

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

PBM - 11  
Federal Election Preview

Quorn Hotel  
P. O. Avondale  
Salisbury,  
Southern Rhodesia  
November 18, 1953

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

Dear Mr. Rogers:

The next month here in the Federation will be filled with the loud wails of wounded and misunderstood candidates, with political charge and countercharge, and with appeals from candidates of both the Federal and Confederate Parties to keep the election on a high, intellectual level. In the middle of the vocal maelstrom, the confused, mute voter will have to make up his mind whether to side with the political personalities who have led for so long and who stand for the high ideals originally intended to make Federation work--or the new, unknown candidates who claim that the white man can stay in Central Africa only if he keeps himself politically and socially separate from the Native.

In other words, the Federal Parliamentary elections are on. Two days ago the nomination of candidates was officially closed. In a month, on December 15, voters will go to the polls to cast their ballots. And, although Native affairs are explicitly left in the hands of the Territorial Parliaments by the Federal Constitution, the big issue being put to the voters is that of race. None of the other noble aims and principles of the two political parties are being discussed seriously.

Since I wrote about "preparation for Federation" the election machinery has been set up for each of the three territories. The enclosed map shows the electoral districts decided upon by a committee headed by Mr. A. D. Evans, chairman of the joint preparatory committee (PBM-4). In spite of the immense size of some of the electoral districts, they represent a fairly even split of the population. And it is interesting to note that in every district the outcome of the election will depend on how the voters in the towns cast their ballots. The farm vote is relatively unimportant, since the country outside the cities is sparsely populated, being cut up into farms of thousands of acres. For instance, the Mrewa District, in eastern Southern Rhodesia, will go Federal or Confederate according to the decision made by the voters who live in towns within a fifty-mile radius of the outer boundary of the Salisbury Suburbs District.

In Southern Rhodesia the voting will follow the procedure set up in the past for territorial elections. Everyone who is registered as a voter and who is included in the common voters' roll (open to Natives) will vote. The voters' roll was closed to new registrations last August 31, catching thousands of potential voters unaware, and canceling their right to vote in this important election.

Southern Rhodesian voters will have three ballots. They will vote for a European elected member to represent their district. They will vote for one of three European nonpartisan candidates to represent African interests in the Federal

Parliament. And they will vote for an African member of Parliament. As far as African candidates are concerned, Southern Rhodesia has been divided into two electoral districts (indicated by double line on map). The eastern district has been named the Mashonaland District and the western has been named the Matabeleland District.

Two Native candidates have been nominated from each district. One candidate in each district is "sponsored" by the Federal Party. The other is an independent. No Native candidate is "sponsored" by the Confederate Party, although Percy Newton (PBM-6) told me yesterday they had tried very hard to find one.

Party politics have long been a part of the Southern Rhodesia political scene, so the voters are used to political harangue. Northern Rhodesia is a different matter. There, there have never been politics on a party basis. The Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council is made up of British senior civil servants appointed by the Colonial Office in London and "elected" members (in the minority) who are elected by voters in some of the more heavily settled areas. There are two elected Africans and two Europeans nominated to represent African interests also on the Council. The question of political parties has not been raised there before, although there have been elections.

On December 15, therefore, Northern Rhodesian voters will go to the polls and vote for a European candidate to represent their district. That is all the voting they will do. The two Africans from Northern Rhodesia who will sit in the Federal Parliament will be elected by the 31 members of the African Representative Council, a kind of African House of Representatives.<sup>1</sup>

The European member of Parliament who will represent the interests of Natives in Northern Rhodesia will be appointed by the Governor.

There are no electoral districts in Nyasaland. In fact, there have never been bona fide elections in that protectorate. A list of registered voters has just been drawn up and each voter will have four votes, although he cannot cast them all for the same man. The four candidates receiving the most votes will become the European members of the Federal Parliament from Nyasaland. The two African members from Nyasaland will be elected by the African Protectorate Council, an organization similar in makeup to the Northern Rhodesia African Representative Council. The European who will represent African interests will be appointed by the Governor.

