



Advisory Commission on the
Review on the Constitution of the
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Report—Appendix VIII

EVIDENCE

Volume II

NORTHERN RHODESIA

Part I: Written and Oral Evidence at Lusaka
14th March, 1960—18th March, 1960

Part II: Evidence of witnesses who submitted
written documents only

*Presented to Parliament by the Prime Minister
by Command of Her Majesty
November, 1960*

LONDON: HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

PRICE £4 10s. 0d. NET

Cmnd. 1151-I

i

814

INTRODUCTION

The principles which guided the Commission in taking evidence, and a broad indication of the scope of the evidence received, are contained in paragraphs 5 to 13 of the Report. The places at which evidence was heard, and the parties into which the Commission was divided for the hearing of witnesses, are set out in Appendix 1 to that Report.

2. Wherever possible the Commission sat as one body. On those occasions a verbatim record of the evidence heard was normally taken, and such verbatim records are reproduced in full. Editing has been confined to the exclusion of repetitions, and to corrections made solely in the interests of clarity.

3. Outside the main centres, however, the Commission toured the Federation and took evidence in Parties. And even in the main centres the Commission had often to be divided, because of the large number of witnesses who wished to be heard. On some occasions the Parties were obliged to sub-divide into smaller groups. Whenever the Commission was divided in this way it was generally only possible to produce summaries of the evidence received. If complete verbatim records had been taken, the staff of the Commission would have had to be increased to an unmanageable size. It is recognised that the summarising of evidence has inevitably resulted in some compression, and sometimes possibly in oversimplification, of what witnesses actually said. But it is believed that no important arguments have been omitted, and it is hoped that witnesses will understand the need for their evidence to be recorded in this way.

4. In some areas, particularly in Nyasaland, witnesses were reluctant to appear before the Commission or would do so only on the understanding that their names would not be published. Wherever this happened, the witness in question is listed in the evidence under the name of the town or village in which his evidence was heard. In such cases a typical entry appears as—"A European resident of Kitwe" or "An African resident of Blantyre."

5. A small proportion of witnesses stipulated that their evidence should not be published at all, or that part of it should be withheld from publication. So far as is known, all such requests have been complied with. Wherever possible, witnesses who submitted written memoranda unsupported by oral evidence have been asked by letter whether they had any objection to their evidence being published. Witnesses who appeared before the Commission in person were asked the same question orally. We are glad to say that the great majority of witnesses raised no objection to the publication of their names and evidence in full.

6. The documents contained in these volumes have been so arranged that, where a witness gave oral evidence before the Commission, any written memorandum or associated documents submitted by him immediately precede the record of the interview. In some cases, witnesses read a written document aloud to the Commission; such documents are usually treated as oral evidence. The records of oral evidence and the written documents connected with them have been arranged as far as possible in chronological order.

7. The written evidence of those organisations or individuals who did not appear in person before the Commission has been included in separate sections for each Territory, and these documents have been placed in alphabetical order of their authors' names, or of their places of residence in the case of witnesses who wished to remain anonymous.

8. The date and place of any particular piece of oral evidence may be discovered by reference to the beginning of each section. In the case of written memoranda, the date and place of origin has usually been given at the end of each item. Where no date appears, it signifies that the evidence was either undated when received, or that it was submitted on the same day as the oral evidence given by the same witness. Broadly, written documents are reproduced in the same form in which they were received without alteration as to content or spelling. In a few cases, however, corrections have been made at the specific request of witnesses.

VOLUME II—PART I

NORTHERN RHODESIA

WITNESSES WHO GAVE WRITTEN AND ORAL EVIDENCE AT LUSAKA 14th MARCH, 1960—18th MARCH, 1960

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

<i>Name of Witness</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Name of Witness</i>	<i>Page</i>
LUSAKA—14TH MARCH, 1960			
Municipal Council of Lusaka	1	Dutch Reformed Church	95
Lusaka Hospital Advisory Committee	10	Col. and Mrs. R. A. Critchley	96
United Federal Party—Northern Rhodesia Division	13	E. B. Colgrave	97
Commercial and Industrial Association of Northern Rhodesia	20	J. Gaunt	98
Euro-African Society—Central Province	30	The Rev. J. R. Shaw	105
		H. T. Kirk	106
		H. L. Cohler	107
		The Rt. Rev. F. O. Green-Wilkinson—Anglican Bishop of Northern Rhodesia	108
LUSAKA—15TH MARCH, 1960			
Central Africa Party—Northern Rhodesia Division	34	H. A. N. Barlow—Anglican Diocesan Secretary	109
Central Race Relations Advisory Committee	42	Mrs. R. M. Merson	109
Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia	49	G. L. Lipschild	110
Sir John Moffat	62	Dr. A. Scott	125
Dominion Party	71	Lt. Col. H. F. Randolph	126
		An African Resident of Lusaka	127
		C. J. W. Fleming	127
LUSAKA—16TH MARCH, 1960			
A. W. Martin	80	LUSAKA—18TH MARCH, 1960	
LUSAKA—17TH MARCH, 1960			
C. G. Rogers	80	British Medical Association—Zambesi Branch	129
Mrs. M. G. Wotherspoon	81	A. O. R. Mitchley	131
The Land Surveyors' Society of Northern Rhodesia	83	Mrs. R. J. Seal	134
Old Settlers of Northern Rhodesia—Lusaka and District Residents Group	85	P. T. S. Miller	136
Society of Afrikaner Friends	87	Father Flynn—Secretary to Roman Catholic Bishop's Conference	137
H. A. Fosbrook—Director of Rhodes Livingstone Institute	88	M. M. Ashton Bundu	138
Col. N. O. Earl-Spurr	89	M. Gersh	138
D. J. Edmonds	91	I. R. Montgomery	142
The Rev. M. M. Temple—Society for Christian Literature	93	European Farmers' Group—E. R. Grindley Ferris and others	145
Soli Native Authority	94	E. F. Angier	146
		Mrs. Buchanan	148
		T. C. L. Symmes	149
		E. T. E. Martin	150
		The Rev. K. Johnson—Methodist Mission	150
		S. Mwanga	151

VOLUME II—PART II

NORTHERN RHODESIA

WITNESSES WHO SUBMITTED WRITTEN DOCUMENTS ONLY

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

<i>Name of Witness</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Name of Witness</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Page</i>
Abercorn, an African Resident of		152	Kalilele, Chief—Report of Village Headmen	Solwezi	193
Allanson, R. J.—United Federal Party—Mazabuka Branch	Mazabuka	153	Kalimkudza, S.	Fort Jameson	193
Allison, V. H.	Ndola	159	Kalomo, an African Resident of		194
Allison, Mrs. M.	Ndola	159	Kalonga, S. M.	Namwala	194
Amon, N.	Livingstone	160	Kalufwelu, J.	Solwezi	195
Ashton, R. H.	Lusaka	160	Kamuchacha, J. F.	Chingola	196
			Kapatiso, J. H. A.	Mankoya	196
Bancroft Management Board	Bancroft	165	Kapjiimpanga, Chief	Solwezi	196
Bancroft Branch of Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union	Bancroft	165	Kasama, an African Resident of		197
Bancroft Branch of the Parent-Teachers' Association	Bancroft	167	Katuta, M.	Kamfya	197
Banda, G.	Lusaka	167		Mu Karesya	
Banda, M.	Petauke	167	Kitchen, J. and other Farmers of Broken Hill District	Broken Hill	197
Banda, L. N.	Cadidza	167	Kitwe, a European Resident of		199
Barlow, T.	Mapanza	168	Kumalo, M.	Mwandi	199
Barnes, H. J.	Mporokoso	168	Kydd Coutts, Mrs. D. L.	Ndola	199
Barotse National Society, Nkana-Kitwe Branch	Kitwe	168	Laketengo, J. and other Headmen	Balovale	200
Becket, P. B.	Lusaka	169	Luanshya Women's Institute—Mrs. J. Hanford	Luanshya	201
Beech, A. E.	Mufulira	169	Luchembe, Chief	Mpika	201
Behrens, H.	Kalomo	169	Lukonga, J. P.	Mongu	202
Bennett, H. B.	Mazabuka	170	Lukonga, J. W.	Mongu	202
Bennett, O. B.	Nkana	170	Lunda Ndembu Native Authority	Mwinilunga	202
Bisa Native Authority	Luwingu	175	Lundazi, Five African Residents of		203
Bonaventure, C.	Kasama	176	Lungu, D. G.	Mwanjavartha	203
Broken Hill Farmers' Association	Broken Hill	176	Lusaka, a European Resident of		203
Broken Hill, a European Woman Resident of		177	Lusaka, a European Resident of		206
Bwile Superior Native Authority	Kawambwa	177	Lusaka, an African Resident of		208
			Maala Settlers	Namwala	213
Central Africa Party — North Western Province	Kasempa	178	Makasa, Chief	Mpanda Area	213
Central Africa Party — North Western Province — Chizera Branch		178	Mankoya, an African Resident of		213
Cheesman, W. E.	Luanshya	178	Mathews, The Rev. J. L.	Lusaka	214
Chibanza, S.	Solwezi	179	Mazabuka and Monze Farmers' Wives—Mrs. E. J. Bennett	Mazabuka	217
Chikola, Chief—Report of Meeting of Village Headmen	Solwezi	181	Michaelis, S. J.	Kitwe	217
Chikwanda, Senior Chief	Mpika	181	Micklinghoff, H. F. J. M.	Luanshya	218
Chilumba, A.	Mpika	182	Mongu, a European Resident of		218
Chilyabufu, Chief	Namwala	182	Mongu, an African Resident of		218
Chimbola, Chief	Kasama	183	Mpanshya, J. S.	Lusaka	218
Chiyenge, D. M.	Kawambwa	183	Mpepo, Chief	Mpika	219
Chizera Traditional Committee	Kasempa	184	Mporokoso Bemba Native Authority	Mporokoso	219
Cooper, J. J.—Salvation Army	Kafue	185	Mujimanzovu, Senior Chief—Report of Meeting of Village Headmen	Solwezi	219
Crichton, P. K.	Broken Hill	185	Mukungule, Chief	Mpika	219
Cuthbert, P. G.	Livingstone	186	Mukwikile, Chief	Shiwa Ngandu	219
			Mukupili, B. S.	Mongu	220
Dubah, D. R.	Fort Jameson	187	Mulonga, Chief—Report of Meeting of Village Headmen	Solwezi	220
			Mulongesa, M. C. B.	Balovale	220
Ekeleni, H. S.—Chiundaponde Village	Mpika	187	Mumba, Mary	Ndola	221
			Mumena, Chief	Solwezi	221
Farmer, R. E.	Kitwe	187	Mumena, Chief—Report of Meeting of Village Headmen	Solwezi	221
Federal Theatre League of Central Africa	Kitwe	188	Municipal Councils of Ndola, Kitwe, Luanshya and Chingola		222
FFolliott Fisher, W.	Mwinilunga	189	Munkwisi, S. N.	Namwala	224
Fisher, Dr. Margaret M.	Kitwe	190	Mupatu, Y. W.	Limulunga	225
Fort Jameson, an African Resident of		191	Musaka, Chief, and Village Headmen	Solwezi	226
Frizell, C. L.	Kitwe	191	Musaka, Chief—Report of Meeting of Village Headmen	Solwezi	226
			Musele, Chief—Report of Meeting of Village Headmen	Solwezi	227
Gibbins, L.	Monze	191	Musele, Chief, and Village Headmen	Solwezi	227
Gibbins, Mrs. S. A.	Monze	192	Musukwa, D.	Mufulira	227
Gibson, B. E.	Ndola	192	Mutonga, L.	Senanga	228
			Muyangwa, W. L. M.	Sesheke	228
Handale, G.	Mankoya	193			
Hasimuna, J. and Chaatila, J.	Gwembe	193			
Imutonana, C. R.	Mongu	193			



<i>Name of Witness</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Name of Witness</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	<i>Page</i>
Mwaba, R. M.	Kasama	229	Saviye, D. C.	Mwinilunga	245
Mwachilenga, J.	Lusaka	229	Schilenda Villagers	Solwezi	245
Mwanangombe, A. L.	Mankoya	229	Schiels, P. F.	Broken Hill	245
Mwanza, Y. T.	Lundazi	230	Sifanu, W.—Mbereshi Mission	Kawambwa	246
Mwasuputa, C.	Lusaka	230	Sikazwe, A. M.	Abercorn	246
Mweete, M. M.	Choma	231	Simakando, N.	Kalabo	247
Mwenya, Theresa	Lusaka	231	Sinadambwe, T.	Chisekesi	247
Nabwalya, Chief and Members of Bisa Subordinate Native Courts	Mpika	233	Sinvula, A.	Mongu	248
Ndalama, A. D.	Mwewa	233	Smith, D. S. and M. A.	Mufulira	248
Ndola, a European Resident of		234	Soko, D. H. D.	Mongu	248
Ndola, a European Resident of		235	Solwezi Superior Native Authority		249
Ngandu, L. H., M.L.C.		235	Solwezi, African Residents of		249
Njolomba, S. K.	Balovale	236	Solwezi, an African Resident of		250
An African Witness	Kasama	236	Squires, E. J.	Livingstone	251
Nkula, Chief	Chinsali	236	Stewart, R. N.	Kitwe	251
Chief Nkula's Villagers—Shuka Parish	Chinsali	236	Swana, B. B. C.	Livingstone	254
Chief Nkula's Villagers—Mwenge Parish	Chinsali	236	Syamazizo, D. K.	Livingstone	254
Nkuli, B. J.	Lundazi	236	Tabwa Native Authority	Mporokoso	254
Nkweto, Chief	Chinsali	237	Tayali, E. K.	Mpika	255
Northern Rhodesia African Mines Staff Association — Mulfulira Branch	Mufulira	237	Tembo, B. C.	Mpika	255
Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association — Senga Branch	Kasama	238	Three Anchor Bay, Cape Town, a European Resident of		256
Northern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association—a Branch	Lundazi	239	Tusamanda, J. L.	Mporokoso	256
Northern Rhodesia Dental Associ- ation	Ndola	239	Unga Native Authority	Fort Rosebery	257
Nyirenda, A. R. K., and Zimba, B. Z.	Lundazi	240	United Church of Central Africa	Kitwe	257
Pearson, Mrs. S.	Luanshya	240	United Federal Party—Lusaka Branch	Lusaka	258
Penstone, Mrs. A. B.	Kitwe	240	United Federal Party — Monze Branch	Monze	258
Peters, G. O.	Broken Hill	242	Urban Native Court of Lusaka— Court Assessors	Lusaka	258
Proctor, R. W.	Lusaka	242	Venning, J. H.	Abercorn	259
Pulsford, L. E.	Lusaka	243	Viberti, S. P.	Mpika	261
Samfya, an African Resident of		243	Vlahalannis, C. P.	Gwembe	261
Samfya, an African Resident of		244	Waugh, H. B.	Mwinilunga	261
Samfya, an African Resident of		244	Whatmore, J. P.	Ndola	262
			Wienand, Mrs. H. M.	Lusaka	262
			Willcocks, R. G. W.	Kitwe	263
			Woolley, A. H. J.	Mazabuka	264
			Zimba, M. M. and Moula, J. Z.	Lundazi	264

PART I
EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES
WHO SUBMITTED
WRITTEN AND ORAL EVIDENCE

LUSAKA

14TH MARCH, 1960

Memorandum

THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF LUSAKA—E. S. Dixon,
Town Clerk

Introduction

1. The Municipal Council of Lusaka is a body constituted in terms of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance (Cap. 199 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia). The Council comprises twelve elected Councillors and one nominated Councillor, representing a town with a population of 12,500 Europeans, 60,000 to 70,000 Africans and approximately 1,500 Asiatics and Eurafriicans. The town covers some 32 square miles and the present Municipal Valuation is £27,000,000. In 1948 the Municipal Valuation was £1,717,975. The revaluation in 1953 brought it up to £8,130,690. The increase to the present-day valuation of £27,000,000 has been brought about by the influx of European capital and skills into the town.

2. The following figures which have been taken from the Council's records reflect the investment in property by the various communities :—

	European £	Asian £	Eurafriican £	African £	Total £
Commercial	4,735,815	1,437,190	—	28,000	6,201,005
Industrial	1,631,000	51,650	—	—	1,682,650
Residential	6,014,205	398,910	7,925	280	6,421,320
Misc.	1,041,200	2,425	—	—	1,043,625
	<u>£13,422,220</u>	<u>£1,890,175</u>	<u>£7,925</u>	<u>£28,280</u>	<u>£15,348,600</u>

The difference between this total and the valuation roll figure of £27 million represents public investment in property.

3. There are no African Councillors but African representation in Municipal Affairs is brought about by means of the African Affairs Committee which is constituted in terms of Section 27A of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance. This Committee comprises four Councillors, four African Members, two of whom are elected by the Urban African Housing Area Boards and two are nominated. The Mayor is an ex officio member of the Committee.

4. The following Councillors will represent the Council in giving oral evidence to the Commission :—

Councillor H. K. Mitchell, J.P. (Mayor)
Councillor A. J. Fischer (Deputy Mayor)
Councillor R. J. Macfadyean
Councillor R. Burns
Councillor W. F. Faulds

The Council as a statutory body is limited in its powers and duties by the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance. It is not concerned with party politics and there are no political parties on the Council, consequently the evidence set out below does not have any political bias and is largely a factual statement of the position as seen by the Council.

5. As the Council's powers are limited by the Municipal Corporations Ordinance, the Council feels it would not be proper for it to attempt to give a comprehensive review of the Federation. It is only concerned with the matters with which it itself has had experience within the powers conferred upon it. From the point of view of giving evidence to the Commission, this is obviously unsatisfactory as items tend to be taken in isolation and do not present an overall picture.

6. The Commission is therefore requested to indulge the Council in the rather isolated aspect of its evidence. It is appreciated very well indeed by the Council that causes and effects are closely inter-related and to deal with one in isolation tends to give a distorted picture. Obviously the question of a suitable franchise, productivity of the indigenous population, minimum wages, lack of educational facilities and many other matters become a complex whole which should be reviewed comprehensively.

7. The evidence which the Council desires to submit can be conveniently divided into two main headings. The first dealing with the granting of powers to the Africans is some-

thing upon which the Council has considerable knowledge and it is submitted primarily because it is considered that this is a fundamental question involved in the Commission's terms of reference. The second part dealing with development within the Territory considers certain aspects of development with which the Council is vitally interested. The third part contains a general comment upon the relationships within the Rhodesias, and the fourth part is concerned with a particular aspect of the Council's responsibilities in relation to health.

Part I—Granting of Powers to Africans

1. The Commission will no doubt be considering the question of enabling Africans to play a more vital role in the affairs of the Territory in that they should be enabled to exercise more power in various fields. The Council is desirous of placing before the Commission its experience over the past two years of the degree of responsibility shown by Africans who have been elected or nominated to serve both on the African Affairs Committee and on the various Area Housing Boards set up in each African suburb.

