

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

PBM - 15
Election Results

c/o Quorn Hotel
P.O. Avondale
Salisbury,
Southern Rhodesia
December 17, 1953

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

Dear Mr. Rogers:

By 7 p.m. yesterday almost everyone in the Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland must have said "I can't believe it" at least once. For, in one of the most impressive political victories I have ever watched, the Federal Party swept into the new Federal Parliament 24 strong. Of the Confederates only one, leader J. R. Dendy Young, won his seat.

Even Ian McLean, the Confederate candidate who had been picked to win as specially elected European member to represent African interests in Southern Rhodesia, was defeated. This, however, could not be foreseen. As things stood a week ago, he should have won. At that time he had no Federal Party opponent for his seat and all the Federal votes would have been split among three men, allowing McLean, with a solid Confederate vote behind him, to waltz in. Apparently the Federal Party woke up to this danger, for two days before the election it was announced that the Federal Party had decided to back the Rev. Percy Ibbotson for the seat. This backing was publicized just in time--and Ibbotson won handily.

Election day was Tuesday, December 15. The polls opened at 7 a.m. under sunny skies. Here at the Quorn Hotel, one of the polling places for the Darwin District, election officials and party representatives were waiting for voters as Julie and I went down to breakfast. We watched the first few go through the voting process before we tucked into our poached eggs.

The Darwin District voters who came to the Quorn are mostly middle income families who live in Marlborough, a suburb of Salisbury. They parked their cars in the hotel parking lot, walked past the curious African waiters who did not quite understand what was going on, and moved up to a table where four ladies (two Federal and two Confederate) were waiting.

At the table the voter asked for a voting number--and the four ladies thereupon raced each other through printed lists of registered voters to find his name. Sometimes a Confederate lady found it, sometimes a Federal. The lady who found the number first wrote it out on a little scrap of paper and handed it to the voter, looking very much like a cocker spaniel that had just retrieved a ball. This look, I found out later, is supposed to convey a message--"Now that I've done so well for you, won't you please, please, go into the polling booth and vote Confederate (or Federal)!"

Some voters, when they approached the table, indicated their party loyalty by talking to two of the women very jovially and showing, by an icy shoulder or a stony back, that they were not en rapport with the politics of the other two. Some rugged individualists who were darned if they were going to let anyone know how they were going to vote walked up to the plumb center of the table and stared impartially at the gap between the two pairs of women as his number was looked up.

(In some voting districts the party representatives sat at different tables, making it impossible (apparently) for a voter to be impartial. He had to go to one table or the other to get his voting number. This caused utter confusion among party workers, since Federal Party voters who wanted to keep their ballots secret would follow the extreme practice of going to the Confederate table to get a voting number. This happened so often in some districts that Confederate workers at the polls joyfully reported to their leaders that the district was sure to go Confederate since so many people came to their table to ask for numbers. Thus it was much more of a shock to Confederate Party leaders when it was announced that the district had gone Federal.)

After leaving the table the voter walked into the polling booth where sat three poll workers and a policeman. The policeman asked "Have you voted at any other polling place in this election?" and when he received a negative answer he would accept the voting number, jotting it down in his record book and passing it on to the poll workers. The poll workers handed out three ballots--one (white) for the Europeans who were contesting the ordinary seat in that district, a second (blue) for the Europeans who were contesting the seat reserved for a Southern Rhodesian European to represent African interests, and a third (pink) for the two Africans running for election to Parliament from the Mashonaland District.

Each ballot bore an official mark. The voter took the ballots into a cubicle, marked them, folded them so that the official mark was still visible, then turned around and held them up so that the poll workers could see the official mark. Then the ballots were dropped into locked metal boxes and the voter went on about his business.

Before election day there had been fervent appeals through the press and over the radio to vote early and avoid the rush hours at lunch time and in the late afternoon after offices and stores had closed. This advice was followed very well; although 79.11 per cent of the 50,474 voters in Southern Rhodesia turned out, there was never a serious jam. The delays in vote-counting which occurred in some districts were due to difficulties of transportation rather than traffic tie-ups at the polls.

In Northern Rhodesia 63.16 per cent (9795) of the total of 15,507 voters registered went to the polls. In that sparsely populated colony the voters who lived far from the polls were provided with postal ballots which were mailed in several days before the election. Thus the counting north of the Zambesi was rapid and the first returns that came in Tuesday night were those of Northern Rhodesia.

Nyasaland, which has never had a real election before, put the other two territories of the Federation to shame; 957 of the 1058 persons eligible to vote did so, a percentage of 90.45.

Election day, as is usual with election days, was not very exciting. There was no hullabaloo and the only colorful electioneering in the Salisbury area was provided by Percy Newton who dressed eight or ten of his African farm hands in outlandish crepe paper costumes, wrapped "Vote Newton" signs around their chests,

and lined them up along the main road from his district, Salisbury West, to town. Newspaper photographers took traditional pictures of candidates voting for themselves, and election day was over. There was nothing left to do but wait for the returns to come in.