An interesting point in the Nyasaland elections is the fact that the population figures show that one or two Indians might conceivably be elected to the Federal Parliament. In Nyasaland there are (roughly) 4,500 Europeans, 6000-plus Indians, and about 4,500,000 Natives. Two Indians have been nominated as candidates. The list of registered voters has not yet been released, so I have no way of knowing how many Indians were able to qualify.

The following are the candidates who have been nominated by the two parties

1. An African works his way up to the African Representative Council by first becoming a member of his local (village) representative council. This council may elect him to be a delegate to the provincial representative council. If so, he then becomes eligible to be named as a delegate to the African Representative Council.

to contest the election. Some interesting inferences may be drawn from the brief biographies included below.

FEDERAL	SOUTHERN RHODESIA CONFEDERATE	INDEPENDENT
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BORDER

<p>B. D. Goldberg--Well-known lawyer, farmer, and business man; Director of companies. Educated at Salisbury Boys' High School and University of Cape Town. Leading figure in Regional Development Movement.</p>	<p>Brigadier A. Skeen--retired Army officer. Settled in Umtali after the last war. Leading opponent of Federation. Has taken a keen interest in the Regional Development Movement.</p>	<p>None</p>
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BULAWAYO

<p>D. Macintyre--S. R. Minister of Finance. Came to Rhodesia in 1921. Mayor of Bulawayo many times. Has wide business interests in Southern Rhodesia.</p>	<p>A. Smith--36-year-old auctioneer and estate agent. Second youngest Confederate Party candidate. New comer to politics.</p>	<p>None</p>
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BULAWAYO SUBURBS

<p>W. H. Eastwood--M. P. for Bulawayo District in S. R. Parliament. Leading businessman and politician. Has been in politics for many years. Former Bulawayo city councillor.</p>	<p>W. Shaw--A Bulawayo cartage contractor. Came to Southern Rhodesia from the United Kingdom in 1946.</p>	<p>None</p>
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DARWIN

<p>J. M. Caldicott--S. R. Minister of Agriculture. Farmer. Has been in Rhodesia for 28 years. Former president of Rhodesia Tobacco Association and Rhodesia National Farmers' Union. M. P. for Mazoe in S.R. Parliament.</p>	<p>R. Christie--Advocate. Came to Rhodesia in 1942. Has been practicing at the S. R. Bar for the past three years.</p>	<p>None</p>
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SOUTHERN RHODESIA (CONT.)  
CONFEDERATE

FEDERAL

INDEPENDENT

## MIDLANDS

<p>Ian D. Smith--M. P. for Selukwe in S. R. Parliament. A farmer and a Rhodesian by birth.</p>	<p>W. H. Weedon--Building contractor of Gwelo. Been in Rhodesia for four years. Member of Master Builders' Association. First entry into politics.</p>	<p>R. Williamson--Chartered accountant and director of companies. Former M. P. for Gwelo in S. R. Parliament.</p>
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## MREWA

<p>N. G. Barrett--M. P. for Marandellas in S. R. Parliament. Farmer. Has farmed in Rhodesia for many years.</p>	<p>Col. G. R. Musgrave-- Settled in Southern Rhodesia after the last war; now farms in the Odzi District. Farmed in Australia before the war. Deputy national leader of the Confederate Party, of which he was one of the founders.</p>	<p>None</p>
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## SALISBURY

<p>L. M. N. Hodson--M. P. for Salisbury Central in S. R. Parliament. Came to Southern Rhodesia in 1911. Educated at Salisbury Boys' High School and Witwatersrand University. Chairman of the Inaugural Board of Rhodesia University.</p>	<p>J. Dalrymple--Farmer and businessman. Came to Southern Rhodesia in 1950.</p>	<p>None</p>
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## SALISBURY SOUTH