2. The African Affairs Committee is set up in terms of Section 27A of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance and the statutory functions of the Committee as set out in the Ordinance are to consider and make recommendations on :—

- to advise the Council on the administration of the Housing Areas within the Municipality ;
- to report regularly to the Council on the progress made by any Board in the exercise of any powers delegated to such Board under subsection (4) of this section ;
- to advise the Council on all matters affecting African interest within the Municipality ; and
- to exercise any powers delegated to it under the provisions of subsection (4) of this section.

Of the four Africans who were originally appointed to the African Affairs Committee in April, 1958, only one is still serving and the attendance of one other has been most irregular. At the same time the Council's experience has led them to conclude that the nominated African generally speaking makes a greater and more worth-while contribution to the business of the African Affairs Committee than does the elected member. It is believed that this feature indicates that the more responsible African does not submit himself for election to the Urban African Housing Area Boards since such election depends upon active participation in the affairs of a political party.

3. An Urban African Housing Area Board is set up in each housing area and its functions are to consider and make recommendations on :—

- any rules which the local authority proposes to apply to the Area ;
- any matter referred to it by the Commissioner through the local authority or by the local authority, or by the African Affairs Committee ;
- any matter specially affecting the interests of Africans within the jurisdiction of the local authority ;
- any matter brought to the notice of the Board in respect of accommodation in the Area ;
- annual estimates of income and expenditure which shall be submitted through the African Affairs Committee for transmission to the local authority for approval.

4. There are four such Boards in Lusaka, each comprising a number of African members, the District Commissioner and one member of the Council. The work of the four Urban African Housing Area Boards in Lusaka has also suffered very severely from frequent changes of membership, and attendances are still very erratic. Twenty-two of the thirty seats for African members became vacant during the earlier months of the present mayoral year, ten of which were the result of normal retirement and twelve from absences or resignations. Consequently, three Boards each have only one of the original members still serving. The elections and by-elections held



for this year have all been characterised by a great deal of apathy. The actual attendances of African members for the first twelve meetings of the Boards during the present year was 62% of the possible total.

5. Because of the lack of interest and attendance of Boards members, it has been extremely difficult to train the Boards in their responsibilities and duties. Generally, members lack the necessary knowledge and experience which is essential for them to be able to adopt an informed and responsible attitude towards Local Authority affairs, and because of this difficulty the Council has been extremely slow to delegate any powers to Area Boards as, in the circumstances, it would not be in the interests of the African residents to do so. It is felt that this period of training and teaching will take many years before Africans can shoulder any more responsibilities than they do at present insofar as Local Authorities are concerned. Nevertheless the Council does all in its power to encourage active interest on the part of the African in the work of the Area Boards and as an illustration of this policy it should be noted that the Council has succeeded in encouraging Africans to become Chairmen of all these Boards.

6. One further important point the Council wishes to emphasise is the question of taxation of the African population. It is a well-known maxim that there should be no taxation without representation. The converse is equally true, that there should be little or no representation without taxation and at the moment the great bulk of the African population are certainly not in a position to bear any taxation whatsoever. Reports prepared by the Rhodes Livingstone Institute show that the productivity of the vast bulk of the African population is such that their average remuneration is below the poverty datum line.

7. A community that has services provided freely does not appreciate the cost of providing such services and tends to demand bigger and better ones. It is only when a person's wealth is used to pay for such services that the demand therefore becomes more responsible. Before any governmental body will act responsibly it is essential that the electors be placed in such a position that decisions taken by their legislative body will impinge upon the pockets of the electorate. It is felt that only in this way will a responsible attitude be developed by Africans who are elected to office in the central or local government bodies.

8. Whilst the above remarks may be depressing insofar as the state of development reached by the average African is concerned, the Council hastens to assure the Commission that it is not opposed in principle to Africans being elected as full Councillors and to play their part as Councillors in the development of the town. To this end an area has been set aside for development by the Municipality where Africans may purchase stands in exactly the same manner as any other developer who wishes to erect a home, with the exception that the development clause has been kept at a low figure of £1,000 in order to encourage Africans to erect their own homes. Any African who erects a home outside an African Housing Area to a value of at least £750 is entitled to be placed on the Municipal Voters' Roll and in due course to be elected to the Council. Of the 69 stands made available in the initial instance of this area, 35 have been taken by the Northern Rhodesia Government for the provision of housing for senior civil servants and 4 have been definitely taken by private African individuals and applications have been received for a further four stands. As the demand increases, so will additional areas be laid out and made available by the Council.

Part II—Development of Northern Rhodesia

Development of Industry

1. This subject appears under Item 49 of the Concurrent List and it is a fact that both the Federal Government and the Territorial Government of Northern Rhodesia, have set up Commissions to enquire into methods whereby industry could be encouraged to establish itself elsewhere than in the region of Salisbury. Under the present centralised set-up there is clearly a very real danger to development which could result in Salisbury "being the Federation," with a serious resultant unbalance in the economic social and health fields—in fact an instability of the country as a whole. It is necessary for the future welfare of the Federation that the Federal Government should evolve a plan for the speedy establishment of industries

and the main economic undertakings to be spread throughout the Federation. If this is done at the same time as educational, social and health facilities are attended to, it is anticipated that the population would tend to follow such a distribution to the benefit of the Federation as a whole. There are already many examples in the world of where an unbalance in the economic undertakings of a country has developed to the disadvantage of the country. The introduction, development and distribution of industry are allied matters and the need to take positive action to ensure a proper balance is clearly illustrated by the legislative and other steps which successive United Kingdom Governments have had to take to deal with this problem in the United Kingdom. The Council in evidence submitted to a Commission set up by the Federal and Territorial Governments to enquire into the siting of industry, made the following suggestions:—

- (a) There should be a rail connection from Salisbury to the north so that industrialists would not have to send goods by way of Bulawayo and Livingstone in order to reach the markets in the north and vice versa. Unfortunately, road transport cannot compete with the railway as wherever road transport has been offered the rates charged for such transport does not show any considerable saving over railage charges. The railway tariff should be adjusted as the present system of transporting raw materials at a lower tariff than the manufactured product results in a maldistribution of industrial activity.
- (b) The road system serving the areas east, west and north-east of Lusaka should be improved by the Federal Government. This will enable exports to take place to Kenya and East Africa.

2. Whilst the above suggestions have been made to encourage the distribution of industry, it is felt very clearly by the Council that the main cause impeding the development in industry on a large scale in Northern Rhodesia is the political instability of the Territory. The political instability springs from the type of Government that has been established in Northern Rhodesia in that it does not encourage confidence in the investor. Whilst the number of nominated officials are able to control the decisions of the Government and whilst any of such officials come within the direct jurisdiction of the Colonial Office and are not responsible to the electorate, there is a lack of confidence in the future of the actions it might take.

3. If the Government of the Territory rested with the peoples of the Territory, there would be a considerable degree of increased stability in the political field. It is further submitted that whatever may be the result of the forthcoming constitutional review the ultimate formulae of government devised should not be the subject of further similar reviews.

Development of Agriculture

4. It is considered that there is a very great need for the large scale investment of capital by the Federal Government in schemes for enabling land to be developed for agriculture. For example, the damming of the Meshe Teshe Gap would enable all the arable land contained in the Kafue Flats to be developed for peasant farming, thus providing a very large area for African agriculture which at the present stage of development is largely mono-culture in that they produce a maize crop only. It is relevant to recall that had the decision to abandon the Kafue Dam scheme in favour of the construction of the Kariba Dam not been taken the Kafue Flats agricultural development would now be a practical proposition.

Part III—Balance of Power between Southern and Northern Rhodesia

1. In the light of experience of the workings of the Federal Government there is strong feeling amongst the people of Northern Rhodesia that the ambitions of the Territory are being subordinated to the wishes of the Federal Government which in the minds of many people is synonymous with the Southern Rhodesia Territorial Government. It is considered by the Council that a great deal could be achieved to correct this position by ensuring a more adequate representation of Northern Rhodesia in the Federal House.

2. An allied point is the desirability for siting the Federal Capital on the Northern side of the Zambesi River in order to disassociate the Seat of Federal Government from the seats of Territorial Governments.

Part IV—Local Authorities Health Services

1. Prior to Federation the Northern Rhodesia Government paid to Local Authorities considerable subsidies in respect of staff engaged on health control and preventative measures. It also paid for the staffing and provision of drugs and medicines for a number of clinics which had been set up in the African Housing Areas. The scale of subsidy payable in Northern Rhodesia was and is very much higher than that applicable in Southern Rhodesia. It is to the credit of the Federal Government that it has taken so few steps to bring about an equality between the subsidies paid in the various Territories. Northern Rhodesia continues to enjoy to a very large degree the substantial subsidies formerly paid for health services.

2. It would be normal to expect a federal form of government to bring about some degree of equality of subsidies for health services paid to the various Territories. However, the Commission's attention is drawn to the special problems relating to health services which have to be faced by Local Authorities in Northern Rhodesia. Here the tendency has been to encourage the African family to settle in the urban areas and to develop their homes and livelihood there. Consequently the number of Africans living in the towns considerably outstrips that of the European population. On the other hand, their contribution to the finances in the way of rates and other charges is negligible. To impose on the relatively small European population the costly burden of providing expensive clinics and health services to the African population would be far beyond the financial capabilities of Local Authorities. This can only be continued and/or expanded if the present scale of subsidies continue and/or is improved. For this purpose it may be necessary for the Federal Government to allocate a larger share of its revenues to Health Services.

Conclusion

The members of the Council delegated with responsibility in relation to this evidence will be pleased to answer any questions and deal in elaboration with any of the foregoing submissions.
Lusaka

Oral Evidence

THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF LUSAKA

Q. On your council there are no party political politics?
(A) That is so, no party political politics at all.

Q. On Part I of your memorandum, I wanted to ask a few questions about the granting of powers to Africans and the experience which you have had of what has happened when you have called them in for some work in the Municipal affairs. First of all you tell us about the statutory functions of the African Affairs Committee and I wanted just to clear my own head in (b) of that,

"to report regularly to the council on the progress made by any board in the exercise of any powers delegated to such board under sub-section (4) of this section";

I do not know if Mr. Town Clerk could help, I am not sure what it permits you to delegate. — A. MR. TOWN CLERK: I had anticipated that question. I have, in fact, got it in full.

"The Council may after consultation with the African Affairs Committee delegate to any board or to the committee, all or any of the powers of the Council relating to the administration of housing areas, may make such delegations subject to such general or special directions as the Council may think fit."

It is in fact, quite the normal sort of delegation to which we are used to in the United Kingdom Local Government fields.

Q. The African Affairs Committee itself and the work it may be given is purely advisory, not executive? — A. Yes. A. MR. MAYOR: Not quite that. The African Affairs Board itself has delegated powers to it, it operates within the framework of the policy of the Council. It also operates its own estimates which have been accepted by the Council.

Q. What I really meant was are there any executive functions which it can do besides putting up reports for the consideration of the Council whether they take the form of estimates or anything else which require something else before action is taken? It says to advise, I thought it meant that A. MR. TOWN CLERK: Basically it is that. It could exercise powers if they were delegated to it.

Q. Has that been done? A. No powers have been delegated to the committee.

Q. What I have understood from Mr. Town Clerk is that it would be possible to delegate executive powers to the committee but so far as you are aware at the moment that has not been done? — A. That has not been done.

Q. We are very interested and rather sad to read your experiences of the services of African members on the committee. I gather that taking it by and large attendance has been irregular and except in the case of nominated Africans very little help has been given, is that right? — A. MR. MAYOR: This section of the report is not intended to be a criticism in any way of the Africans who have come forward and offered themselves to serve in this capacity. It is a statement of fact of our experience. Within the framework of the Ordinance which was the result of a commission of inquiry some years ago, of which I had the honour to be a member, the Local Authority must create an African Affairs Committee, which shall consist of equal numbers of councillors and equal numbers of Africans. Of those Africans it may elect to it, they are all elected by the Area Housing Boards, or only a portion of them and the balance nominated. So this Council decided to have an African Affairs Committee consisting of eight people, four councillors and four Africans from the African housing areas. That was decided in the beginning anyway that we should have two of these African representatives nominated and two elected. The elected Africans did not last very long unfortunately. We have had a very large number of changes in the last two years. Of the nominated ones we have one left. They are supposed to serve three years, a similar period of time as councillors, who have over the period of two years certainly gained a certain amount of experience and is of some use now to the committee itself in putting forward the point of view of his boards and so on. The other one unfortunately was transferred and we have had to have another one in his place. These two elected Africans come from the African Area Boards, there are four in Lusaka and they consist of a certain number of Africans who are elected by the housing area to that board and they also have the District Commissioner or his nominee sitting on them, and in the last year we have had one council member sitting on them.

In the initial stages we had the Location Superintendent, the old expression, now African Housing Area Superintendent, as the chairman. We thought we might give them the opportunity of running their own affairs under supervision and we then suggested they should have their own chairman. Three of the boards have worked fairly well with that but in the fourth one the chairman, for some reason or other which we have not been able to find out, did not last very long. It might be intimidation. It might not be, it may be they have not the right type in that post yet.

Even in these boards there has been a lack of interest, non-attendance at meetings, a lot of grouching and no constructive criticism and so on. I must admit it has improved as time goes on but very much more slowly than we anticipated. There is a general apathy to the whole set-up. We just cannot place our fingers on the reason for it. It may be that they do not think that they have enough to do although examination of the reports of these boards will prove they have quite a lot to do even if they only kept to their own town and spoke to their own people about their thoughts and so on, they could be of great use to the committee and finally the Council.

It is a fact because of this frequent change of membership and the erratic attendances we get that they are not being as useful to the Council as we would like them to be.

Q. That, as you say, is not a complaint but a factual report? — A. We are very disappointed, I may say, Mr. Chairman, that it did not prove to be as useful as we thought it might be.

Q. On Part I, paragraph 6—still under granting of powers to Africans—you make the point about the question of representation being seldom proper to be granted without taxation and you point out that in the African population the productivity of the vast bulk is such that their average remuneration is below the poverty datum line. That is, I suppose, indicating that they are not in a position at present to be subjected to any tax? — A. Yes. It goes further than that. The take home pay is small enough in all conscience but under the law the employer has to house his African employee

and they are generally housed in Council African housing areas and also under the law these areas are not rateable. In other words, we cannot get a land or improvement rate contribution to the funds of the Council from those areas which are inside our Council area but are demarcated as African housing areas. Even if Africans inside these areas wish to go onto the voters' roll and take their part in the running of the town they could not do so because the qualification for the voters' roll is that you are a rate payer in the true sense of the word.

Q. Rateable occupation? — A. That is the expression. But we have, as you noticed lower down, created a situation where they can, if they have the money and so on, but there is a very small number at this stage of their development who will be able to avail themselves of that opportunity. It is a fact that the rate of pay for the African is very, very low. It has increased rapidly in the past few years but it is in the opinion of most of us still too low to make him a useful citizen. His power of purchase is not as great as it might be. The consumer goods that he should be able to purchase, he is not able to do so because he can just barely subsist on what he receives in the way of take home pay.

Q. You referred a moment ago to the area which has been set aside for development by the municipality where Africans can purchase stands. — A. Yes.

Q. I wanted to ask you this first of all. I gather that of the 69 stands which are made available initially four have already been taken up by Africans and promises have been received for four more? — A. That is correct.

Q. That is about 8 out of 70? — A. Yes.

Q. In view of what you said about the poverty of the Africans I wondered if what has prevented more coming forward to take advantage of this has been that they cannot find the money or the credit for the money? What is it, £1,000 or £750? — A. The development clause on these plots is the figure of £1,000. It is quite a low one. It is a high density area. It is necessary to keep the cost of the service down so that these people can take advantage of the scheme but the Government has a scheme whereby they have a 90% guarantee scheme; an African going to a Building Society, for instance, and satisfying the Building Society that he is a fair risk will be able to borrow money from that Building Society on the deposit of 10% of the value of the land and buildings. The Building Societies, as you know, advance anything up to 70% of the estimated value of land and buildings in the form of a loan but they will advance 90% with the guarantee from the Government for the balance of the 20%. The Government guarantee falls away when the repayments reach the stage when the 70% risk of the Building Society is reached. So there are funds available for Africans to take advantage of. The Building Society first has to do the vetting, then it goes to the government officers who also vet them. If they are satisfied then the loan will go forward in the normal way just as it does with a European.

Q. I was wondering whether Africans can really satisfy those who will make the loans that it is a reasonable risk? A. I should imagine a fairly large number could. In the vast number of Africans we have in our township it is surprising if you look into it how many are earning a fairly good wage.

MR. MENZIES: They would have to find £100? — A. It is quite a relative figure.

CHAIRMAN: Relatively good wages? — A. Yes. Africans working in solicitors offices, I know of one or two who do very well out of it.

There are Africans who are traders, for instance, who do very well. A certain number in the Government service who are in the position, I think, to undertake this sort of thing but I must say here that the stumbling block at this point is the law of succession as it relates to the African. It is one of the reasons for this sort of scheme not going ahead as quickly as it might.

Q. I wondered what it was. I thought one would have seen more than four plus four if there had not been a stumbling block. — A. Even with four plus four there is still that particular disability.

Q. If he dies? — A. If he dies the estate goes to the Native Court, and the Building Society, naturally enough, are a little worried about what might happen at that stage.

Q. On Part II, paragraph 1, under the heading of Development of Industry you are worried about the result of the fear of some of the people that Salisbury is treated as the Federation. — A. Yes. I will ask Councillor Fischer to deal with this.

A. COUNCILLOR FISCHER: I think it is not only us who are worried about it. The Federal Government itself is now worried. The Federal Government recently set up a Commission of Enquiry to investigate ways and means of decentralising industry. That commission has sat here in Lusaka and this council gave evidence to it. Some of the points which he have brought up to the commission have been listed in our submission of evidence to you and the more important ones have been brought out in this evidence. There were quite a few smaller points which are parochial matters which we did not include here but in our view one of the main deterrents to industry setting up in the North is the fact that you have this long rail haul from Beira via Salisbury and Bulawayo and then back to Livingstone, Lusaka and the Copperbelt. This puts on an additional 900 miles to the haulage of anything that comes in or goes out and obviously it has to be paid for in the end product, one way or another.

Another one of our suggestions is that there definitely must be an outlet to the West coast other than Lobito Bay. If you look at Angola there is a port called Mossamedes. From Mossamedes the Portuguese authorities have already brought a line which unfortunately they had to stop short of the Federal border because they have been told quite flatly that the Rhodesian Railways system will not be connecting up with their line. We do feel this is a very shortsighted policy because lying to the west of our railway line are vast areas of land where there is very good ranching and fishing country and it is our submission that these areas will never be opened up until such time as there is a good communication service to connect these hinterlands with (a) a port, (b) the consuming market which is the Line of Rail.