There are two ways to keep tabs on the returns as they come in. One is to spend all your time in front of the Rhodesia Herald building in Salisbury where the returns are posted on large bulletin boards. The other is to park yourself somewhere within earshot of a radio tuned to the Rhodesian station. No partial returns are broadcast, however, and you do not hear any results until an entire district's votes have been counted.

On Tuesday night Julie and I went to dinner at the home of John Hoover, the American consul-general here. After dinner we sat in his living room and listened as the first returns came in. Most of them were from Northern Rhodesia-- and as report followed report it soon became obvious that the Federal Party under the strong hand of Sir Roy Welensky was scoring a clean sweep. Apparently his battle with the Colonial Office was paying dividends politically. He did not pull Lusaka out of the fire, however; the Independent, Scott, was returned by a narrow margin.

The next day's returns followed the same pattern. Confederate candidate Alberts had given Winterton a close fight in Salisbury South, but had lost by 235 votes. Brigadier A. Skeen, in the Border District, showed a closing burst of strength but could not beat the Federal candidate, Goldberg.

I spent most of the day in the offices of the Rhodesia Herald. Returns came in all day and I checked them off on my list of predictions. Things were going well until about 5 p.m.

At that time there were still three districts to be reported: Umniati, where I had predicted that the Confederate Marquis of Graham would beat Cullinan; Sebakwe, where I predicted Confederate leader Dendy Young would beat Smit; and Western, where I had predicted that Federal Halsted would beat Mentz. At 5:15 the report came in that the Marquis of Graham had been beaten. I had been phoning the results to Percy Newton, and when I informed him of this one, he would not believe it. He asked me to check it and call him back. When I did, still with the same news, he almost groaned. "I guess we can't even expect to get Dendy in now," he said before he hung up.

At 6 p.m. the news arrived that Halsted had beaten Mentz (according to advance billing) and at 6:30 the teletype machine began chattering the returns from Sebakwe. "SEBAKWE," it spelled out. "REGISTERED VOTERS 3331. J.R. DENDY YOUNG (CONFED) 1415. J.L. SMIT (FED) 1182. CONFED MAJORITY 233. SPOILT PAPERS 22. PERCENTAGE POLL 75.97." After all the shouting and the tumult of a full-scale election campaign only one Confederate had managed to take a seat.

I watched through a window as the return was pasted up on the bulletin board in front of the building. Only a few people were still waiting below for the return to be announced. A few blinked and moved closer as though they couldn't

believe their eyes. The rest read the news with no sign of jubilation or sorrow and then turned towards home and supper. The first Federal Parliamentary election was over. The following are the complete returns:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

SALISBURY WEST

J. W. Swan (Federal)	2069
P. A. Newton (Confederate)	<u>943</u>
Federal Majority	1126

BULAWAYO

D. Macintyre (Federal)	1789
A. Smith (Confederate)	<u>793</u>
Federal Majority	996

BULAWAYO SUBURBS

W. H. Eastwood (Federal)	1961
W. Shaw (Confederate)	<u>801</u>
Federal Majority	1160

DARWIN

J. M. Caldicott (Federal)	1946
R. Christie (Confederate)	<u>872</u>
Federal Majority	1074

MIDLANDS

I. D. Smith (Federal)	1148
R. Williamson (Independent)	785
W. H. Weedon (Confederate)	<u>629</u>
Federal Majority	363

MREWA

N. G. Barrett (Federal)	1816
G. R. Musgrave (Confederate)	<u>1126</u>
Federal Majority	690

SALISBURY

L. M. N. Hodson (Federal)	2023
J. Dalrymple (Confederate)	<u>886</u>
Federal Majority	1137

SALISBURY SOUTH

W. A. E. Winterton (Federal)	1496
H. A. Alberts (Confederate)	<u>1261</u>
Federal Majority	235

SALISBURY SUBURBS

Sir Godfrey Huggins (Federal)	2055
E. V. H. Cresswell-George (Confed)	<u>761</u>
Federal Majority	1294

BORDER

B. D. Goldberg (Federal) 1886
 Brigadier A. Skeen (Confederate) . . 1123
 Federal Majority 763

SEBAKWE

J. R. Dendy Young (Confederate) . . 1415
 J. L. Smit (Federal) 1182
 Confederate Majority 233

UMGUZA

J. M. Greenfield (Federal) 2072
 R. Ratham (Confederate) 795
 Federal Majority 1277

UMNIATI

L. M. Cullinan (Federal) 1491
 Marquis of Graham (Confederate) . . 1138
 Federal Majority 353

WESTERN

R. F. Halsted (Federal) 1593
 A. B. Mentz (Confederate) 883
 Federal Majority 710

SOUTHERN RHODESIAN AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVES

MASHONALAND

J. Z. Savanhu (Federal Sponsored) . 9447
 S. T. J. Samkange (Independent) . . 5120

MATABELELAND

M. M. Hove (Federal Sponsored) . . .10,558
 J. Nkomo (Independent) 2,400

SOUTHERN RHODESIAN EUROPEAN CANDIDATES

TO REPRESENT AFRICAN INTERESTS

Rev. Percy Ibbotson (Federal) . . .13,402
 Ian F. McLean (Confederate)10,183
 J. N. Farquar (Independent) 8,353
 H. A. Holmes (Independent) 4,621