<p>W. A. E. Winterton--M. P. for Salisbury South in S. R. Parliament. Lawyer. Former Cabinet Minister. Came to Southern Rhodesia in 1924. First elected to Parliament in 1933.</p>	<p>H. A. Alberts--Advocate. Came to Southern Rhodesia in 1940. Joined Civil Service Law Department prior to military service. After the war went to the Side Bar, later becoming an advocate.</p>	<p>None</p>
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FEDERAL	SOUTHERN RHODESIA (CONT.) CONFEDERATE	INDEPENDENT
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## SALISBURY SUBURBS

<p>Sir Godfrey Huggins-- Federal Prime Minister and leader of the Fed- eral Party. Born at Bex- ley, Kent, England, in 1883. Qualified as a doctor at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, in 1906 and took his F.R.C.S. in 1908. Came to Salisbury in 1911. Gave up general practice in 1922 to practice as a consul- ting surgeon. Served in the first World War with the R. A. M. C. M. P. in S. R. Parlia- ment since 1924 and in 1933 became Prime Minis- ter of the Colony, a position he held until the formation of the Federation.</p>	<p>Col. E. V. H. Cresswell- George--A founder-member of the Confederate Par- ty and its national chairman. Has served on many government boards and committees.</p>	<p>None</p>
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## SALISBURY WEST

<p>J. W. Swan--retired Civil Servant. Deputy Mayor of Salisbury. First entry into national politics.</p>	<p>F. B. d'Enis--consulting engineer and inventor. Came to Southern Rho- desia in 1948.<sup>1</sup></p>	<p>None</p>
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Percy Newton--Market-gar-  
dener and greengrocer of  
Salisbury. A former news-  
paperman and a member of  
the national committee of  
the Confederate Party.

## SEBAKWE

<p>J. L. Smit--M. P. for Charter in S. R.</p>	<p>J. R. Dendy Young-- Leader of the Confederate</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Mr. d'Enis was the Confederate Party candidate until the party was informed by the Rhodesia Herald that no publicity for Mr. d'Enis would appear in the paper because of Mr. d'Enis's rather odorous past. It was at that point that Newton volunteered to fill the candidacy. D'Enis could not withdraw his name under Southern Rhodesian law, so his name will also appear on the ballot.

FEDERAL	SOUTHERN RHODESIA (CONT.) CONFEDERATE	INDEPENDENT
<p>Parliament. Farmer. Came to Rhodesia in 1912.</p>	<p>Party. Born at Hankey in the Cape Province in 1907. Educated at Humansdorp and the University of South Africa. Came to the colony in 1926 and joined the Public Service. Took his law degree by private study and was admitted to the High Court in 1933. Entered private practice in 1934 and took silk in 1949. First entered Parliament in 1948 as United Party member for Avondale. Served in the last war in the South African Air Force and was commissioned in the field.</p>	<p>None</p>

#### UMGUZA

<p>J. M. Greenfield--S. R. Minister of Internal Affairs. M. P. for Hillside (Bulawayo) in S. R. Parliament. The only Rhodes Scholar in the Southern Rhodesian elections.</p>	<p>W. H. Rattham--Director of companies. Came to Rhodesia in 1928. Member of National Industrial Council.</p>	<p>None</p>
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#### UMNIATI

<p>L. M. Cullinan--S. R. Minister of Transport. M. P. for Salisbury District in S. R. Parliament. Came to Southern Rhodesia in 1927. Farms in the Marandellas District.</p>	<p>Marquis of Graham--Son and heir of the Duke of Montrose. Came to Southern Rhodesia in 1931. Farms near Salisbury.</p>	<p>None</p>
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SOUTHERN RHODESIA (CONT.)

FEDERAL	CONFEDERATE	INDEPENDENT
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WESTERN

<p>R. F. Halsted--Son of 1893 Pioneer. Came to Southern Rhodesia in 1929. M. P. for Bulawayo East in S. R. Parliament. Former Minister of Trade and Industrial Development. Businessman with wide interest in the Rhodesias.</p>	<p>A. B. Mentz--Builder and contractor. Has lived in Southern Rhodesia for the past 14 years. Former chairman of now defunct Democratic Party. Chairman for many years of Association of Afrikaners in Southern Rhodesia.</p>	<p>None</p>
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FEDERAL	NORTHERN RHODESIA CONFEDERATE	INDEPENDENT
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BROKEN HILL