The road system we feel should be improved to the East, West, and North-East of Lusaka so as to connect up all the outlying districts of this country and to bring them nearer to the centres of population and thus encourage the setting up of farming industries in areas where at the moment it is uneconomical to do so.

We also pointed out to Government that at the moment anyone wishing to bypass this long railway haul and use road transport does not find it advantageous to do so because the transport contractors are not permitted to charge a rate which is below that of the railways tariff so for that reason our road transport is circumscribed both in capacity to haul and in charges.

MR. MAYOR: I would like to explain what that means, Mr. Chairman. The two big markets at the moment, are the Copperbelt and Salisbury area, the Mashona area, and we have had experience here of people who felt that this had a future in respect to markets for their particular product. But on examination they find in order to reach the market which at the moment is based from their point of view, the Mashona area, they have to go 900 miles which is probably the most expensive railway system in the world, or 300 miles by road at the same cost. If it costs one hundred pence per one hundred pounds for transport some article on rail and one hundred pence per one hundred pounds by road and the distance is 600 miles less, that is a big problem and naturally from the economic point of view they think it is no idea at this stage.

Q. Do they justify that rule about charges on the necessity for keeping the railways going on an economic basis? — A. That is no doubt the reason for it. It is in competition with the railways. You get it all over the world where road transport builds up. It is something which has to be accepted. We maintain rail connections in the end for the bulk of our raw material transport needs which are passed to the shops, by road transport feeding into that rail system which is, of course, of great necessity as well. — A. (COUNCILLOR FISCHER) In our evidence on the development of industry we have tried to list two main causes which we feel are a deterrent to industrial development in this country. The one cause is the one we have just discussed and that is the fact that industry is centralised in Southern Rhodesia and does not tend to spread itself out. The other, the most important cause, is the fact that there is in this country political instability. We have had instances time and time again where developers repre-

representative of large investment funds have come out to this country, they have examined the situation here and more often than not they turn around to us and said, "We do not feel that at this stage of the country's political development we can involve our funds in the territory." By this they explain to us that most of them or a lot of them have had experience in other parts of the world where those parts were granted independence and immediately upon their getting independence they either nationalised or expropriated the investments which were held in that territory. We do suggest that until such time as this country has a Government which rests with the peoples of the territory—this is an expression we use—and it is a responsible Government which is based on a balanced franchise then the investors, not only outside investors who wish to come here will keep away, but even our own people will be affected down to the small home-owner who does not feel secure in doing anything about building until such time as he knows that any future Government which may come along will have as one of the main planks of their constitution the upholding of law and order, and also in enshrining in their constitution the fact that present title holders will be protected.

Q. In Part II, paragraph 3, where you state the conclusion you have just reached, you say, "if the Government of the Territory rested with the peoples of the Territory," the Territory there means Federal Territory? — A. (MR. MAYOR): We are talking of Northern Rhodesia.

Q. Do you mean if the Government of the territory rested with the peoples of Northern Rhodesia? — A. (COUNCILLOR FISCHER): We do, yes. — A. (MR. MAYOR): If I could explain, for a large number of years the Minister of the Crown—we have only just now got Ministers of the Crown, they were called Members for this and Members for that for a long time—consisted partly of elected people and partly of official groups. This hybrid form of Government, we do not think has worked very well. We are still suffering from it at the moment, where you have officials who really have no stake in the country in a position which we feel should be occupied by somebody who has been elected by the people of the territory—A. (COUNCILLOR FISCHER): Where we say "the Government of the territory resides with the peoples of the territory" we must qualify it by saying that it should be based on a balanced franchise.

Q. Yes. I was only anxious to be quite clear whether this was saying you do not want the people in Government to be people from overseas or whether you were making a distinction between the Federation and the Territory. — A. No. (MR. MAYOR): The stability of the Federation naturally depends on the stability of its constituent bodies, the three Territories.

Q. There are some people who want more power given to the Territories and others who think more should go to the Federation. I wonder if you are dealing with that subject. A. Not at this stage, it comes later on.

Q. We would like to ask a question or two about the balance of power between Southern and Northern Rhodesia and about the ambitions of the Territory being subordinated to the wishes of the Federal Government which in the minds of many people is synonymous with Southern Rhodesian Territorial Government. It has been suggested to us in various places that the Africans take the view that Southern Rhodesian Government is really the Federal Government. But are you saying that some Europeans have the same fear? — A. (MR. SYMES): I do not think there is any doubt about it.

COUNCILLOR FAULDS: You pointed out that it is really a continuation from our last submitted evidence but there is no doubt in the minds of many people in Lusaka that the fact that the Federal Government is situated in Salisbury, and that the fact that the Federal Government is situated in the capital town of the only member of the three states in the Federation which is self-governing and does not look overseas for direction does, we feel, tend to influence the representatives of the Northern Territories in their deliberations. We feel, while we are not criticising the individual representatives of the Northern Territories, the fact that they go to Salisbury, they are there where the Government has a degree of stability which the Northern Governments do not have and the fact of the Northern Territories' Governments being subject to the overseas control, their particular feeling of stability is such that they do tend to follow the Southern Rhodesian line.

We feel we are not really in a position to advise or make any recommendations on how the representation might be changed while there is this fact that no matter what changes might be made in the representatives of the Northern Territories, until such time as the instability of the Territorial Governments is changed, there is no need to go any further with representation changes.

Q. Is it considered by the Council that a great deal could be achieved to correct this position by ensuring a more adequate representation of Northern Rhodesia in the Federal House? — A. Yes. It is a difficult one. The Council is not really in a position to make that recommendation but they do feel that some form of adjustment is necessary. We do feel, for instance that there are in Salisbury at the moment six representatives of Salisbury who sit in the Federal House plus an additional one from Harari and some examination of the Electoral Roll should be undertaken to find an adjustment, but that alone is not sufficient.

Q. You speak of the desirability of the Federal capital being on the Northern side of the Zambesi to disassociate the seat of Government from one of the Territorial Governments—there would no doubt be economic objection taken to that. Do you regard it as an important thing that we should if possible suggest a change? — A. We do, Sir. Here I would make a plea that we try to force ourselves from our own natural bias. Lusaka itself was considered as a site for the Federal capital but ignoring our natural bias we do believe at the moment that it would be in the Federation's interest to have the capital removed from Salisbury, although we are very well aware of the tremendous economic implications of such a move but to do so will to our mind clarify the position that I have already made about Salisbury and its centralisation in Salisbury. (MR. MAYOR): There is no doubt at all that in the population of the two Northern Territories, both African and European, there is a great sense of dissatisfaction that Salisbury was declared the Federal capital. The second White Paper I think dealing with Federation said that in no uncertain terms and recommended that the Federal capital should not be seated in any of the existing capitals of the three Territories, Zomba, Lusaka and Salisbury. The Federal Government in its wisdom set up a commission which toured the three Territories and from what we understood of the report of the Chairman of the House there was a very narrow vote between Salisbury and Lusaka. We contend that this should have been given very much greater examination. In other words, we thought it was a pity to seek at that stage to try and make a decision as to where the capital should be, of necessity I think the seat of Government had to stay in Salisbury because the facilities were there and so on. But we feel perhaps after five or seven years the question of the definite site of the Federal capital would have been reviewed in the light of experience. There is no doubt that if it had been placed north of the Zambesi as far as the African in the Northern Territory is concerned he might have been a very much happier man about the set up. But it is the Southern Rhodesian set-up with European Unions having ascendancy.

Salisbury is a big town, growing bigger and bigger since it has been the seat of two Governments and so on, the old "bomba zonke" line of talk is always taken, it has created an atmosphere whereby when anybody comes from Salisbury we want to know what he is going to take away from us.

Apart from that, the history of several Federations, the history of the United States and Australia, proved the desirability of divorcing oneself completely from any place which has been developed to any extent. Washington was set up as the capital of the United States of America to get away from New York and so on, Canberra for Australia. We do think that a lot more thought might have been given to that line of approach.

Q. I was wondering whether you took it further and would say it ought to be removed in spite of difficulties now?

A. I still think it should be. There may be difficulties, the difficulties are probably greater to-day because they have been created because of the decision that was taken. Unfortunately rightly or wrongly we have a faint idea there was a certain amount of bias in the decision that was taken. It was a very unwise decision. It was too early. The Federal set-up had not been proved, whether it would work or not, and to make that decision so early in its life we feel was a very bad one but it is never too late to mend and if the powers that be

were to have another thought about this and realise the implications of the decision, perhaps there would be another opinion created.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: I would like to ask you some questions rather outside the ambit of the actual memorandum, a rather general question. What effect has Federation had as a whole, in your opinion, on development in this part of the world?

A. I think I can say right away, Mr. Chairman, that it has held up development in this part of the world for a period. We expected that because our very nice healthy economy has been divided with the other two Territories through the Federal set-up. The number of large schemes which this Government in its development plans had already embarked on were arrested when Federation came about. Hospitals are one of the bones of contention at the moment; there were to have been a new Mental hospital and European hospital in Lusaka and Ndola which were all on the scheme of things so far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned. When Health was handed over naturally they dropped away. They did not go ahead as quickly as we had expected. I do think that if we had not had Federation we might have had more industry here. We had a customs barrier here and we might have created the same conditions which have now been created as a federal state in forcing a state of affairs where people who have their market in the Federal State find they will lose that market unless they put a factory up to produce items and so on. We are not worried too unduly about that yet. It does not look as if it is going to come about but we do feel it is better to be connected with the two other territories because a large state has a very much better chance of remaining an entity in this world than a small state would. There is no doubt that Federation has been detrimental to Northern Rhodesia in its development.

Q. Would you sum up this way that the tremendous development that has taken place in Lusaka since Federation is in spite of Federation and not because of it? — A. Definitely, we had a big backlog here to do and it was only due to the fact that we did obtain the services of very highly qualified officers particularly in the financial field, that Lusaka managed to get ahead with that development scheme.

Q. If the Federation was broken up what effects do you think that would have on the future development of this part of the world? — A. In a short term it might have certain benefits but I think I can speak for my council when I say in the long term Federation is the better scheme—A. (COUNCILLOR FISCHER): I would like to amplify something which I think should be brought about: on the question of what Northern Rhodesia lost as a result of Federation, the glaring example, of course, is our Kafue Dam which was on the board and which the Northern Rhodesian Government would have started and by now the Kafue Dam plus the Meshi Teshi Gap Irrigation Development Scheme would have been an actual fact. Nevertheless at the time we were advised by a committee of experts, I think it was the Cohen Committee, which reported to the effect that the Kariba Dam would be a more favourable project for the whole country and we accepted it with good grace. But I think we must point out that we do not want to continue sacrifices in the future. If there are any more big development schemes coming in the Federation we feel that the North should now get priority so as to continue in step with Southern Rhodesia in its development.

Q. As regards siting of the capital would it alleviate the position at all if the territorial government of Southern Rhodesia was removed from Salisbury to some other town or would that not affect the position as far as you are concerned? A. (MR. MAYOR): In the political sense I do not think it would make any difference at all today. The damage is done. If they had moved to Bulawayo in the first instance at that stage possibly it would have been more acceptable to people of the North. We realised exactly what was going to happen when that decision was made. The situation was created where everybody was going to go there.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: Would I be right in thinking that your concern is for some economic co-ordination between the three territories? When you spoke of the desirability of continuing the general idea of the Federation you are not really concerned with the political side of it so much? — A. No.

Q. May I also ask this which is consequential, in Part II, paragraph 3, you speak, for example of ensuring if possible that the ultimate formula of Government should not be the

subject of further similar reviews. You are not anxious to enter into any discussions as to how that should be done? A. No, quite obviously that is not within our field of operations.

Q. I think if you could suggest how that could be done some of us would be very interested to know. — A. I think we have got our own private views about it.

MRS. HUXLEY: In Part II, paragraph 3, where it says that if the Government of the Territory was put into the hands of the people of the Territory—that is, to use the term, “a balanced franchise,” I wonder if you have any definite views on what that “balanced franchise” would be? — A. Yes, Mr. Chairman, that was used advisedly. Without wishing to touch on the political implications of it we definitely set it against giving the vote to a mass which is swayed by political agitators. We feel the vote must remain in the hands of people who can form a solid judgment as to the advisability or otherwise of various ways of doing things; in other words the confidence in the government of the country must be maintained at all costs.

MR. McCLELAND: On African representation is it possible that this lack of interest of the African elected member is due to a sense of frustration, because he is in a minority on the African housing boards. He can always be outvoted? — A. MR. MITCHELL: The elected African member on the African housing boards. They are all elected by the people, and the African Affairs Committee which is the committee of the Council, on that there are two elected from the boards and two nominated by the Council.

Q. The chairman is elected through the African housing board, but they have very little executive power? — A. They have none at all at the moment.

Q. Is it possible they have become frustrated—they lose interest in the affairs of the African housing boards? — A. We refer I think the major part of the work of the Committee to the Boards for their consideration and advice on what they think the Committee should recommend to the Council. They have quite a lot to do there. On the question of allocating powers to these Boards, the only thing you have got to consider is you might reach a very undesirable state of affairs where you have four or five local authorities within a local authority. What I would like to see is rather that in time the African will take his place in the deliberations of the Council, and steps are being taken to see whether we cannot arrive at that situation by creating a situation where he is on the voters' roll and eventually he will be able to elect people of his own race and colour on the Council. We would like to see how they are going to handle the work. It is getting better now. When I became a Councillor in 1952, it took me two or three years to know the working of the local authority. They do not realise it takes time to pick up the strings. We are examining the question of whether we should give them a certain amount of autonomy within their own areas, but we have to be careful we do not create a duplication of work. You have a Council which is carrying out the affairs of the town and although you would like to see them take a greater interest in the running of the town, you could I think make a mistake by saying, “in four years.” You might get an Asiatic community who may say: Why cannot we have an adviser? You might get a Greek or Polish community who tend to get together in one area. You might get Irish and Scots doing it. It is a tricky problem and not as easy as it looks, this allocation of powers to African Housing Boards. We think the adviser could do a good job of work. They know their people. All our work is referred to them. We have their comments and in a good seventy-five to eighty per cent. of the work that has been done in this last year I think I can say it has been adopted by the Council. They are recommendations.

A. MR. FISCHER: On the question of frustration we look to the area boards to help us in formulating policies which affect them. Once the policy is formulated the administration or function is governed by the policy and they have just as much say in the executive function as they would have had if they actually did their administration.

A. COUNCILLOR BURNS: There is frustration felt by the African members on the greater and wider issue, that is this, that the greatest need for the areas is money spent on welfare projects to bring the locations to better standards. That money is at the moment coming from Government grants

and also from money which is based on the sale of African beer. At the moment there is no other source or fund for development and I believe myself the greatest frustration is felt in members coming to these area boards having high ideals towards a manifest improvement and then finding there are not the funds available at the moment. I think that does have a great bearing on African representation on these boards.

PROFESSOR JACK: The Mayor, I think, referred to a number of Africans who were relatively well paid. I think he suggested that number was increasing. These Africans to whom you refer I presume are not ratepayers, are occupying houses provided by their employers?

A. MR. MITCHELL: That is correct. At the moment they occupy houses provided by the employer even in the African Housing Area—the employer's property.

Q. Can you see any increase in the number of African ratepayers without some change in the law which places on employers this obligation to provide housing?

A. For a number of years now in certain industries in this Territory we have been pressing for an "all-in" wage structure. I happen to be a building contractor. In our Master Builders' Association we were first in the field to introduce a wage structure which included the ration element. We are in process now in our wages council of discussing the housing element. In other words, we want to give them a wage where they become fully dependent on their own efforts for their well-being, their housing and everything else, and although negotiations have broken down—we have to have another meeting—I do hope we will get somewhere with that. It is going to be a big step forward. We are going a little further than some of the members of the Master Builders' Association would like us to go, but it is imperative we should raise the standard up to a figure where they are going to become self-reliant and independent. Once they reach that stage the wife will say: "I want a better home," and he will want better transport. He has to work hard in order to learn more about his work so he can earn more money. We are not afraid of paying.

Q. If that change should take place you think there should be certain African wards?

A. In time I think that would be the answer.

Q. Can you hazard a guess about the time it would take to get that change established?

A. That is something I do not think you should rush because you think it is ideal. I think what is the trouble with this part of the world in general is somebody has built a big glass house; everything has been forced—tomatoes, cucumbers and so on. It is creating an undesirable situation. The education of the African masses is very far behind what it should be. Something has to be done to rectify that, also there is the female. Too much emphasis is placed on the male rather than on educating the female. For you to reach that desirable position will take a long time.

Q. I was thinking of something else, how long it would take before there would be a justification for a change in the law which placed this responsibility on the employers? — A. We have been trying to convince the Commissioner for Labour in this country that the time is ripe now for that change to be made. I think there is a clause under which employers will not be obliged to provide the houses if the employees are in a position to do so.

A. COUNCILLOR BURNS: The time will be ripe for the African to take his place in Government in a ward system when he is in a position to pay rates. At the moment the economy of the country is so lowly geared that he is not in a position to pay those additional rates and the first thing is to get him in a position to pay his rates and taxes in order to take his place.

A. MR. FISCHER: I think it should be brought out that not all Africans in our housing areas have their rates paid. We have I think about 900 self-employed Africans who pay their own rents. Although they pay their own rents the rent does not include a rate because we do not rate our African Housing Areas, so you could not regard them at this stage as ratepayers. They pay a rent, not a rate.

A. MR. MITCHELL: The situation we are in today was created by a cheap labour policy. To my way of thinking that has been a fallacy and the ruination of this part of the world. Everything that is done regarding the African is to

keep the cost of his labour down irrespective of whether he can earn more or not, and housing is one of them. The Government in their wisdom decided many years ago in order to keep the cost of housing down that land and buildings in their areas should not be rated, so rent contains a vast number of things not relative to the house. That is the first element. Then you have, too, private roads and other amenities, and welfare has to be paid for. A certain number are carried by the Council but the vast majority of the charges are met in the rent. So in other words if you pay £4 5s. 0d. for a house probably the actual rent is in the region of £2 5s. This situation we have to get away from. The tenant must be made to realise that in paying £4 5s. for a house it does contain other elements. If you can change from that, let him pay so much for rent, and also rates for water and electricity. This will take many years of hard work unless we wake up to the fact you have got to increase his pay whether he is worth it or not, whether you make it worth it or not.

MR. CHIRWA: Would it be correct to deduce from what you have said that the Area Housing Boards—three of them—are working better than the African Affairs Committee in respect of the attendance of African Members?

