed by the Confederates.

I report the Confederates and their policy so fully because there is a large number of people who agree with them and their minority opinion is of great importance in understanding the country as a whole.

Sincerely,



Peter Bird Martin

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