<p>Sir Roy Welensky--Minister of Transport and Development in the interim Federal Government. Former railway man. Came to Northern Rhodesia in 1923. Member of Legislative Council since 1938. Leader of the N. R. Elected Members. Director of Manpower in N. R. during the last war.</p>	<p>W. Kirkwood--Employee at Broken Hill Mine. Has taken a prominent part in the town social life.</p>	<p>None</p>
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KAFUE

<p>G. F. M. Van Eeden--Graduate of Stellenbosch University. Northern Rhodesia born. Farmer. Member for Midlands electoral area in N.R. Legislative Council.</p>	<p>John Gaunt--Retired District Officer. Former Director of Lusaka Municipal Board Department of African Affairs. N. R. Chairman of Confederate Party.</p>	<p>None</p>
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LIVINGSTONE

<p>J. C. B. Graylin--Solicitor and barrister. Age 32. Came to Northern Rhodesia in 1950. Partner in Livingstone legal firm.</p>	<p>F. S. C. Derby--Railway official. Member of the Livingstone Municipal Council.</p>	<p>None</p>
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FEDERAL	NORTHERN RHODESIA (CONT.) CONFEDERATE	INDEPENDENT
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LUANGWA

<p>Capt. F. B. Robertson--Tobacco farmer. Member of the north-eastern electoral area in the N. R. Legislative Council.</p>	<p>C. B. Dodkins--Former employee of North Charterland Company in Nyasaland, now running his own real estate and auctioneer business in Fort Jameson. First entry into politics.</p>	<p>None</p>
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LUANSHYA-MUFULIRA

<p>V. T. Joyce--An official of the Salaried Staff Association at Mufulira copper mine. Federal Party organizer on the Copper Belt.</p>	<p>D. E. Charsley--Descendant of one of the 1820 Settlers. Has been in Northern Rhodesia for seven years. Employed at the Roan Antelope copper mine. First entry into politics.</p>	<p>None</p>
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LUSAKA

<p>E. W. Sergeant--Railway official. Came to Rhodesia in 1927. Member for Lusaka electoral area in N. R. Legislative Council</p>	<p>Group Capt. R.B. Pakenham--Settled in Rhodesia at the end of the last war. Now farms in the Mkushi District of Northern Rhodesia.</p>	<p>Dr. A. Scott--Doctor of Medicine, lawyer, mining engineer, and newspaper editor. Chairman of the Lusaka Municipal Board. Has also served on Livingstone Municipal Council.</p>
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NDOLA

<p>F. S. Owen--Former secretary of the Northern Rhodesia Association Chambers of Commerce. Came to N. R. in 1951.</p>	<p>W. H. van Zyl--Building contractor. Came to N.R. in 1930. Member of the Ndola Municipal Council since 1944. Former Mayor of Ndola.</p>
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NKANA-CHINGOLA

<p>G. W. R. l'Ange--Former underground manager at Nkana mine at which he is still employed. Member for Nkana electoral area in N.R. LegCo.</p>	<p>E. B. Hovelmeier--Former newspaper editor and auctioneer. Now employed at the Nkana mine. A founder member of the Confederate Party.</p>	<p>N. H. Lacey--Insurance agent. Lived on Copper Belt for many years. Director of an insurance company for Africans.</p>
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FEDERAL	NYASALAND CONFEDERATE	INDEPENDENT
Sir Malcolm Barrow-- Leader of Federal Party in Nyasaland. Leader of Unofficial Members of Nyasaland Legislature.	Charles Walsh--Former civil servant, now a farmer.	Alibhai Adambhai Desai-- Nominee of Indian Chamber of Commerce. Merchant.
Paul Frederick Brereton-- Managing Director of the Nyasaland Tobacco Auctions.		Pramlal Dayaram Lalsodagarwala-- Nominee of Asian Association. Member of Territorial Legislature.
Rupert Cecil Buquet--Former manager of Nyasaland Railways and president of the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce. Tung planter.		
John Foot--Tobacco planter of Lilongwe.		