A. No, that is not correct. It is in the Area Housing Boards that the rot starts. We are not getting attendances there and there are changes of personnel. There is no continuation of services. There is a very small number who stay through three years elected. You find during the three year period with eight or nine in each Board, out of those at the end of three years only two remain.

Q. Who is Chairman of the African Affairs Committee?

A. I am.

Q. You are one of the Councillors? A. Yes.

Q. Do you not think it would improve the position for you if you had withdrawn those four Councillors and made in all African with one Councillor as chairman? A. MR. MITCHELL: That might be a desirable position but as the law stands at the moment, Sir, we did consider at one stage an African as the vice-chairman of the committee. The difficulty arises here, these people on the African Affairs Committee are not members of the Council. In other words, they can attend Council meetings as observers but they cannot take any part in the Council work itself, so in the event of the chairman of the committee not being available to present the report of the committee to the Council, it normally falls on the vice-chairman, as the African members are co-opted to the committee and not elected in the normal way.

It would not be possible for the vice-chairman to submit his report. We hope to be able to get over this difficulty.

A. MR. FISCHER: May I add in the event of the African Affairs Committee having only African members, in other words the European councillors being withdrawn, you will get a position where your rates—the African Affairs Committee is the largest spender on the committee—would be spent by people not ratepayers. That is an impossible situation.

PROFESSOR CREIGHTON: I gather the rent which is paid by the African household in an African area is in effect not the rent for the house, but also for water, sanitation and some welfare conditions and so on. Does not then really in fact the African pay the equivalent of rates? A. (MR. MITCHELL): That could be argued, but on top of the services that are supplied to the other part of the town, your water is paid for direct through a meter. There are some towns in South Africa where they have a water rate and not metered water. Your electricity is paid for through a meter.

Other amenities are provided by the welfare people themselves, Sir, through women's institutes, etc. The Council has to do this on these other occasions in addition to all these buildings which the other inhabitants are providing. They then have to pay on top of that a rate chargeable on the land.

A. MR. FISCHER: In other words, the rent includes services which in a non-African area the occupier pays for over and above his rent and rate.

Q. Does the rent include payments for charges which might be included in the rate in the non-African areas? A. (MR. MITCHELL): No. In developing countries like this it is very difficult. We examined that very carefully when the Council took over the water system as to whether we should have a water rate or a meter water system, and a water rate proved completely inadvisable. It would never have worked. It was necessary to meter it because of the shortage of water to

CCC

control consumption, and in the second place make it a self-supporting unit.

Q. So that the question I asked was the African paying the equivalent of a rate is in fact not true? A. Not quite true. A. (COUNCILLOR BURNS): Perhaps if I can elaborate on that, the difficulty in financing the creation of new African housing areas has made it necessary to find the finance by the rent; and the rents are calculated on all costs.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: Do you not think the land laws are hindering the industrial development, and do you not think the Government insistence that industry must provide housing is also a bar? Do you realise that in Southern Rhodesia the main development in industry is being encouraged by the territorial governments? I know you have got an Industrial Development Board just starting—a fairly big one—but in this country where the majority of your territory is under trust ninety-four per cent, I think, it is a bar to encouraging what I call investors in fixed property.

In Southern Rhodesia we have a very much bigger degree of freehold land. In addition to that in Southern Rhodesia the Industrial Development Board are in fact guaranteeing fixed properties. Do you not think that your own Government here could have more initiative in encouraging industry here? I know there are other points you have raised which are, I think, important, but do you not think your own Government here should take the initiative far more than it has done at the moment? A. (MR. MITCHELL): I must admit quite a lot of what you say. You brought out this question of Trust land. We have had landlords in this Territory for a large number of years who have definitely been against investment in this part of the world. Up until about 1944 or 1945 you could buy freehold land from the Government. About that time the Colonial Office laid down that no more was to be sold in Northern Rhodesia.

I said the Colonial Office laid that down and it was accepted by the Government of this Territory at that time, very inadvisedly. Steps have been taken to rectify that. Everybody when he has leasehold land is entitled to convert it to freehold.

This Trust land is one created for the benefit of the peoples of the Territory, but it is not working in that direction. It is not only the African—there is a vast number of other people who would like the opportunity of developing that land. It is an obstacle, there is not the least doubt about it, but on the freehold system we are getting over that and the Minister hopes to devise terms and conditions very shortly. Mr. Brown did make a reference to the Government insisting that any developer in this country had to provide housing for his European, Asiatic and Euroafrican or African staff. That is not quite correct. I do not think at any stage did this apply. It was sheer force of necessity that created that condition.

The Government of this Territory and the municipalities have for many years provided housing for their European staff. It did create an unreal situation. Large concerns from overseas came out here and investigated the possibility and found Government and mines provided the housing. Never at any stage have we insisted they should provide this housing. They only had to because there was no housing available. On the question of the industrial development that is a little too late. We have had an Industrial Loans Board whose terms of reference are very restricted. We were not entitled to go out and develop an industry; we were not entitled to go out and make enquiries as to where an industry should be set up; and suggest to people from overseas what they should do. That has not been rectified. Southern Rhodesia has been ahead of Northern Rhodesia. It has outside control which has been a bugbear. I must say here our Council are very disturbed as individual members if not as a body about this trust land because something will have to be done about it very soon. If it is for the benefit of the people it must be all the people, not one section of it.

A. MR. FISCHER: I wanted to point out that although the Government can force a large employer to house his employees, in fact they have never done so and those large employers who put up housing did it because housing was not available and they had to go into that real estate without wishing to do so.

A. MR. MITCHELL: I remember years ago in Bulawayo opening up an industrial area. Quite a number of people from South Africa wanted to come up and have a share in it. Bulawayo laid down they would not allocate a piece of land

unless satisfied they could house all their employees. Very soon they had to change their ideas.

Q. LORD CRATHORNE: You draw our attention to the importance of an outlet to the Atlantic. You then said that the Rhodesian Railways were told they could never extend the railway and join up. You did not say who made that decision?

A. MR. FISCHER: The governing body of the Rhodesian Railways, which is the Railways Board.

A. MR. MITCHELL: As an instance of this sort of thing this Commission Mr. Fischer spoke about visited the Territory in regard to industrial development. We did mention we felt it essential there should be this strip of steel from east to west. We were very concerned about developments further north of us. We may not be entitled to use that particular outlet. I was asked the question, "What economic traffic could you put on that line?" I asked the question what was the driving force behind the people, that drove the line up the backbone of Africa. There were no copper mines, no gold mines. They just realised that to open up the country you had to put a railway in. We still feel that is necessary today as the main method of communication, you use your road system to feed it. We have an iron ore body in this city, in Lusaka—but very far away for an external market, not worth opening up. The iron and steel set up you have in Southern Rhodesia will satisfy the needs of the Federation for years to come.

Q. MR. GONDWE: I wish to bring forward a question that was asked by Mrs. Huxley that is in connection with stability in Government in this Territory. I understood the Mayor or one of his councillors was saying that the Government of this country, unless it rests with the people, it would be difficult for would-be investors to put their money into the country. My question is when Mr. Mayor says that Government should rest with the people of the Territory or in other words local people I am sure he includes the Africans there? A. Definitely.

Q. At the same time somebody went on to say at the present moment he was totally against any increased political rights being accorded to Africans because they have not reached that standard. Did I understand you to say it that way? A. (MR. FISCHER): No. I mentioned this point but that is not quite what I said. I said the Government of the people should be based on a balanced franchise, which I amplified by saying the vote should not be given to an illiterate mass which could be easily swayed by political agitators. It should be given to people in a position to appreciate the vote and treat it in a responsible manner.

Q. What would you say would be the determinant which would make it abundantly clear that was the Africans? I mean, by illiterate people you are referring to the African? A. Not necessarily, illiterate of any colour.

MR. MITCHELL: Unfortunately we are reaching the stage where we find illiteracy in other races as well.

Q. By and large it would be the Africans? A. (MR. FISCHER): It would be a majority in that class.

Q. At the same time when you speak of government resting with the local people here you mean a greater measure of self-government? A. Correct.

Q. And you are aware that that is not very easy in view of the fact that the African by and large is still politically immature and that, if government is going to rest with the local people, it must take account of the African as well? A. We have not very far to look for an example of this form of government. Southern Rhodesia has had responsible government for a number of years and whatever their franchise may be we could enlarge on that. We might make our franchise a little more wide.

Q. Are you aware in Southern Rhodesia the franchise is such that it excludes Africans at this moment as far as the legislature is concerned? There is not even one African in the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly? A. Maybe so in Southern Rhodesia; it is not so here.

Q. It is not so here because your political set-up here is totally different from that of Southern Rhodesia?

A. Yes, but we wish to align ourselves with Southern Rhodesia to the extent we want responsible Government and not to be bound to an outside influence which may in time impose a form of Government not acceptable to us.

Q. In that event you keep yourself behind in that you wish

to see that Africans, before they can be admitted, must comply with higher qualifications? A. (MR. FISCHER): Not Africans—the electors of the country generally should comply with a certain standard which will ensure they use their votes in a sensible manner.

Q. It will take some time. At present it may be Europeans and other races, not including Africans. There are very few of them and without them I think this Territory is well advised to mark time. A. Yes, but our evidence is on industrial development and we say our development will be hindered until such time as we have responsible Government.

A. MR. MITCHELL: What we are trying to get at is, although the situation which has been mentioned by the questioner is true, that the franchise level is such that there will not be many opportunities for Africans to take part in the Government of the Territory, that cannot last for ever. As time goes on skills are made available and the African will then take his place in his rightful form of Government. I had an idea put to me that we may possibly have some measure of success—that is, dual representation in the constituency, African and non-African; but they must be together in the House. They must work with the part and the party caucus. It is a very broad field which would have to be examined. Certain Europeans do not want it, but people like myself have been in the country longer than some of the Africans who were born after. You realise you cannot keep that state of affairs going. The African has been educated by the efforts of the European and in due course will have to take his part in the economic and political scene of the Territory, but it is not a very good thing to have a territory or any country controlled by immature people who have not reached that stage of development where they can reason out, giving their votes to any political party who can take their place in the legislature. I would like to suggest to the questioner there are a number of Africans and non-Africans in our legislature who have not made a very good contribution to it.

MR. CHIRWA: I was interested in two points really—this land question—this 6 per cent of land is it all taken up and all developed? A. No, not by any means.

Q. Is it not possible then before the Europeans complain that they do not have adequate land, they should be able to show they have taken up this 6 per cent for development? You take over 10,000 acre farms and there is only a very small proportion of that which can be utilised for the main purpose. I think in this 6 per cent of the land that is supposed to be available to European development the greater proportion is not suitable for the types of development we like to see going ahead. In farming you have your “fly belts” covering a lot of ground. In other words, vast tracts of the country could be utilised for the benefit of the country in other ways—ranching, the production of food-stuffs for export and things like that. You can go on to this Trust land but it takes up to three years to get the Colonial Office to agree. Sometimes I get so cross with them. They must talk about the 6 per cent. We are all here to do the best for everybody and let us have the country open for development for everybody, no matter who sets it up. Wherever the money comes from it is for the benefit of all people.

Q. The Mayor certainly does appreciate if the land were laid open to everybody it is the African who would suffer because he has not enough money to buy the land. Therefore the land must be protected in his own interest and also to create facilities among the people. A. I would like to discuss this in private session. Q. I think the Councillor said he would be prepared to lower the franchise. Am I right?

A. MR. FISCHER: No, I did not mention it. All I said was that the franchise must be a balanced franchise. I may have mentioned the fact there is one solution that may bear examination. It has a lot of tricky points—dual representation—but how many people will you find going on the voters' roll under that?

Q. Are you aware that there are many Africans who could be regarded as being literate, for instance a number of teachers and clerks in the Government departments who are kept out of the voters' roll at present? You say you must have two years training. There is quite a number of people who could be considered literate who at present are not qualified, for instance, teachers and clerks in the Government departments. Do you not think people like those could be regarded as literate and therefore ought to qualify? A. I do not think it is competent for us to discuss franchise in detail. What we do stress

is the fact we do want a stable government to create industrial development.

Q. Do you agree that in your anxiety for a stable government a number of people must take part in the elections of members? Do you not think it is in the general interests of the country that the present franchise be lowered so that a certain number of people can take part in elections? A. I do not know how many should be included in the franchise who are excluded.

Q. You appreciate I think, you find even Africans would like a stable government. There is a lot of unemployment already and I think it is most necessary that people are employed and that the Africans are also given a stable government. Do you appreciate that the Government has a responsibility as a protector of Africans? A. MR. MITCHELL: Yes.

Q. And that it is not easy to do away with Government officers, with the official members in the Legislative Council? That is a rather difficult situation if the British Government is going to hand over power. A. (MR. MITCHELL): I should like to say here in my opinion the British Government has not quite done its job in protecting the African of this Territory. It has created a situation by its lack of interest in certain fields regarding African policy where it all of a sudden wants to get rid of something and is going to hand it over to a group of people not well-trained, educated or capable of running this country. There is a small number of people in that position compared with the vast numbers of your people. We do not say you should not have a say in the running of this country but we also like to have a say. It is our skills, our brains, our money that has put you in the position in which you are. I am a white Northern Rhodesian and that is the way I look at the situation, and the British Government has never really taken care of the people of this country. Let us admit it: the whole set-up is wrong. If we work together we will get that rectified but we cannot do it with one race abominating another. When you talk about the question of land rights and things like that you are aware in Northern Rhodesia a European is not allowed to trade, or a non-African, in our African housing areas inside this municipality? Are you aware of the fact that no European or non-African is allowed to go into the Native Reserves to trade without permission of the Native Authority? Are you aware he is not allowed to go into the Native Trust Lands but there is nothing to prevent you buying a plot in Cairo Road and putting up a five-storey building, buying and renting the premises? It is not discrimination against the Africans: it is discrimination against non-Africans which is the problem. That is one thing to get rid of; if we are going to get rid of discrimination of any sort we will get somewhere.

MR. MOLSON: I want to ask a question about the protection provided to the Railways against the competition of road transport. In the first place, of course, nearly all railways in the world are now being run at a loss largely as a result of the successful competition of road transport and obviously there is a great need for further expansion of transport in the Federation. Do I understand that the competition of road transport is strictly regulated if it is in competition with the Railway? A. If it is in areas not served by the railway system then there is not competition but when from Salisbury to Lusaka in centres which are actually on the line of rail where there is any road transport system, which is in competition with the railway system, then the road transport people must charge the same rates for equivalent distances. To transport from Salisbury by rail would cost 9s. 6d. To bring it here by road from Salisbury—300 miles—would still cost 7s. 6d.

Q. Is this a Federal regulation or a Territorial regulation? A. Quite frankly, I am not sure of the answer. I think it is both.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: It is actually Territorial. A. But it is in consultation with the Federal Government in protection of the railway system.

Q. I do not think it is the rates that are doing it; it is your Commissioner giving them the monopoly to enable them to make a bit of money on the profitable routes so that it will help them on the unprofitable ones?

A. There is definitely something in that, because when the railway rates went up by ten per cent, everyone of us was sent a new tariff list by the two transport companies operating between here and Salisbury.

MR. KATILUNGU: I am particularly interested in Part II of the memorandum, in which stress is laid in regard to stability in the country, and criticism is raised against the type of government which is directly representative of the people from the Colonial Office. I would like to ask, from His Worship the Mayor, when he says that instability springs from the type of government as it is now, with representatives nominated from the Colonial Office, does he mean at this stage of our political development, by cutting away from the Colonial Office and creating a government in this country in which Africans do not have full participation in electing such government, that we can achieve that stability, rather than damaging the aim of achieving it? A. I think I have explained this earlier on, Sir, in reply to a question by the gentlemen to the right of Mr. Katilungu; it is a fact that if we got responsible government on the lines we feel we should have it, in the main the Europeans would be the major representatives in the Government, but that could be cured by two methods. One would be by introducing a formal constitution whereby each section of the community—African and non-African—will have equal representation in the House; and secondly by allowing the African to take his place, either slowly or rapidly, as his development increases. But the difficulty is this: as Mr. Ellman Brown mentioned, the land laws are one thing. If this Government wish to change this form of tenure of land to the purchaser, it has to get the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In other words when we started the ball rolling for change from freehold to leasehold title, we had to put it to the Secretary of State first, and he put all sorts of questions to us and then eventually Mr. Lennox Boyd reluctantly said, "All right, you can go ahead on those lines."

Now we think we should be able to say between the races how we should have the land apportioned in this country, whether it should be freehold or leasehold tenure. Freehold is the best, even for your own people. They should be entitled to buy freehold land. Why should you not be able to have your own plot and build a house or a shop? That is where we, between us, can sort it out. It is between us and not between somebody who is sitting 6,000 miles away. We want the Government of this Territory to be the government of this Territory, and not people sitting in their armchairs and thinking they can dictate unilaterally from several thousand miles away.

MR. HABANYAMA: You think you can get agreement on that? A. I am positive of it, because I have great faith in the ability of some of your people.

Q. At the present stage? A. At present you can get a certain amount of agreement. I do not think we can satisfy all your people, nor can we satisfy all my people; but I think we can reach some compromise which will be suitable to those of us who want to live and work together here. Those who do not want to live and work together—let them get out.

MR. KATILUNGU: Having examined at the present moment the franchise as it applies to the Northern Rhodesia Government, Sir, it has both economic and educational qualifications. You have been dealing with the question of responsibility, responsible people who would be able to exercise properly their votes, and in fact, to cast the vote in the best interests of the country in electing those people to rule the destiny of the Territory. Having examined the present franchise, attaching the question of responsibility to the people who would qualify to vote—as a trade unionist I am interested in the labour problems on the Copperbelt, because of lack of proper education amongst many African people who are between forty and sixty years of age. Those people, who have been quite capable of participating in the running of this very complicated mining industry and the processes by which copper is produced and have been able to secure the lives of people from danger, they have been able to prevent accidents, yet they are not able to speak or write English. I know that you are not wanting to discuss it in detail but I am dealing with the principle.

What form of franchise do you think could be evolved which would enable that man to vote whose earning capacity is higher than many of the men who are qualified to vote? Would you think there might be a franchise which could embrace those people who are unable to qualify for the educational franchise in the vernacular? A. Mr. Katilungu is quite right. I am not prepared to go into details, but on

a matter of principle I think he has got a good point there. I am not a politician of course.

MR. CROSS: I have a question as regards more representation in the Federal Government. Although the Council are not advancing political ideas, would equal Territorial representation in the Federal Government ensure an opportunity for greater development of the separate territories? A. I think so, Mr. Chairman, because when the Federal Government was first formed I made a very close study of the members in the House from the three territories, and when the members were elected or nominated for Southern Rhodesia, they only needed two defections from the other two territories, and they were carrying any ideas they put forward. We thought that narrow balance was not good enough as far as we were concerned. It needed a greater vote from the other two territories to carry forward an idea than the people of Southern Rhodesia had.