NORTHERN RHODESIA

BROKEN HILL

Sir Roy Welensky (Federal) 817
 W. Kirkwood (Confederate) 119
 Federal Majority 698

KAFUE

G. F. M. Van Eeden (Federal) 441
 J. Gaunt (Confederate) 197
 Federal Majority 244

LIVINGSTONE

J. C. Graylin (Federal) 671
 E. S. C. Derby (Confederate) 248
 Federal Majority 423

LUANGWA

F. B. Robertson (Federal) 446
 C. Dodkins (Confederate) 104
 Federal Majority 342

LUANSHYA-MUFULIRA

V. T. Joyce (Federal) 1326
 D. E. Charsley (Confederate) 513
 Federal Majority 813

LUSAKA

A. Scott (Independent) 758
 E. W. Sergeant (Federal) 626
 B. Packenham (Confederate) 79
 Independent Majority 132

NDOLA

F. S. Owen (Federal) 907
 W. H. Van Zyl (Confederate) 206
 Federal Majority 701

NKANA-CHINGOLA

G. W. R. l'Ange (Federal) 1819
 E. B. Hovelmeier (Confederate) 392
 N. Lacey (Independent) 115
 Federal Majority 1427

NYASALAND

R. C. Bucquet (Federal) 903)
 J. Foot (Federal) 879)
 P. F. Brereton (Federal) 822)-winners
 M. Barrow (Federal) 808)
 P. D. Lalsodagarwala (Independent) . 105
 A. A. Desai (Independent) 85
 C. Walsh (Confederate) 29

NORTHERN RHODESIAN AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVES

Nominated European J. F. C. Haslam
 African Members Mateyo Kakumbi
 Dauti Lawton Yamba

NYASALAND AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVES

Nominated European A. B. Doig
 African Members Wellington Manoah Chirwa
 Clement Robin Kumbikano

The lineup at the first meeting of the Federal Parliament early next year will be as follows:

Federal Party Members.	24
Confederates	1
Independents	1
African Members (S. Rhodesia).	2
Specially Elected European (S. R.)	1
Africans (N. R. and Nyasaland)	4
Nominated Europeans (N.R. and Nyasaland)	<u>2</u>
Total	35

A point well worth noting is the similarity between the returns during the Federation referendum last April and the returns in this election. It infers that those who voted for the Federal Party this time were largely those who voted for Federation in April--and those who voted Confederate were those who voted against Federation. At the Federation referendum 82.84 per cent of all registered voters went to the polls. Of those, 62.95 per cent (or 25,570) voted for Federation; 37.05 per cent (14,729) voted against Federation.

In this election, the Federal Party gained 64.31 per cent (25,527) of the total vote. The Confederates received 33.45 per cent (13,376) and the Independents polled 2.24 per cent. These figures (all from Southern Rhodesia) show the marked similarity in the two elections.

Sir Godfrey Huggins, the "father" of the Federation, now has everything just as he wants it. He said several times during the campaign and before the campaign that what he wanted was an opposition-less Parliament so that the legislators could get over the preliminary spadework with a minimum of difficulty.

Sir Godfrey's post-election statement bears this out. He said, "I would first of all like to congratulate the electors throughout the Federation for having seen through all the smog and for having voted for the old gang. . .

"The victory for the Federal Party has been so decisive that we are really back to the position which I had originally advocated. As you know, I had always hoped we would be able to start off with one party consisting of people pledged to implement the constitution in the spirit in which it was conceived.

"This spirit is exemplified in that paragraph of the preamble to the constitution where it says that this Federation 'would conduce to the security, advancement, and welfare of all their inhabitants, and in particular would foster partnership and co-operation between their inhabitants and enable the Federation, when those inhabitants so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership in the Commonwealth.'

"What must occupy our time from the start is the consolidation of the whole area into one economic unit and the sound development of the whole Federation. The growing of more food and the improvement of communications are among the first things that must definitely come first.

"When we have passed all the basic legislation there will be time to find natural lines of cleavage on controversial subjects.

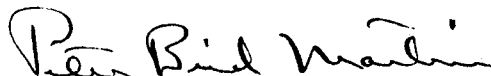
"It is my earnest hope, therefore, that when any new parties are formed in the future their leaders will heed the lessons of this election and more than one previous election in Southern Rhodesia--that is that a party which seeks to

gain power by exploiting racial differences has no chance of success. May it always be so.

"I apologize for ever doubting you. My excuse is that I did not know the new chums as well as the old hands. Now I know, as one of our late Governors of Southern Rhodesia put it, "We are all of one company and therefore our future is bright."

Two main points stand out clearly in the light of the election results. One is that the electorate have given the leaders in the campaign for Federation a very strong vote of confidence. The second is that the Confederate Party policy on racial issues has been soundly rejected.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Peter Bird Martin". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Peter Bird Martin

Received New York 12/29/53.