SOUTHERN RHODESIA  
NATIVE CANDIDATES

MASHONALAND

J. Z. Savanhu--Endorsed by the Federal Party. Chief editor of African Newspapers Ltd. Member of Southern Rhodesian delegation to Federation discussions in London in March, 1952. A former school teacher.	None	S. J. T. Samkange--Son of the Rev. T. D. Samkange, principal of Pakame Mission, near Selukwe. Former school teacher, now organizing secretary of the Nyatsime College. Member of seven-man special committee selected by Federal Party Congress to define Partnership. <sup>1</sup>
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MATABELELAND

M. M. Hove--Endorsed by Federal Party. Editor of the Bantu Mirror, of Bulawayo. A former school teacher and leading social worker for many years.	None	J. M. N. Nkomo--Secretary of the Rhodesia Railways African Workers' Union. Member of the Southern Rhodesian delegation to the Federation discussions in London in March, 1952.
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1. Mr. Samkange is a member of the Federal Party. I understand he was very hurt when he was passed over by the party for Mr. Savanhu. Percy Newton told me that Samkange came to him and asked that the Confederate Party sponsor him after the Federal Party had refused to do so. Percy said he also refused. That is why we find Federal Party member Samkange running as an independent.

EUROPEAN CANDIDATES TO REPRESENT NATIVE  
INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

H. A. Holmes--M. P. for Bulawayo South in S. R. Parliament. Former Mayor of Bulawayo. Former businessman now farming in the Rusape district.

J. H. Farquhar--Retired Assistant Director of Native Education in Southern Rhodesia. Came to Colony about 25 years ago after teaching in African schools in South Africa. Closely associated with African welfare and education movements.

The Rev. Percy Ibbotson--Methodist missionary who came to Southern Rhodesia in 1922. Became organizing secretary to the Federation of African Welfare Societies in 1942. Has been a member of a number of statutory bodies and commissions of inquiry in connection with African affairs.

Ian Finlay McLean--Confederate Party member from Bulawayo who filed his nomination application incorrectly. It is still not known if he will be a candidate and what his qualifications are.

In a conversation with Sir Roy Welensky yesterday, I asked what he considered were the most necessary qualifications for a politician in Central Africa. He thought for a minute, then answered: "First of all, a strong sense of humor. Voters in this part of the world tend to shy away from a candidate who takes himself too seriously. Second, patience--not only with the Colonial Office, but with the appalling ignorance about politics that exists among the voters here in Rhodesia. And, third, a good, well-based knowledge of local affairs."

The Confederate Party's campaign is not running smoothly just now. Candidates in different districts are giving audiences at political meetings widely varying interpretations of the Party's policy. And, as sections of the Confederate policy are proved to be indigestible by the voter, the policy is changed, bit by bit, until today it bears little similarity, in interpretation at least, to the policy formulated at the initial Confederate Party Congress.

A lot of this confusion may well be because Confederate candidates are lacking in what Sir Roy calls absolute necessities for the Central African politician. In Southern Rhodesia, at least seven Confederate Party candidates are new to politics; only two Federal Party candidates are new to politics. Eight Confederates have come to settle in Southern Rhodesia since 1940; all the Federal Party candidates are apparently long-time residents. Eleven of the Federal Party candidates are members of the Southern Rhodesia Parliament; only one Confederate is a member of Parliament. Of the eleven Federal Party M.P.'s, four are Cabinet Ministers.

In Northern Rhodesia, the balance is somewhat better, largely because of the limited scope of politics there. However, it is noteworthy that four of the Federal Party candidates are members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, one of whom is a Cabinet Minister.<sup>1</sup> None of the Confederates are in the Legislative Council.

1. I refer here to Sir Roy Welensky although he recently resigned his position as minister in a constitutional squabble with the Colonial Office in London. I was in Lusaka at the time of the fight and will report on it later.

The Confederates have very little influence in Nyasaland and the candidate nominated there will run a token campaign with little hope of winning. The opposition against him is overpowering.