Q. So you would welcome equal representation? A. Yes. I think it would benefit everyone concerned.

Memorandum

LUSAKA HOSPITAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

1. The evidence will be presented by the following:—
The Rev. E. G. Nightingale, Chairman African Hospital Advisory Committee.

The Rev. P. J. Walsh, S. J., Chairman European Hospital Advisory Committee.

Mr. S. Tembo, Member of the African Hospital Advisory Committee.

2. It is the considered opinion of the above Hospital Advisory Committees that the Health Services of Northern Rhodesia as at present administered under the Federal Government are unsatisfactory.

3. The representatives of the Hospital Advisory Committees welcome the opportunity of giving oral evidence to the Commission. In their oral evidence they wish to illustrate by examples how the centralisation of the administration of the Health Services of Northern Rhodesia in Salisbury is to the detriment of the efficient and satisfactory working of these services.

4. The representatives of the Hospital Advisory Committees wish to point out that the unsatisfactory system by which the Health Services of the Federation are at present administered is a cause of widespread dissatisfaction and responsible for a considerable measure of the opposition to Federation which exists among all races of Northern Rhodesia.

5. Considerable dissatisfaction is felt among the non-European qualified nursing staff at the discrimination against them on the grounds of race in matters such as conditions of service, salaries, housing conditions, etc.

6. Shortage of medical staff is a cause of complaint. Due to this shortage people who have a right to free Medical Service are compelled to go to private doctors. The lack of continuity of medical staff is also a complaint—and for this reason also many who should have the free service of Government doctors are compelled to go to private doctors.

One of the main causes of the shortage of Medical Staff is that the conditions of service, salaries, etc., are not sufficiently attractive to induce people to join, or remain in the Federal Health Service.

Oral Evidence

LUSAKA HOSPITAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Witnesses:—

Rev. E. G. Nightingale

Rev. P. J. Walsh

Mr. S. Tembo

Mrs. Kaunda

Mrs. Gibson

Mrs. Ranchard

CHAIRMAN: You have been kind enough to submit a paper. You wanted to give examples of how centralisation of the administration of the health services has been to the detriment of efficient work?—A. (REV. NIGHTINGALE):

I think the first point we would like to draw the attention of the Commission to is the condition of the African hospital here. In 1953, when I was a member of the Legislative Council for African interests, I had occasion to visit the hospital in December. The result was that I asked a question, to which I got the reply that there was unlikely to be a new hospital for another four years. I then made a speech describing the conditions in the hospital and I do not propose to inflict the whole speech on the Commission, but perhaps I might just select one or two extracts. The children's ward has 35 beds. On the night I visited it, it had 42 patients. In addition to those there were 18 persons sleeping in the ward—mothers or relatives of the children. Children for the most part were in cots, others sleeping on the floor. Three more cases were in the corridor outside. In another part of the hospital there was a verandah which had been extended by putting up tarpaulins for patients to sleep on the ground outside the hospital. There was just room to pass at the foot of the bed. The beds are contiguous. Before you get to the bed you find a number of patients accommodated on the floor. I was told that we could get more patients in the wards if we did not use beds.

That had the support of an African doctor who was good enough to say I had dealt adequately with the living. He also pointed out that the feelings of the African community were outraged owing to a lack of proper mortuary accommodation. He said the mortuary at Lusaka is in such a state that the dead bodies are allowed to be pulled out of a small window. We feel it is a disgraceful thing because it is the body which according to African custom should be respected. It is one of the few occasions in which I managed to impress the other side of the House. The member in charge of medical affairs suggested I had picked an instance when conditions were abnormal and after the debate he said to me he was afraid my speech might be reported in the British papers and create trouble. He mentioned one, Mr. Fenner Brockway in particular. In the course of the debate he was able to say—he had sent for information during the debate—that the sum of £510,000 had been put down for African housing in Lusaka and of that sum £12,000 would be spent in 1954. In June, 1954 Sir John Moffat raised the question again and was told that the Government regarded it as one of great urgency and that representations were being made to the Federal Government.

After all these years, Father Walsh will tell you that although the conditions have improved they are still not such as we could regard with any complacency, and we are now beginning to take steps for a new hospital. It may be argued that the Territorial Government would have done no better, that we might have waited six years under the Territorial Government, but I do not accept that. A site had been set apart and we were in a position here in Lusaka that, if action had not been taken, very great pressure would have been brought to bear.

Now the hospital is being pushed forward and we are a little concerned that, after all these years of delay, the plans are being rushed through at such a rate as they are. The hostel for female African nurses is under erection within a few yards of the hostel for male African nurses with the windows overlooking each other. My committee protested violently against that and found it was too late. The foundations had already been put in. It is another point we have to make that the work of the committee is completely nugatory because it is impossible to get our advice taken. Maybe we put too high a value on the advice we give, but in this matter of the hospital a rush is being made to get it in in this present year and we are very glad action has been taken. There is no real opportunity for consultation with us on the responsibility of representing the public and I believe there has been no opportunity for the professional men in the hospital to express their views on the plans as well.

Q. Are there any other points you want to take about the centralisation of the administration of health services in your paragraph 3? — A. Father Walsh was going to speak on that himself.—A. (REV. WALSH): Mr. Nightingale has already spoken with regard to the conditions of the hospital in 1953 and 1954. I would like to say the conditions in the African hospital are no better in 1960; they are even worse. The crowding, because the demand for hospitalization and medical services has increased, is even worse than it was in 1953 and 1954. The normal thing in the children's ward in the African Hospital is that there are two children in every cot.

There is practically no facility for the isolation of infectious cases and in the children's ward one finds children with such diseases as chicken-pox, measles, tuberculosis and many other infectious diseases. The conditions in the other wards are equally bad. Patients have to be accommodated on open verandahs, open to all the elements—the rain when it rains and the strong sun when there is a sun. We and members of the hospital advisory committees have time and time again over the past twelve months urged certain alterations to the African Hospital which in our opinion could have easily been carried out to make things better than they are. I give just another instance of the conditions in the African hospital. In a hospital which has normally between 400 and 500 patients. I think there is not a single drop of hot water from one end of the hospital to the other except in the operating theatre. We have urged over and over again that this could be remedied. Nothing has been done. This brings me to the point that the smallest expenditure—anything above £500—has got to be referred to the Secretary for Health in Salisbury. That is our great complaint with even urgent alterations that are needed in either hospital—the African or the European Hospital. Conditions in the European Hospital could also be quoted. For instance, the lavatory accommodation is entirely inadequate and we have pointed it out over and over again—and I can say the same thing about the African Hospital—but we have been frustrated as a committee. We have tried to get things done, but the fact that the Health Services are centralised in Salisbury and everything that has to be done has to be referred to Salisbury, causes unnecessary and exasperating delays, and we think it is certainly extraordinary that the Director of Medical Services is not allowed to spend anything over £500 without having to report to the Secretary for Health in Salisbury.

Q. Would you go on to deal with your fifth paragraph about the non-European qualified nursing staff being discriminated against on the grounds of race? — A. Yes Sir, that was a point which was brought up at our joint committees, that a non-European qualified sister is discriminated against firstly as regards her salary. We had an outstanding case here in Lusaka of an Asian nurse born and bred in Northern Rhodesia, educated in England, and who then did her nursing at the Kensington Red Cross Hospital in London. She was employed by the Federal Health Department and posted to Lusaka and was offered a salary of £422 per annum which was exactly £2 more than an untrained European girl straight from school would get as a ward maid. A European sister with the same qualifications, as for instance, this Indian girl would start at £620 per annum. This is certainly a cause of great dissatisfaction among the non-European nursing staff. Various explanations are put forward, such as lack of a sense of responsibility and so on, but this is an excuse which I personally do not admit. If these girls are regarded as of sufficient intelligence to be trained as nurses then they should be accepted into the nursing service on the same basis as European girls, and I can assure you that not only we of the Lusaka Committee protested against this but the European nursing sisters themselves. They were outraged and felt it an insult to the profession that a girl who had done the full nursing course and passed her examinations was automatically, because of her race, relegated to a lower status.

Q. You say, not only salaries but conditions of service and housing conditions? — A. Yes, Sir. In the African Hospital there are quite a number of African S.R.N.'s and not only are their salaries different from those of Europeans of the same qualifications, but no provision whatever except the most primitive is made for their accommodation, and in the ordinary mixing with their European sisters in the hospitals there is obviously discrimination. They have no such thing as a duty room. If they want to get a cup of tea in the afternoon they have to find it themselves. The housing conditions provided for them are entirely unsatisfactory.

Q. The next thing is the shortage of medical staff, that is your paragraph 6?—A. (REV. NIGHTINGALE): We feel that the Health Department have not been a happy department since Federation. They come to us in our various capacities and complain. There has been a heavy loss of doctors and nurses and we admit, of course, there is a tendency to blame everything on Federation, but there is quite obviously a good deal of dissatisfaction. I think Father Walsh intended to say—and certainly we all wish to say—that we have a very great admiration for the hospital staff at both hospitals in

Lusaka, and that rather emphasizes my point. Anything that can be put right by the Matron is put right, not only before the next meeting, but even in some cases in a very few hours. But there is this constant going from one department and coming back and I think that is the reason why so many doctors have left, apart from the fact that I understand that salaries offered compare very unfavourably with those offered by other Colonies. That I do not know, but it is the case we are very short of doctors, and that Civil Servants who are entitled to medical treatment, not only because there is a shortage of doctors, but also because there are frequent changes in the staff of the hospital, go to private practitioners and do not exercise their privilege.

Q. To what do you attribute the quickness of change of the doctors and the frequency of it? — A. I remarked to somebody the other day how rapidly a young medical officer had been promoted. The answer I got was in the Health Service you either go up or go out.

Q. MR. MENZIES: Was there not a five year period in which these doctors could make up their minds whether they should stop in the Service and a Civil Service adjustment? — A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And it is at the end of that period they have been shooting out? — A. I think they began to go before that.

Q. You do not think it due to their determining there were better places than Northern Rhodesia? — A. It is a matter of opinion but my impression is they would have stayed if they had been as happy in the Federal Service as in the Territorial.

Q. You gathered that in conversation? — A. Yes.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: Would Mr. Nightingale kindly tell us what are the statutes and functions of your committees? What standing have they? We have such things in England but they are rather different from what you have been describing. — A. We are appointed by the Minister to whom names are submitted. Mrs. Ranchard is a representative of the Asian community. Mr. Tembo is a representative of the Red Cross. I am not quite sure what Father Walsh and I represent but there are other people who are described as representing the general public. Mrs. Gibson represents the Women's Institute. Our function is to tender advice to the local Territorial Director of Health Services. We visit the hospital, we pass on to the responsible people anything we consider requires improvement in the hospital.

Q. How often do meetings take place? By whom are they attended? — A. The meetings are attended by the Medical Superintendent of the hospital and the Matron of the Hospital, the Secretary of the Committee.

Q. It is his job to pass on any points to the Federal Authorities? — A. Yes, Sir.

Q. The other thing Mr. Nightingale is this, did I understand you to say there is no such thing as a medical advisory committee? — A. No.

Q. None at all? — A. In the terms of our Committee there are certain functions of a medical advisory committee that can be exercised, but we have not got as far as that yet. My recollection is that provision is made for a medical advisory committee. Where no medical advisory committee has been appointed to consider representations the duties include to consider representations from any private practitioner who enjoys the privilege of entry to the hospital and to the internal management of the hospital. I am quoting from the rules that govern the Hospital Advisory Committee.

Q. Would we be able to have a copy of that? I am interested as it is rather different from what some of us have had to do with? — A. Yes. Perhaps you will have this copy and we will get another copy from the hospital.

MR. HADLOW: When is the new African Hospital to be completed? — A. The work has started on it now. Tenders have been invited and I think they have to be in in two months' time.

Q. Work has not begun yet, except on certain ancillary buildings? Would it take six months or a year? — A. More than that. I should say four years—three or four years.

Q. MR. ROBINSON: Has your Committee ever had discussions with the Minister of Health about these disgraceful conditions? — A. I am afraid we were snubbed.

Q. You are not entitled to go? — A. We asked to have an interview with the Minister but for various reasons could not.

Q. MR. GONDWE: May I know what the initial salaries for African registered nurses are?—A. (REV. WALSH): I am not quite certain but I think they start at £380 per annum.

Q. DR. SHEPHERD: Might I ask whether they have made representations to the Director of Medical Services about these things? — A. We have, certainly.

Q. Personally? — A. Personally, Yes.

Q. MR. CHIRWA: May I know from Mrs. Kaunda whether there are any conditions at the hospital which are considered by the African women as bad?—A. (MRS. KAUNDA): I myself have been three times. The first complaint is that there is no privacy in the hospital. There are no private wards. Before the Federal Government took over the health services we did have two wards set aside specially for African patients who wanted privacy. We welcomed that very much. But then this was taken away because they gave us a reason there are many patients who could not afford private wards. A private ward to-day is occupied by about four patients with their children, the private wards are now being used for maternity cases. So you can well understand what type of over-crowding there is in the hospitals. A private ward which previously had only one patient there is used for four women with four young children. The African women at first did not go to the hospital to be delivered and the medical men complained that many children were born out in the villages, but to-day this is no longer so. If anything, the medical men are complaining they are having too many patients coming forward to deliver at the hospital. That might explain the reason why there is so much over-crowding and also the apparent reason for the shortage of medical men, because of more patients coming forward on their own to deliver at the hospital.

I remember that in 1953 I myself was delivered by the male orderlies. I did not like it, but at that time I needed their help and I welcomed it from anyone. I would not have minded if it came from the qualified doctor, but not the type of male orderly we have in hospital. Some of them have passed only Standard VI. However, that is the second main complaint as far as women is concerned. The male orderlies should not attempt to deliver cases.

This has been done for a long time. I am not blaming the Federal Government for this particular service, because it has been going on even before the Federal Government. I blame the lack of African woman's education or girl's education. It is too far behind. When you read of hospital education of other countries you really feel in Northern Rhodesia you are in the years of 1800, perhaps, which has long been passed by other countries.

The lavatory accommodation is horrible. I would really love that some of the Commissioners could visit the African hospital, and in particular the lavatories. Really, when I am at the hospital, I always pray that I have constipation right throughout. To have a bath at the hospital is something which you really welcome when you do have it. As a patient you have to walk out of your bed and go to the bathroom and find nothing but a cement floor and have a cold shower. You can understand why some of the patients never even bother to have a bath. I do not remember ever seeing a patient, no matter how helpless he is, having been given a bath in the building as is done in all the other hospitals I have seen—not so at Lusaka. I should say those are the three main complaints.

CHAIRMAN: We have not seen the hospital, but I can tell you my wife has been there for two or three hours this morning, so I expect I shall hear from her.

MR. MENZIES: May I ask a question? My attention is drawn to the Hospital Advisory Committee rules. Number 12 lays down the duty of the Advisory Committee to receive and enquire into complaints of patients and so on. Those complaints and any representation to be laid before the Advisory Committee in writing, and after investigation the Advisory Committee may have considered the matter of sufficient importance to forward such a complaint or report to the Director of Medical Services with an expression of the Advisory Committee's opinion on its merits. Then the Director of Medical Services shall report his views and any

action he may intend to take with the Advisory Committee at its next meeting. Is that procedure being followed? — A. We have not waited for the complaints of the patients. They have been so obvious we have not felt it necessary to ask a patient to complain. We have made reference frequently to the Director of Medical Services and if he is not in a position to put things right it is referred to Salisbury.

A case in point is the canvas screens. Patients are accommodated on a covered way which leads from the wards to the kitchen. Father Walsh says the Committee asked that these should be protected by canvas screens so that the driving rain did not go on to the beds and make it necessary to carry them in the middle of the night to a disused kitchen. We made that recommendation in April. In August it was approved. Then the rain started again in October and the screens were actually put up in February. The Committee went in and inspected the screens and immediately asked for them to be taken down. They pointed out they were inadequate in that the rain still drove in at the top and were constructed in such a way that when it was not raining and the sun was shining it was intolerable.

The European Advisory Committee, Father Walsh's Committee, has on two occasions passed a resolution saying it felt its whole work a waste of time and we were not prepared to continue. The African committee passed the same resolution with the addendum that unless something was done about our recommendations, we proposed to resign in a body and acquaint the members with the reasons for our resignation. That is the position. We have not carried out that threat, because we hope that the Morton Commission will be reporting very soon and things may be better then. I think we may sum it up in this way by saying that either the Health Department will have to be defederalized or it will have to be decentralised to such an extent that nobody will recognise it.

MRS. HUXLEY: Might I ask, following on that, would these things be best put right by returning the health services to the Territorial Government, or could they be put right under the present system, if it was greatly reformed? — A. It might best be put right by being under a Territorial Government again, for this reason: we can bring pressure to bear locally. If it is Federal it is a question of getting in touch with the Director at Salisbury, from Federal Works to Territorial Works—a very long way round, and the whole business starts again. The conditions in the African hospital for example, if it had not been Federal, I am quite sure the members of the Legislative Council would have rubbed people's noses in it until something was done. As it is, we can only make recommendations.

Memorandum

THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NORTHERN RHODESIA DIVISION OF THE UNITED FEDERAL PARTY

This Memorandum is submitted on the assumption that the reference to attaining full membership of the Commonwealth in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution and its reference in the terms of the Commission will permit consideration in broad outline of Northern Rhodesia's political and constitutional position within the Federation.

Lusaka

Part I—The Northern Rhodesia Division of the United Federal Party

1. Until the election in 1954 Party politics had not existed in this Territory except in one instance when a Labour Party was formed in 1941. This was short lived and Party politics did not become an established fact in political life until the Northern Rhodesia Division of the Federal Party was formed in 1954. At the ensuing elections in March of that year the Party won 10 out of the 12 elected seats. In 1958 the Party was re-organised to encourage the enlistment of African membership as part of the Party's partnership policy and at the 1959 elections the United Federal Party won 13 of the 22 elected seats. Two of these seats were won by the Party's African candidates, one of whom was recommended by the Leader of the Party for appointment as a Minister and who, since that date, has held the portfolio of African Education. Since its inception the Northern Rhodesia Division of the United Federal Party has been led by Mr. John Roberts, Territorial elected Member for the Broken

Hill Constituency. Mr. Roberts played a leading part in the last constitutional talks and was one of the architects in designing the pattern for non-racial Party politics which has been evolved in the Territory, and which has led to the holding of Portfolios by Elected Ministers, African and European, within the same Party and with a common policy. In this connection we wish to record that this development is viewed with alarm by African political extremist leaders to the extent of a campaign of abuse and intimidation being used to discredit the Party's policy of partnership in the political field.