In a squib on central Africa in a recent issue of Time magazine, the statement was made that Sir Godfrey Huggins is fighting for his political life. From the lineup of candidates above, it seems obvious that Sir Godfrey need not fear defeat himself--nor need he fear that his party will lack a majority in the new Parliament. What he must fear is that a vocal block of five or six Confederates will get into Parliament, sieze on the mistakes that are bound to be made by a new government in a new Parliament in a new political structure, and thereby increase their numbers in the next election.

The Confederates have good chances of winning the Umniati, Border, and Sebakwe seats in Southern Rhodesia, and the Kafue, Luanshya-Mufulira, Ndola, and Nkana-Chingola seats in Northern Rhodesia. The Northern Rhodesian seats, aside from Kafue, are the so-called Copper Belt seats. In these areas there is a strong concentration of Afrikaners who, in spite of all the Federal Party claims to the contrary, will probably vote Confederate.

I have been told time and again that politics in central Africa are "just a matter of personalities." The voters are supposed to choose the man who looks, walks, and talks the best, no matter what his politics. This sort of philoeophy is reassuring to the Federal Party, most of whose candidates have won other elections here at one time or another. But with the violent campaign now being waged, in which the issues are so definitely black and white, some voters may well begin to vote for a political party instead of a particular candidate. That may well cause the Federal Party a goodly number of headaches.

The Confederates were fortunate in bringing out their controversial Native policy before the Federal Party Congress at which the Federal Party policy was drawn up. It prompted Federal Party member van Eeden to suggest a rival Native policy, thus discarding all of Sir Godfrey Huggins' claims that Native affairs are not a Federal matter. (See PBM-7).

Once the Federal Party admitted that Native policy could be argued from the political platform, the entire issue got out of hand. At one meeting held by a Confederate Party candidate, more than 85 per cent of the hour and a half meeting was taken up by discussion of the race question. The Confederates are basing their entire campaign on Native affairs.

In a very emphatic statement, J. R. Dendy Young, the Confederate Party leader, said "The Confederate Party's program is founded on a clear moral principle, namely, the just apportionment of the territories between European and Native, with an overall Federal authority, and the development of both races in partnership, cooperation, and mutual trust." In other words, political and social separation of white men and black men.

In this part of the world, that is a very easy argument to swallow. To counteract it the Federal Party has had to develop a negative instead of a positive argument. At Federal Party meetings politicians must spend a good

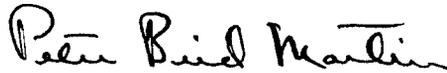
deal of their time speaking against the Confederate Party policy instead of for the Federal Party policy.

In his first political speech of the campaign, Sir Godfrey Huggins said, "If the people of Southern Rhodesia elected a single Confederate candidate to the Federal Parliament they would be perjuring themselves and letting down the United Kingdom and the Federal State."

If Sir Godfrey had his way, he would treat the Confederate Party policy as not worth discussing at all. As it is, he finds himself in the uncomfortable position of having to attack a clear and well-defined policy, at least on paper, without having a clear and well-defined policy of his own to offer in its stead.

Although this is a good point in favor of the Confederates, it is not enough to cause a major upset. Sir Godfrey is still the strong man of Central Africa. He was largely responsible for creating the Federation. The voters trusted his judgment and gave him the two-thirds majority he needed for its passage. The Confederate arguments are not strong enough to upset the general feeling of trust Rhodesians have in Sir Godfrey. But they are strong enough to make a good scrap of it.

Sincerely,



Peter Bird Martin

Received New York 11/30/53.

NORTHERN RHODESIA  
ELECTORAL DISTRICTS  
1953



FEDERAL ELECTORAL DISTRICTS 1953  
SOUTHERN RHODESIA



- \* BULAWAYO {
  - BULAWAYO
  - BULAWAYO SUBURBS
  - UMGUZA

- \* SALISBURY {
  - SALISBURY
  - SALISBURY WEST
  - SALISBURY SUBURBS
  - SALISBURY SOUTH