2. It is also significant that this sort of malicious campaign seriously affects the Party's efforts to enlist African membership. There are many Africans who have become willing members of the United Federal Party only to find that their participation has invited attention to themselves from the strong-arm methods (which include threats by witchcraft) of those who are determined that partnership should not be permitted to work. It is an undeniable fact that potential African human material which could be moulded into a product capable of taking a large share in the art of truly responsible Government is being subdued by the more vociferous and dictatorial elements; and they are largely being so subdued because of the tactics of Her Majesty's Opposition and certain other bodies in the United Kingdom.

3. These are some of the difficulties with which any Party which seeks to build up membership based on partnership, progress for all and mutual respect is faced and will continue to be faced until Her Majesty's Government is prepared to state quite firmly that the long term policy for Northern Rhodesia is one of partnership and racial co-operation and that, in pursuance of this policy, Governmental responsibilities are to be locally placed, with adequate reservations to honour Her Majesty's Government's special obligations.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

We wish to affirm our great faith in the Federation as a noble and permanent entity in Central Africa and to express the belief that given time and opportunity the Federation will grow into a lasting structure of the civilised world, and play a vital role in the future of the African Continent. To achieve this end, therefore, the framework must be built now for the Federation's place as a full member of the Commonwealth.

Part II—Preamble to the Case for Enhanced Constitutional Status

1. If we examine the constitutional progress of this Territory since 1924 we find that there has been a very gradual process of a reduction of the Executive functions of official Civil Servants and their assumption by Unofficial Members both elected and nominated. This process has been far too slow and in our opinion has hampered the overall development of Northern Rhodesia, for until Elected Members became part of the Government machine the policy of the Colonial Office was one of quiet administration rather than expansion of economy. Little initiative was shown by Government either in the agricultural or general economic field during the time when officials were in complete control, whilst in the Mining Industry the Companies were left largely to their own devices. It was for instance an Elected Member who initiated and largely conducted negotiations with the British South Africa Company which culminated in that Company, in 1952, sharing its mineral royalties with the Government—an event which was of far reaching import to Northern Rhodesia, which boosted Government revenues tremendously and which will terminate the Company's mineral rights in 1986. It was another Elected Member who in 1956 conducted similar negotiations with the same Company in respect of their land revenue rights, when agreement was reached terminating the B.S.A. Company's right to fifty per cent of all revenue received by Government through the alienation of land. Another elected Member was instrumental in influencing the British Government to set aside 50% of the land surface of this Territory as Native Trust Land by converting Crown land to "native status."

2. Other examples of how Elected Members have played the part, within the limited Portfolios at their disposal, in the sound administration of the Territory and in the interests of its inhabitants since 1949 (when portfolios were first held by Elected Members) can be demonstrated by a brief glance at some of the measures introduced by them:—

- (a) Agriculture was one of the first subjects to be taken over in 1949 by an Elected Member who, until the former was taken over by the Federal Government, was responsible for both European and African Agriculture. Great strides have been made in this industry since that time and schemes such as the Livestock Improvement Scheme, the Cattle loan scheme and the Calf Bounty scheme have been of great benefit. Africans have benefitted directly from the setting up of the African Farming Improvement Fund and the Mount Mukulu Research Station. The Land Bank and the Land Board have contributed greatly to the settlement and bringing into economic production of Crown land in rural areas and the inauguration of Regional Planning has been of vital importance in the conservation of natural resources, backed by the Natural Resources Ordinance and other conservation and control Ordinances. The Fish Conservation Ordinance has been of great benefit to the African people, who today enjoy a virtual monopoly of the fish industry in the Territory. The Mkushi Settlement Scheme and the Copperbelt Survey by a Special Commissioner are examples of the type of careful planning for the future which has been carried out by Elected Members.
- (b) Unofficial Portfolio Holders have been largely responsible for the very important change in the type of land tenure prevailing in Crown Land areas, and the policy of freehold land tenure will undoubtedly be of great value to the Territory's development. In the urban areas of the Territory there have been great advances which will be of benefit to both Europeans and Africans living in those areas. More powers have been delegated to Local Authorities and assistance has been provided for basic development. The tremendous growth of towns in Northern Rhodesia has been assisted by improved services in almost every township in the Territory and it was an Elected Member who was responsible for the setting up of the African Housing Board in an endeavour to solve the ever increasing problem of housing the influx of Africans from the rural areas, an endeavour which is already showing dividends and will do so even more in the future. During the time an Elected Member was responsible for Local Government affairs night passes for Africans have been abolished, African owner housing schemes have been inaugurated, the first African Area Housing Board elections have been held and African Townships, with their own Boards of Management, have been developed.
- (c) Within the Government machine itself the Public Works Department has been completely re-organised since it became the responsibility of an Elected Minister, with a resulting increase in efficiency and reduction in costs.
- (d) Whilst pressing on within their own Portfolios with plans for the development of the Territory for the benefit of all the inhabitants, Elected Members have supported, and indeed on several occasions influenced development in matters not directly within their portfolio responsibility. For example, Elected Ministers have given their support and influences to the special development projects in Native Rural areas, and to measures for increased responsibilities to Native Authorities in the legal, executive, financial and administrative fields. Another example is the advancement provided for Africans in the Police.
3. Furthermore, Elected Members, in the discharge of their Portfolio functions, have at all times acted with impartiality, justice, initiative and administrative ability.
4. We think it worth while drawing the attention of the Commission to these facts to show that within their limited field of responsibilities Elected Members have worked unceasingly towards the progress of Northern Rhodesia and towards the advancement of its people, and that the Territory has human resources to take over more Ministerial responsibilities and is ready to take the next step in Constitutional advance.
5. In this connection it seems peculiar to us that, although Northern Rhodesia was first opened up in the early part of this century, it was not until 1949 that Elected Members were

permitted to take part in the Government and that in 1960 Elected Members fill only half of the seats on the Government front bench. Very slow progress indeed, the pace of which has exacerbated feeling against the Colonial Office and caused resentment at the implication that Elected Members are not to be trusted and are not fitted to play a major part in Government.

6. So far we have dealt only with the role played by Government by Elected Members and we would like at this point to record our dislike of the system of nominating Members of both Legislative and Executive Councils. The system is outmoded and no longer serves any useful purpose. It was introduced firstly to appoint a European to represent African Interests, then later to appoint Africans for the same purpose. It was responsible for the tragic introduction of racial representation in the Territory which set a most unfortunate pattern for many years. Now that the whole system, through the present franchise and delimitation of constituencies, has shifted the weight from direct racial representation to non-racial Party politics, we feel strongly that the nominations to the "Cabinet" and the Legislature must be abolished. It is also worthy of record that there is far greater co-operation, understanding and mutual respect between the European Elected Members and their Party African colleagues than exists between them and either the Nominated Members or those Members who have been elected on a non-Party ticket.

Part III—The Case for Responsible Government.

1. It is the often reiterated policy of the United Kingdom Government to grant responsible Government to their Protectorates as and when they are ready for such a constitutional change. This principle has been the basis of constitutional talks and changes in Northern Rhodesia over the years.

2. It is, in our opinion, apparent that Northern Rhodesia has reached the stage when it is ready for a form of Responsible Government and a definite programme of advancement should be laid down now, showing the steps to be taken to achieve this status. This claim to self Government is based on two main factors which are:—

- (a) Economically and in the sphere of general development the country is, if anything, far ahead of other countries at the time that this status was granted to them.
- (b) Elected Ministers have been in charge of portfolios in one form or another for the past decade and have adequately proved that they are capable of governing with ability and impartiality.

3. In considering such a programme it is essential that the pattern of Party Politics introduced at the last constitutional changes, should be adhered to and that no attempt should be made to formulate a policy dictated by racial bias. Party Politics must cut across racial representation.

4. The need to retain the Government in the hands of civilised people is vital. A qualitative franchise and a common voters' roll meet both these requirements and must be enshrined in any future constitution.

5. Under the present constitution Elected Members in Northern Rhodesia do not enjoy anything like the same status as their Southern Rhodesian neighbours. The Prime Minister there is the head of that Government and is easily recognisable as such by his title. No such status attaches to the Leader of the Elected Members in this Territory. This lack of status is a decided disadvantage to the Government of Northern Rhodesia both within the Federation and abroad and is accentuated by the close tie-up between this Government and the Colonial Office.

6. The policy of the balance of power in the Executive Council always being retained by the Colonial Office is not only detrimental to the development of the country but to good race relations within the Territory. Outside capital is chary of investing in a country where there is no certainty as to the form in which self-government will be granted. Confidence in the country will not be improved until Northern Rhodesian affairs cease to be subject to debate in the House of Commons. Such debates have in the past been used for purely party political purposes to the great detriment of good race relations in Northern Rhodesia.

7. In order to illustrate the advantage of Responsible Government, as enjoyed by Southern Rhodesia, compared with the system of Government in Northern Rhodesia, the following comparisons can fairly be made:—

- (a) In Southern Rhodesia under Responsible Government no riot or disturbance has been sufficiently serious to require the lethal use of firearms since the inauguration of their present constitution in 1923. In Northern Rhodesia under the Colonial Office rule on several occasions during the same period disturbances could only be quelled with loss of life.
- (b) In Southern Rhodesia African Education has developed to a far greater degree than in the North, so indeed has African agriculture and land tenure.
- (c) In Southern Rhodesia industrial development has forged ahead, investment is more readily placed in that Colony and generally speaking the African is better off economically.

8. Furthermore, one of the main causes of both economic and political instability in Northern Rhodesia is the fact that we are always subject to legislation by Order in Council, with or without our consent. We feel that this is wrong and should cease. We believe that Her Majesty's special responsibilities to the African people could well be fulfilled by the Governor continuing to hold certain reserved powers.

9. Thus in the interests of all the inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia the programme for self-Government should be drawn up tracing the following steps:—

- (a) The two nominated Members' seats in Legislative Council to be filled by Elected Members;
- (b) An elected Prime Minister, or Premier, with a Cabinet containing a majority of Elected Members should be appointed immediately thereafter;
- (c) The right of the House of Commons to question and discuss Northern Rhodesia matters be drastically curtailed;
- (d) A programme should be laid down, to be carried out over a period of years, clearly showing the steps to be taken up to the time that self-government is achieved.

10. At the same time it is fully appreciated that the United Kingdom has certain obligations (treaties, etc.) to the peoples of the Territory and these should be adequately protected until such time as the African people have advanced to the stage when special protection is no longer necessary.

11. If, despite the certain reserved powers which we agree should continue to be held by the Governor, it is still felt that other protective measures should be maintained or introduced into our Constitution, then we submit that consideration might be given to the principle of the setting up, in due course, of a second Chamber, in which special protective powers could be vested.

Part IV—The Franchise.

1. We absolutely adhere to the principle of the qualitative franchise and, whilst we feel that the Southern Rhodesia franchise is basically more logical than that designed for this Territory, we are in general accord with the scheme introduced in 1958 by the British Government after consultation with the Northern Rhodesia Government.

2. There are two matters which will need to be reconsidered at some appropriate time:—

- (a) the qualifications set out in Appendix 3 to the Laws of Northern Rhodesia, Section 7, 1(d) requiring the prospective voter to have a knowledge of English.
- (b) the arrangement for progressively reducing the effect of the special vote as more and more Africans qualify for the Ordinary Roll.

3. We feel that the provisions of Section 17(1), taken with Section 23, of the Federal Electoral Act should be substituted for Section 7, 1(d) and that a scheme on the lines originally proposed by the Northern Rhodesia Government should take the place of the provisions laid down in Part II, para. 3 of the First Schedule of Appendix A.

Part V—Government Responsibilities.

A. Functions of the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Government and Federal Government

1. In general we consider that the existing balance of

functions should be maintained but that consideration should be given to a change in some of the Governmental functions.

2. We cannot help but observe that the bulk of subjects which affect the day to day life of the African population are administered by the Territorial Government and we believe that this in itself has been a drawback. In only one subject, namely Health, has the Federal Government any opportunity for its Civil Servants and its Government to have any direct contact, in so far as its subject responsibilities are concerned, with the African population.

3. We accept that, generally speaking, African affairs should remain Territorial responsibilities, but there are some subjects which we feel are deserving of review.

Agriculture

4. If we look at the geographical position of the Federation we find that climatically and for the purpose of crop production, conditions are not dissimilar in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The type of crops grown is the same, the tastes of the consumer are similar. Marketing, exports and import of agricultural produce is already a Federal subject and the Cold Storage Commission which will be responsible for the buying of cattle and the distribution of beef to the retail trade, is shortly to commence operations in this Territory. For these reasons alone it would be desirable, in our view, that agricultural policy from the point of view of crop production and research should be under the control of one Government.

5. European Agriculture has been the responsibility of the Federal Government since 1955 and we can factually say that since that time European farmers in this Territory have expressed satisfaction at the manner in which the Government has set about its task of stabilising European agriculture in the Territory. They enjoy regular visits and extended services from Government officers in the varied fields of agriculture and have benefited greatly from the fact that many of these officers are men who have previously served in Southern Rhodesia and who are fully acquainted with Southern Rhodesia methods based on longer experience than ours.

6. We believe that it is utterly illogical to split agriculture from the administrative and policy making point of view either into Black and White compartments or Government divisions. There is a further most important reason for advocating that the subject should be entirely a Federal Government responsibility and that is what we believe that as one factor in making the Federation a success, the Federal Government should have responsibility for a subject in which its officers can come into daily contact with the African population and demonstrate to them the calibre of the Government and its policy. This can readily be achieved in the field of agriculture which historically is the backbone of the two Rhodesias and where men's livelihood and outlook depend to a large extent on the actions and policy of the Government.

7. We believe that agriculture is a field where racial co-operation and partnership can be firmly established. The farmers, African and European, are not affected by the heat of politics to the same degree as urban dwellers, nor do they become involved to the same extent. It is a field in which each man, black or white, is equally rewarded for his labours and his investment; they are both landowners in one form or another and as there is no land shortage problem in this Territory there is no need for jealousy or animosity between Europeans and Africans on that score.

8. We produce all these factors to demonstrate that agriculture is an ideal sphere in which practical partnership can work and for this and the other reasons adduced in this paper we feel that agriculture in its entirety should be administered by the Federal Government.

Agricultural Research

9. The present position is that agricultural research is both a Territorial and a Federal responsibility. In Southern Rhodesia it is a Federal subject and falls under the various research organisations under the general direction of the Ministry of Agriculture. In Northern Rhodesia tobacco research falls under the same Federal direction but generally research, based on Mount Mukulu, is Territorial. There is provision in the Constitution for all agricultural research to be Federally controlled. One of the reasons why Mount

Mukulu has not been transferred to the Federal sphere to date is the question of finance as certain funds are obtained through sources which are not open to the Federal Government. It is felt that this one obstacle could be overcome and all research placed under Federal Government control in order that there should be a common policy and co-ordination of activity.

Animal Health

10. At present Animal Health in Southern Rhodesia is a Federal responsibility, as also is Tsetse Control. In Northern Rhodesia they are Territorial subjects, and it seems only logical that they should also be under the control of one Government.

11. Animal Health is a Federation wide problem; contagious diseases such as foot and mouth, East coast fever, etc., are not controlled by artificial boundaries but can well spread throughout the Federation and a common policy of control therefore seems the natural answer. Tsetse fly is also found on both sides of the Zambesi River and presents a common problem.

12. A further reason for the federalisation of Animal Health, at least as far as the European farming sphere is concerned, is that Animal Husbandry is already a Federal subject and it seems to us that Veterinary Services and Animal Husbandry are so clearly allied as to make it logical that they should be administered by one Government.

Roads

13. The construction and maintenance of roads throughout the Territory is at present a divided responsibility between the Federal and Territorial Governments, depending on the category of road.

14. The Federal Government itself has no public works machine and having made a decision regarding the maintenance or construction of those roads which are its responsibility, it then directs the Territorial Minister of Transport and Works to put the necessary work in hand. This means that without advance information as to how much the Federal Government will allow for roads, the Territorial Minister is placed in a difficult position in that he is unable to judge the quantity of men and machinery he will need for the carrying out of the Federal programme. Thus the position might arise whereby the Territorial Minister could build up a Works machine for the maintenance and construction of all roads in the Territory, and having done so find that the Federal Government might have cut its estimate for roads and so left the Territorial Government with a surplus of men and equipment.

15. We feel, therefore, that, whilst fully recognising the substantial financial contribution made to the Territory's roads by the Federal Government, any responsibility which the Federal Government has should revert to the Territorial Government and that the latter Government should be solely responsible for all roads throughout the Territory.

Law and Order and Police

16. The present position is that the three Territorial governments are responsible for maintaining law and order in their respective Territories through their Police Forces, but the Federal Government is responsible for defence and for supplying additional forces to the Territorial Governments when requested to do so. This clearly divides what is really one responsibility between four Governments. We feel that the responsibility for law and order should be solely a federal one and that the control and direction of the Police Forces should become the responsibility of a Federal Minister.

17. We further feel that it is basically unsound for there to be three penal codes and three criminal procedure codes in the Federal area. We accordingly recommend that these two responsibilities should be transferred to the Federal Parliament.

18. It follows from these two recommendations that all security legislation should also be a Federal responsibility.

19. The three Police Forces of the Federation have differing forms of organisation and are recruited from different sources. Considerable thought will have to be given to any plan for their amalgamation into one Federal Force and we would hesitate to make specific recommendations. It has been suggested that the Canadian model should be copied but

it may well be that the Nigerian would be more appropriate to Rhodesian conditions.

B. Functions of the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Government and the British Government—Local Legislative List

1. On the general question of steps towards Responsible Government for Northern Rhodesia this Committee believes that the Commission will be interested to read relevant extracts of a debate in the Legislative Council on the 18th July, 1958 (Hansard No. 95) and which are attached hereto.

2. In this debate Mr. John Roberts, Territorial leader of the United Federal Party moved:—

"That the London delegation be authorised to make representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a view to the Territory being granted an increased measure of responsible government by entrusting to the legislature and Government of Northern Rhodesia sole responsibility for certain subjects:—

- (a) which could no longer be subject to legislation by Order in Council;
- (b) legislation upon which should only be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within twelve months after enactment; and
- (c) legislative and executive action which should no longer be subject to question in the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

3. We believe it will be of interest to the Commission to note that, whilst one African Member maintained that he would not object to matters which affected Europeans coming under a local legislative list but he would oppose the Colonial Office being deprived of matters which affected Africans, the Chief Secretary to the Government, Mr. E. D. Hone, spoke in favour of the Motion. Subsequently the Motion was put and on a Division was carried by 20 votes to 5. During the constitutional talks which followed in London our understanding was that the then Secretary of State for the Colonies was tremendously impressed with this method of Northern Rhodesia achieving a measure of responsibility in certain affairs, but that he could not see his way clear to adopt the suggestion at that time. This Committee therefore, believing that this method is a logical step towards Responsible Government, puts it forward for the Commission's consideration.

4. It is worthy of note that Sir Arthur Benson, an experienced administrator of long standing both in Northern Rhodesia and other African Territories, recently wrote an article in "The Times" giving his views on this subject and expanding on what Mr. Roberts had said briefly some 18 months before. Extracts from this article are attached hereto.

5. In our view this step could be taken at any time and need not necessarily relate to a constitutional change involving the Legislative or Executive Councils.

Extracts from Hansard—18th July, 1958

Mr. Roberts: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that the London delegation be authorised to make representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a view to the Territory's being granted an increased measure of responsible government by entrusting to the legislature and Government of Northern Rhodesia sole responsibility for certain subjects;

- (a) which could no longer be subject to legislation by Order in Council;
- (b) legislation upon which should only be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within twelve months after enactment; and
- (c) legislative and executive action upon which should no longer be subject to question in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Speaker, the preamble to the meat of this resolution is slightly different to that which was put down in the paper which has been circulated. The original extra item read that negotiations be opened forthwith with the British Government. The reason is that when I put this down I did not then know that a delegation was to proceed to London shortly. In view of the fact that a delegation is to proceed to London next week it would seem to me an ideal opportunity that this matter should be part of the talks in London and that the delegation should be authorised to make representations on it.

Sir, I touched on this when speaking to the general principles of the hon. Chief Secretary's motion. Boiled down

it is simply that I consider that the time has come when this legislature and the Government should be entrusted with the sole responsibility and control over certain subjects, particularly those which are of a local character.

Mr. Speaker, the present day position is that every single subject under the control of this Government is open to question, firstly in the House of Commons and secondly any legislation enacted thereon cannot become permanent until Her Majesty has signified a power of non-disallowance.

What I propose, therefore, is to create two separate lists; one list which would still be open to question and answer in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the other list which would not be. I have also proposed that even those subjects which should be so entrusted to this Government should still be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty but only within twelve months after enactment. That provision is similar to that which exists in respect of all subjects under the Southern Rhodesia constitution; that is that any legislation enacted upon subjects which would fall under the local list would come into force immediately after their enactment, and could only be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within twelve months. If that disallowance—the power of disallowance was not exercised within that time, then the law would remain permanent.

Sir, I do not think it incumbent on me, nor right and proper, that I should in moving this motion try to draw up before this Council the type of subject which I think should be included on the local list, and the type of subjects which should be included on what I will term—for want of a better term—the overseas list. I think that sort of thing is better left to discussion and negotiation.

Mr. Ngandu: Mr. Speaker, I do not know what kind of subjects the hon. Member for Lands and Local Government is referring to in his speech. We have African Members in this Legislative Council representing African interests and the suggestion that these subjects should be left for discussion when negotiations are taking place cannot be accepted by the African people unless a catalogue of these subjects was laid before this Legislative Council. But if the hon. Member means those subjects that affect European affairs we should have no objection at all. I say, here, Sir, that all subjects affecting African interests in this Territory must remain under the Colonial Office as at present. The hon. Member for Mufulira has just referred to loyalty which must be given to the Government by the people of this country. Sir, if the Government of this country agrees to this request it would seem to us that they only want a one-sided loyalty.

We would like this Government, Sir, to know that we also would be loyal if requests of this kind which involved subjects that affected African interests were not transferred from the Colonial Office. What I meant to say, Sir, is that we would not be as loyal as we would like to be to this Government if they could agree to a motion of this kind which deprived the Colonial Office of the responsibility they have over the people of this Territory. A lot of subjects which affect European interests in this country have gone federal and I should have thought that the elected Members and the European electorate should be satisfied with the measures that have already been taken.

Mr. Hone: Mr. Speaker, I think that the debate has taken a most unfortunate turn and has revealed the familiar doubts and suspicions on the one hand and the familiar accusations and counter-thrusts on the other.

Now, Sir, this motion before us merely authorises the London delegation to enter into discussions and to make representations to the Secretary of State. As is known the delegation consists of representatives of all points of view in this council, and they will, of course, be free to put their points of view forward.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to remind hon. African Members that any plan of the kind which is included in this suggestion affects the constitution and the rights and responsibilities of another Government, of Her Majesty's Government. Now it is quite certain that Her Majesty's Government would not consider for a moment relinquishing any of her powers or control without the most careful scrutiny and without ensuring for herself that the release of those functions could be undertaken without anybody in this country being really detrimentally affected or prejudiced thereby.

So that I feel that Africans can feel reassured that so far as their vital interests are concerned, this arrangement will not operate to their detriment. I do not regard it, Mr. Speaker, as a matter to be thought of in political terms. I regard it rather as a matter of good government, of getting a system which is somewhat more efficient than the present one. Because the present system is one that, it seems to me, does lead to a great deal of work and delay and I can see no reason why it should not be possible for the lists mentioned by my hon. Friend the Member for Lands and Local Government to be drawn up and for certain subjects to be regarded, it may be by tacit agreement rather than by any legislative provision, that those subjects should be regarded as ones to be dealt with here. And to be dealt with here, Mr. Speaker, not by European settlers, but by the Government in which officials, ordinary Elected Members and special Elected Members are taking part.

Mr. Speaker, I would therefore like to say that for these reasons I see no objection to this motion, which, as I say, is merely asking that the delegation should take this matter up. I think myself that there may be very many procedural, legal difficulties about it. I think that it is a very unusual provision affecting a Territory of the status of Northern Rhodesia, nevertheless I do consider that there would be an advantage in looking at this matter and seeing whether some arrangement, which does no harm, causes no prejudice and need lead to no fears on the part of anybody could be adopted in the interests of better Government.

Extracts from article published in "The Times" of 29.11.59
"A More Logical Approach"

By Sir Arthur Benson

"It is not the number of heads which has to be looked at; it is the subject. And in connexion with the subject such questions as these; is this subject likely to be administered by a local Minister (who will have the Governor to advise him but not, save with the agreement of the majority of the Executive Council, to frustrate him) with reasonable efficiency, in the true interests of all communities in the territory, without undue subservience to the feelings, real or assumed for election purposes, of his own political group, and without adverse repercussions on other territories or countries, neighbouring or distant, Commonwealth or foreign? Furthermore will there be general agreement in the colony that this subject should now be removed from the purview of the House of Commons, at any rate for a trial period? Or will such proposed removal be so strongly opposed by any local minority or group or community that final responsibility for that subject should remain where it is for a further period of time?"

"On the other hand, there is every hope of securing unanimous agreement on at least some subjects which would no longer fall within the purview of Parliament, and for which the Colonial Secretary (though he would continue, all would hope, to advise on them) would no longer bear final responsibility. That responsibility would pass not to the local unofficial or official Minister, but to the Executive Council, the Governor-in-Council, which, retaining collective responsibility for general policy on it, would entrust its implementation to the Minister, who in turn would be responsible to the Legislative Council."

"If this system is permitted to replace the illogical counting of heads which has hitherto formed the only method, the transfer of each subject will mark a real advance by the colony on its road to full self-government. Experience of handling the less important will provide the training needed for the greater. People who have seen that a local Minister has handled the construction of roads with true regard for their interests will be the more ready to see him or someone like him, handle their education.

So perhaps would Parliament. At least it could consider the question objectively without perpetually trying to answer at the same time a quite different question: "Is independence eventually to be given to the blacks or to the whites, or how can we solve the colour question overnight?" That question cannot be solved overnight. It cannot be solved within the United Kingdom's shores at all. But the system proposed might go a long way towards solving it in Africa."

"The pundits have talked from time to time about the need for a halfway house between colonial and full Commonwealth status. The system described would help towards the solution to this problem. It must anyway be wrong that when independence is granted to a colony the outward and visible sign is that all its affairs are overnight removed from the purview of those men in the Colonial Office who have a deep and intimate knowledge of them into the hands of people in the Commonwealth Relations Office who have no experience of them at all.

Such a process is a natural process, and the one which could take the heat out of colonial policy not only among British political parties (where its effects are bad enough) but in the colonies themselves, where it may be disastrous for the free world."

Oral Evidence

UNITED FEDERAL PARTY DELEGATION*

The witnesses made the following points:—

- (a) The memorandum which had been submitted was produced solely by the Northern Rhodesian Division of the United Federal Party and no contribution had been made by any other section of the Party. The Northern Rhodesian Division was completely autonomous and was governed by a Territorial Congress, although in most respects their policy and principles were identical with those of the Party as a whole.
- (b) Their memorandum dealt mainly with the Northern Rhodesia constitution; they felt that this was an essential part of any discussion concerned with constitutional progress in the Federal field—that is to say, that Territorial advancement ran side by side with Federal advancement.
- (c) Before 1958 British protected persons in Northern Rhodesia and in the Federation could not get on to the Voters Roll. In 1958, through the efforts of the United Federal Party, British protected persons in the Federal field were allowed to become voters, and Northern Rhodesia followed suit.
- (d) Before 1958 no political party encouraged Africans to join them because there were very few, if any, Africans on the Voters Roll; when they came on to the Voters Roll, the United Federal Party changed their policy and encouraged Africans to join the Party.
- (e) Intimidation had been the cause of much misunderstanding between the two major races. The Africans could not come out openly and say that they belonged to a certain political organisation because some African political organisations would not allow them to do so. They felt that if Africans were allowed to join European organisations, this would interfere with the aim to achieve independence.
- (f) A few days prior to the general election in 1959, the Government had to declare a state of emergency. When the election results were declared, one of the successful African candidates was directly threatened by members of an African organisation at the Bwacha Hotel in Lusaka. He had to ask for immediate assistance and a reinforcement of police was sent there to protect him from attack. Not only the United Federal Party had been threatened, but any African who joined a multi-racial political organisation and anyone who came out boldly and said "I belong to the Central Africa Party" was subjected to threats by other African political leaders.
- (g) One of the main difficulties was that one of the major political parties in the United Kingdom, the Labour Party, said quite openly that if it came into power it would break up the Federation. This Party continued to make itself a rallying point and the mouthpiece of African nationalists, and thereby encouraged those people who liked to use extreme methods. It seemed a paradox that the Labour Party, who stood for giving people rights in their own country, should so confuse the issue that they supported people who, if they came into power, would probably refuse to give rights to any one. It was difficult to see how there could be a firm government in Northern Rhodesia when one of the major parties in England encouraged the discontented elements to look to London and not to their own government for redress for any grievances. It

was absolutely fundamental that until the British Government was out of the Government of Northern Rhodesia, there could be no real stability in that country.

- (h) The United Federal Party was the party which could be said to have created Federation, with the help of the British Government and the Southern Rhodesia Government. Federation was created on a multi-racial basis and in the hope that it would provide a solution to the problem of racial politics, and indeed a multi-racial society. To the North, they were confronted with African nationalism and to the South with white nationalism; it was hoped that the answer could be found between the two in Central Africa. But the first five years had shown that Federation was faced with almost insuperable difficulties if the present set-up continued. The main problem was the seemingly terrific opposition by the Africans. That need never have occurred. Just before Federation, when Mr. James Griffiths was the Secretary of State and the Governor was Sir Gilbert Rennie, those who were there implored them to come out firmly and definitely in favour of the Federal concept being Her Majesty's Government's policy. If that had been done, all the civil servants in the civil administration would have been able to support Federation and preach it to all, whether black or white. Instead of that, the Labour Party decided that they were going to get the Africans to agree to it by persuasion. When Mr. James Griffiths came out, he tried his best and failed dismally. Thereafter, neither the Northern Rhodesia Government nor the United Kingdom Government had ever wholeheartedly come out in support of Federation. Instead, Article 99 of the Constitution contained the provision for a review; the Commission was appointed to help carry that out.
- (i) The United Federal Party believed in a multi-racial approach, and that the day would come when the African people had advanced far enough to throw up from their ranks men of the same average calibre as the European. At that stage, normal democratic politics could operate in Northern Rhodesia, and men would be elected on their worth and not on their colour. If there were to be the slightest hope for this to succeed, Her Majesty's Government must make up its mind whether it wanted to continue or not. It was the duty of the Commission to guide them in that matter. There was a feeling that amongst some members of the Commission—but not all—that some form of appeasement, some gesture, must be made so as to win over African opinion. The Northern Rhodesia Division of the United Federal Party considered that Her Majesty's Government had to make up their minds in this matter irrevocably and decide whether Federation was to go forward or not. If it was, then they should have a constitution similar to the Australian constitution, in which there would be a specific statement that the Federation was indestructible and indissoluble. Article 99 in the present constitution must go, because it provided for a periodic review of the political set-up.
- (k) If Her Majesty's Government came out forthrightly with such a policy, and if they at the same time protected fully all Her Majesty's Government's commitments to the African peoples of the Federation, the African people would accept that more than any gesture the British Government could make. A gesture was nothing but appeasement, and would play into the hands of the extremists. 99 per cent of the people did not really believe what they said; the clamour was being deliberately engendered by extremist politicians; the ordinary European wanted peace, progress and happiness; not a continuation of the present state of affairs. Moderate Africans shared this belief.
- (m) Many people knew the tale of the young Guards Officer who had just left Sandhurst and was drilling his first squad under the eye of the sergeant-major. He knew the order "Right turn" was given while the right foot was passing the left foot, but he got flustered and the squad got further and further away. In the end the sergeant-major said to him "Say something, Sir, even if it is only good-bye." The Federation

* Names withheld at the request of the witnesses.

had now reached the stage when the Commission and the British Government should either say something firm or say good-bye; it was not necessarily relevant that the British Government had said good-bye in some of the other British territories in Africa. In Northern Rhodesia the African had never understood a policy of vacillation. He understood firmness; and in every other state in Africa he got firmness, whether it were Abyssinia or the Gold Coast. He was used to that form of government. While there remained any doubt as to what was going to happen in Northern Rhodesia, those ambitious Africans—and there was nothing wrong with ambition—tended to join extreme parties which might give them power. While that continued the Federation would never settle down.

- (n) Responsibility for the economic progress of the Federation rested fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the Europeans. The European had the know-how and had the backers in London and New York with the money. While the market was uncertain there would be no development. The businessman, whether he came from London, New York or Berlin, wanted to know what the position of his money would be. It was vital that he should know where he stood.
- (o) As regards the policy of partnership, the issue was between partnership and nationalism. The parties in Northern Rhodesia which advocated white nationalism had virtually fallen away. Unfortunately, one party in England appeared to be backing black nationalism and not partnership at all; and it was vital that this should be clearly realised.
- (p) The United Federal Party realised only too well Her Majesty's Government's responsibilities to the African. Because the Party had no intention of abusing those responsibilities by, for example, taking away Africans' land or casting aside the rights of the chiefs—indeed it was the nationalists who first removed the chiefs, not the European parties—they were quite prepared that the constitution should provide for the maintenance of Her Majesty's rights. They therefore asked for a 1923 Southern Rhodesia constitution which provided for a holding of responsibilities over Africans, and within the 1923 Southern Rhodesia constitution the particular Order in Council guaranteeing African rights was included in the constitution itself. Equally, the Orders in Council concerning African rights and privileges should be continued. In addition the Governor should continue to have reserve powers to protect those rights. We say that because we have no intention of abusing those rights. Having accepted that, if there were no Africans in Northern Rhodesia there would be no argument against the European having immediate responsible government: it was merely the fact that they were a multi-racial society with a large number of Africans to a small number of Europeans, which had caused this endless constitutional perambulation over the years.
- (q) Paragraph 9 of part 3 of the Memorandum was drafted in the belief that the 1923 Southern Rhodesia Constitution completely separated off African affairs under a nominated Minister. It was now understood that in fact there was an elected African Minister of Native Affairs in the Southern Rhodesia Constitution but that his hands were tied to a certain extent under the Constitution itself. The Division asked for a firm decision that Northern Rhodesia should have a 1923 Constitution, but that every legal reservation and Order in Council prior to 1960 should continue to make sure that the Government did not, in fact, have a chance to take away any of Her Majesty's powers towards the Africans; they would not abuse those powers. Later on a second House should be set up in some form or another to which would be transferred the remainder of Her Majesty's powers.
- (r) Turning to the civil service, self-government could not possibly exist with a civil service which owed its allegiance, its enlistment, its functions, although the country itself paid for it, to an outside body in London. It was essential for the well-being of the country, its growth and its good administration that it had a Central African Civil Service whose whole working life

was spent in the country, whose advancement would only be in that part of the world and whom, it was hoped, would live their retiring years there, as in Southern Rhodesia. It was to be hoped that the majority of the present Colonial servants would be seconded to it to start off with, since a brand new civil service could not be recruited from scratch. Subject to the officer himself wishing to transfer, there should be promotion available to every officer throughout the four governments, so that promotion would not be very much behind what it was in other Colonial territories.

- (s) The franchise designed by the Southern Rhodesian Government was more logical than the one which was brought into force in Northern Rhodesia. The main differences affected the special vote, how it operated and how it would work out. In Southern Rhodesia the principle adopted was to create a special vote which would enable Africans who did not yet qualify for the ordinary vote to have a say in elections immediately. To that end a limitation was put on the number of special voters who could get on the Southern Rhodesian roll. That limiting figure was to be 20 per cent of the roll. That meant that once the roll had reached that percentage, the special roll would be closed and that over a period of years the number of voters on that roll would dwindle and at the same time the number of Africans getting on to the ordinary roll would increase. The special roll was thus designed to meet a particular situation. When, however, the Northern Rhodesia Government together with the Secretary of State approached this problem they felt that they should go in for a system of devaluing the special vote in certain constituencies and allowing it to have a full vote in other constituencies. When this was considered by the Secretary of State insufficient attention was given to the principles behind the special roll; what it was for, what it was designed to do and what the ultimate object. Unless this were rectified, there would not be any logical franchise arrangement at the end of, say, ten years.
- (t) The qualification regarding proficiency in English provided that an applicant for a vote must be able to complete in English and without assistance the prescribed form of application. That was rather a peculiar way of indicating that a voter should have a knowledge of English. Under section 17 of the Federal Electoral Act a claimant was merely required to have an adequate knowledge of the English language: section 23(1) of the Federal Act provided that "a claimant for registration as a voter shall not be considered to have an adequate knowledge of the English language unless he is able to speak, read, write in and comprehend the English language." Completion of form prescribed under the Northern Rhodesia Electoral Ordinance (Ch. 2) was really no test of an African's ability to comprehend, read or write the English language. In fact, it would be a relatively simple matter to run night classes with a series of forms and teach people who had a very rudimentary knowledge of the English language indeed to fill in that form without really knowing English. It was strange that this particular qualification could not have been drafted in the same way as the Federal qualification because many other provisions of the franchise laws were identical.

In answer to questions the witnesses made the following further points:—

- (i) It was desirable to transfer the action of the British Government's powers from a direct holding through the Secretary of State to reserve powers and Orders in Council. The need for continued safeguards was recognised.
- (ii) Under their proposals there would still be certain matters subject to question in Parliament in the United Kingdom. The primary power would rest with the local government, but the ultimate power would still rest with the British Government, as in the 1923 Southern Rhodesia Constitution. It would follow that in due course this power also would lapse, in the same way that the Southern Rhodesia Government are asking

- now for the removal of all restraints in the Territorial field.
- (iii) The United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia was pledged to non-racial politics. They believed that a man should be elected on his worth and not on his colour. For this reason the franchise arrangements in Northern Rhodesia should not be designed to provide a purely racial majority, either now or in the future.
 - (iv) The Party did not believe that universal adult franchise would be a practical proposition in Africa for many years if good Government was to be maintained. They did not, however, object to an African majority provided that it was in the hands of responsible people.
 - (v) There was no suggestion that Her Majesty's protection should be taken away from the African people in Northern Rhodesia. But that protection must continue under a constitutional arrangement whereby the Government of the territory could not allow such legislation if it infringed certain principles. In other words, that protection could just as effectively be enshrined for the future of the African people if a true multi-racial form of government was established in Northern Rhodesia.
 - (vi) It was significant that since Southern Rhodesia gained responsible Government in 1923, no piece of Southern Rhodesian legislation had ever been dissolved by the British Government. It seemed to follow that the Legislative Council as at present constituted would be responsible enough to do the same thing. Just because an Englishman happened to live in Africa he did not grow horns and forget everything he lived for in England.
 - (vii) A firm categorical statement that Federation was here to stay must be enshrined in the new constitution as as in Australia. If in the past statements made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies had been as firm as they should have been, it was doubtful whether the Africans' present attempt to break up the Federation would have happened. Quite obviously there was still considerable doubt in the minds of some Africans—and of the Labour Party—that the Secretary of State's words meant what they said.
 - (viii) It was true that, particularly in the Northern Territories, the Africans seemingly did not see any advantages in Federation. But there were none so blind as those who would not see. It was for the Commission to decide whether there had been any advance for the Africans or not. In the last resort it was for Her Majesty's Government on the advice of the Commission to make up their minds whether they wanted to go forward with the ideal of Federation, which was a state built on multi-racialism, or whether the Federation was at the dividing line in Africa where on the one side you had white, and on the other side black.
 - (ix) The United Federal Party wanted self-government for Northern Rhodesia for all races. There was obvious evidence now that the African was taking part, and would continue to take an increasing part, in the Government, particularly if the leaders of African opinion would join those parties who believed in a multi-racial state and not in a unitary state of one race only. The African nationalist wanted to have government by African nationalists; the Europeans did not want any such thing. They wanted government by the people as a whole.
 - (x) With regard to the public service, it was a fact that the wealth of this country was at the moment on the line-of-rail. A modern economy could not be built up by a "Sanders of the River" outlook which was still part of the make-up of the Provincial Administration; it was to some extent trying to perpetuate a form of life which had no real relevance in the twentieth century. Unless proper provision was made for the development of resources and industries it was quite pointless educating a lot of people for jobs that did not exist. One should not necessarily say, "You cannot advance the constitution of a country because a large number of people who will be affected just do not understand it." That did not make sense at all.
 - (xi) If an Australian or a Canadian or an American were asked today whether he wanted to break up his particular form of Federation he would laugh at the idea. In twenty-five years time exactly the same answer would be given in Central Africa. Federation must be sold like any commercial product.
 - (xii) The protecting role of the British Government had frustrating effects on the economy of Northern Rhodesia. A good example was the recent establishment of a sugar industry on the south bank of the Zambezi in Southern Rhodesia. It might not be generally known that there was more suitable land on the north bank. But because that land was Native Reserve, and the British Government through the Government of Northern Rhodesia found that the conditions imposed were not to the liking of the Africans, the people who were going to develop that particular industry decided to take less land on the Southern Rhodesia bank of the Zambezi and develop their project there rather than bring the scheme into Northern Rhodesia. Until the African attitude towards development changed it would be entirely wrong for Her Majesty's Government to refuse to allow Northern Rhodesia to proceed towards self-government and develop the country.

Memorandum

THE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

1. Preamble

This Memorandum is presented by this Association on behalf of organised Commerce and Industry in Northern Rhodesia. Constitutionally it is a non-political organisation, membership of which is open to all races. However, it has to be stated that at this stage it is, quite naturally, predominantly European.

The Association is concerned to put before the Commission its assessment of the situation in the Territory which is indissolubly connected with that of the Federation as a whole.

In the opinion of this Association the following are prerequisites to the establishment of a happy and prosperous Federation:

- (a) The security of a settled constitution giving adequate safeguards to all races.
- (b) The development of backward areas for the material benefit of the entire Federation.

It is with these points in mind that this memorandum has been prepared.

2. Introduction

When Federation came into being in 1954 it was hoped that this would result in:

- (a) An accepted constitutional basis from which responsible elected Government could evolve;
- (b) A rational and economic system of civil administration;
- (c) A climate for rapid economic development, diversified and distributed equitably throughout the three Territories.

In the event what has happened is that:

- (a) There is divided loyalty, which is detrimental to the interests of the Federation;
- (b) There is still no agreement on the Constitution;
- (c) The administrative system is made up of:
 - (i) Four representatives of the Crown;
 - (ii) Four legislative bodies;
 - (iii) Four separate Civil Services;
 - (iv) Three Police Forces with no Federal control of Law and Order;
 - (v) A mixture of Colonial Office administration and various shades of responsible Government;

- (vi) Four different sets of laws, based in some instances on English, and in others, on Roman-Dutch Law ; all resulting in a measure of confusion.

While it is realised that the achievement of economic administration may be largely a pious hope, and that, in fact, a number of legislative bodies and officers may be inseparable from a Federal system, it is submitted that this expensive apparatus can be justified only by effective and competent Government.

- (d) Such development as has taken place in Northern Rhodesia since Federation has been markedly below the demand created both by the natural growth of population and the continuing emergence of the African from rural to urban living standards.

This Association believes that the correct policy is to expand the national economy so as to provide opportunities for all races. This is vastly more important than to offer political power to underdeveloped peoples who can neither appreciate nor understand the responsibilities involved. Unfortunately this conflicts with modern thought which appears to be that political power is the only answer to every problem.

This Association would therefore comment as follows on some aspects of the Federal scheme :

3. Politics

It is believed that the material welfare of the inhabitants of a country depends on the constitutional institutions by which the political, as well as the economic, progress is either promoted or retarded. In the Federation of today, and that now shaping for the future, the economic and political situations react upon each other directly and indisputably, and in consequence it has not been possible to avoid discussion of political matters.

It is felt essential that all peoples of the Federation should be brought to realise that there is one Government which rules the Federation to which all Rhodesians are responsible and which is responsible to all Rhodesians. In the opinion of this Association this can only be achieved through a Government elected upon a qualified franchise, with adequate safeguards both for those below the franchise level and for racial minorities. It is undoubtedly true that improving educational facilities and an increase in the tempo of industrial development will lead to an increase in the numbers of those qualifying for the vote. Considerable political advancement has already been achieved by Africans since Federation, but only too often they have turned against those of their own race who have come forward to serve in public positions.

As employers of labour, this Association believes that the percentage of politically minded Africans is small and that few have any knowledge of, or real interest in the concept of Federation.

It is apparent that there is a very large body of Africans who wish to work with other races but who are frightened to come forward because of intimidation by their own people. It is difficult to provide them with adequate protection here in Africa where, too often, violence takes the place of reasoning which is the hallmark of civilised communities. The hope which this Association has is that the pace will not be forced too fast, and that too much power will not be given too soon to a politically immature and inexperienced majority. It is felt that the African is still very far from being capable of taking his place in a civilised community and that there would be grave danger to the welfare of the country as a whole, and to the African in particular, were Africans to be given responsibility before they are ready for it.

This Association is not competent to offer a solution to the problem, but hopes that the Commission will give weight to its views on the abilities of the African which are based on day to day contact. It also hopes that any arrangements which may be made for the future government of the Territory and Federation will take into consideration the rights and interests of the settlers who have done most to develop them.

4. Race Relations

The problem of race relations results from the different stages of development of the races inhabiting the Federation. While racial integration—politically, economically and socially—must be the ultimate aim, it is not believed possible to merge forcibly different races having different ways and standards

of life. It is also believed that the tendency here as elsewhere, will be towards voluntary social segregation of the races. Integration, in this Association's opinion, can only evolve. It cannot be forced.

Multiracialism will not, however, be successful in political and economic spheres until there is mutual acceptance and respect between the races. In regard to this it is pointed out that race relations, as between European employer and African employee in Commerce and Industry in Northern Rhodesia, have never been better than they are at present.

Even after several decades of contact with the European, African mentality remains that of a child, basically friendly and easily led. However, he has still to assimilate the standards of honesty, loyalty, integrity and cleanliness of the European, and remains primitive, barbarous and capable of reverting to savagery with very little provocation. There are, of course, exceptions and some Africans have attained comparable standards. There are small businessmen and property owners, school teachers and clerks, who have acquired a stake or an interest in the community. They still remain a very small fraction of the total African population. The paternal attitude of the Territorial Government towards the African leads to a demand for increased amenities as a right—not as something to be earned. Like a child, the African expects everything to be given to him and regards kindness and fairness as signs of weakness. While he responds fairly well to training, initiative is practically unknown.

As with most primitive people, Western standards of integrity are unknown and unless the veneer of civilisation is given time to thicken and the leavening yeast of education is able to do its work, the placing of Africans in high positions can only result in corrupt administration riddled with intrigue, nepotism and other manifestations abhorrent to British way of thinking. In the view of this Association the only correct policy is to advance the African economically by providing educational facilities, good housing and hygienic conditions, so that both mentally and physically he will be better able to compete in all spheres with other races.

The African must also be brought to understand that not only is it necessary to be educated, but it is essential to be able to apply one's knowledge. It is the absence of this ability to apply knowledge which is the reason for many of the wild statements and extravagant demands being put forward.

5. Education

This Association believes that when, in this multi-racial state, the inhabitants, irrespective of race, have achieved the same or similar, educational and economic standards, educational integration will solve many problems. At present this goal is unattainable due to the very great difference in customs, upbringing and social standards of the different races. Educational facilities should, therefore, be designed to remove in the shortest possible period the influences of barbarism and superstition which at the present time are very potent forces among the majority of the African population.

Further, in the opinion of this Association, African society is considerably handicapped by the lack of development of their women. Efforts are being made to educate these in the domestic sciences, hygiene and the social graces, but this did not, unfortunately, start until 1946, and then only in a small way. While much has been done the problem remains a major one and it must be remembered that, prior to the advent of the European, the African made no development of his own vocation.

It is also imperative to train the rising generations of all races to take their places in a developing country. It is felt that secondary and further education should be so designed that youngsters will regard their country as a challenge and be encouraged to go out and develop projects where there is nothing at present.

But, as this Association would emphasise, the present separation of African and European education into watertight compartments under the control of the Territorial and Federal Governments respectively makes any planning in the extremely important field of post-school commercial and technical training, extraordinarily difficult. There are, in Northern Rhodesia, some thirty Trade Schools and one Technical College, for Africans. There are two Technical Colleges for other races—both provided by private enterprise. This, in

the opinion of this Association, is a shocking failure on the part of the Federal Government which is responsible for European, Asian and Euro-African education.

This Association would point out, however, that the provision of the necessary educational and social facilities will be a grave strain on any but the most prosperous and expanding economy.

6. Development in Northern Rhodesia since Federation

In this memorandum it has already been stressed that the material well-being of all sections of the population is essential. It is also a prerequisite of that stability which is so necessary to provide the correct climate for investment.

The industrial development which has so far taken place in the Federation has been almost entirely confined to Southern Rhodesia. Unless secondary industry in the North can be expanded at a rate commensurate to the growth, both numerically and in terms of aspiration, of the working population, serious difficulties will confront the Territory.

It is essential to the well-being of the whole Federation that development should be evenly spread throughout the three Territories.

Among the factors which appear most significant as causes for the lop-sided development in Federal industry are the following :

(a) Form of Government

The change in the political division of the Rhodesias in 1922, at which time Southern Rhodesia attained responsible Government. Northern Rhodesia, however, came under the Colonial Office and was controlled for the next decade by an administration having no stake in the Territory and without reference to the people who were responsible for the development taking place in it.

It soon became apparent that Southern Rhodesia with its own Government drawn from the people of the Colony offered greater attractions and more security to investment than did its Northern neighbours. This created a situation which resulted in a much more rapid rate of development in Southern Rhodesia than in the North.

(b) Siting of Federal Capital

The decision to site the Federal Capital in the same city as the Territorial Capital of Southern Rhodesia, resulted in the identification of the Federation with Salisbury and Southern Rhodesia. In addition it created a distrust of Federation in the minds of Africans in the Northern Territories, which has led to a deterioration of political relations in Northern Rhodesia.

Further, since industry tends to locate itself adjacent to the seat of Government for easy contact, the siting of the capital has *ipso facto* led to the concentration of industry in Southern Rhodesia.

It has also led to an exodus of organisations previously established in the North. For example, the Head Offices of the two major mining groups have been moved to Salisbury. There is also a tendency for statutory organisations such as the Grain Marketing Board to centralise their organisations in that city. This results in the reduction of Territorial bodies in the North to the status of mere depots and the withdrawal of both personnel and funds from the smaller centres. The number of Europeans who have left the North is substantial and this has had an appreciable effect on the sensitive balance of the economy of Northern Rhodesia.

A further consequence of so much development in the Federation having been attracted South is that social services, amenities and a most valuable pool of trained and organised labour have and must inevitably develop there at a far greater rate than in the North. As a result prospective employees more readily accept positions in the South than in the North.

(c) Federal Civil Service

It is evident to this Association that neither the Federal Civil Service nor, for that matter, the ordinary Southern Rhodesian has any great knowledge or appreciation of Northern Rhodesia and its problems or conditions.

It is felt that too many decisions are made, too much information given, and too much influence brought to bear, with a Southern Rhodesian bias in the Federal Service, and it is essential that this position be remedied as a matter of urgency and that the service become truly Federal in its outlook.

(d) Statistics

It is submitted that the Statistical information produced by the Federal Department of Census and Statistics gives a distorted picture of consumer markets in Northern Rhodesia to the detriment of the establishment of industries here. The reason is that the major importing houses are situated in Southern Rhodesia and goods are imported direct to that Colony from which they are redistributed for consumption. This situation is not reflected in the statistics and it would appear that the Department concerned cannot remedy the position.

(e) Role of Southern Rhodesia and Federal Government

At the time of Federation, Southern Rhodesia accepted the role of senior partner but, it is submitted, did not recognise its obligations towards the other two partners on the question of commercial and industrial expansion and was satisfied that the Colony should develop regardless of conditions in the Northern Territories. The Federal Government itself has followed the trend to centralise activities in Southern Rhodesia. It has, however, in our opinion, an obligation to direct investment to Northern Rhodesia because the right atmosphere for investment which has been created in the South does not exist here. It is the responsibility of the Federal Government to create this atmosphere all over the Federation, not only in one Territory.

7. Land

The present system of land tenure militates against development in Northern Rhodesia. Approximately 94 per cent of the Territory is either Crown or Native Trust land and entry by the European is forbidden, as it is to African suburbs and villages in the Local Authority areas.

In the remaining 6 per cent, the greater part is leasehold, the cost of which is approximately double that of the equivalent 30 per cent of freehold land in Southern Rhodesia.

It is appreciated that the Northern Rhodesia Government has produced a draft scheme for the conversion of leasehold land in urban areas to freehold but the terms are so onerous that the position is aggravated. Freehold development on some reasonable and equitable basis is imperative.

At the present time, the economic well-being of the whole population is largely dependent upon the efforts of the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, who are confined to a mere 6 per cent of the land area situated mainly along the line of rail and fairly well developed. The Crown and Native Trust lands, however, are relatively backward because the policy of the Colonial Government is that they are to be held in trust for possible future development by the African. In the opinion of this Association, all land should be released immediately so that development can take place now with the aid both of European investment and the growing technical knowledge of all races. It is known that the Northern Rhodesia Government and the Colonial Development Corporation are spending approximately two million pounds in the Northern and Luapula Provinces. However, there is a grave danger that the projects will stagnate unless multi-racial participation is allowed.

8. Agriculture

Major employment and productive capacity must be found in the expansion of agriculture. The present division of African and European agriculture is illogical and uneconomic and means must be found whereby the two can be merged.

9. Communications

It is vital, in view of Northern Rhodesia's geographical position, that particular attention be paid to communications both within and without the Territory.

(i) Ports of Entry

At present the major ports of entry to the Federation are Beira, Lorenzo Marques and certain of the Union ports. The North is, however, developing the use of the link to the west with Lobito Bay and for the well-being of the Territory it is necessary that this route should continue to be developed on a competitive basis for the benefit of the whole community. This route provides an access to the Federation which reduces the distance from the United Kingdom, the Continent and the Americas by over two thousand miles. It is, therefore, recommended that both Federal and Territorial Governments should use all possible means to obtain concessions in freight rates to Lobito and in rail tariffs between Lobito Bay and

Northern Rhodesia. It is emphasised that the route already exists and that only negligible outlay will be necessary to enable its use to be increased.

As a long-term policy, consideration must also be given to the opening up of another link with the West Coast, possibly with Mocamedes.

(ii) Railways

At present it is constitutionally necessary for the Rhodesia Railways to operate on a profit-making basis. In a developing country, such as this, railways should be used as an instrument of policy and it is suggested that the extension of lines and facilities would encourage the development of areas at present beyond the reach of their markets.

It is also pointed out that if the full economic development of both the Territory and the Federation is to be achieved, the link between Salisbury and Lusaka must be built as soon as possible.

(iii) Airports

While major development of airports has taken place in Salisbury, Bulawayo and in Nyasaland, there has been no airport construction in Northern Rhodesia. Only urgent maintenance work, sufficient to keep the airports operational, has been carried out.

Further, the fact that the only International airport in the Federation is situated in Salisbury tends to influence the investor who comes to investigate the position for himself.

10. Investment

Northern Rhodesia is at present a mono-economy and it appears to this Association that the Federal Government is satisfied that it should remain so. Again it is emphasised that if the aspirations—political, economic and social—of emergent Africans are to be satisfied it is essential that there be diversification of industry in Northern Rhodesia, as only by such means can employment be provided.

The remedy lies in the economic development of the Territory and as has been stated, in the opinion of the Association, the Federal Government has an obligation to create the right climate for investment in Northern Rhodesia. The following are some tentative proposals as to how this might be achieved:—

- (i) Serious consideration must be given to the establishment of major industries as was done by the Northern Rhodesia Government in respect of Chilanga Cement Limited, and by the Southern Rhodesia Government in the cases of Gatooma Textile Mills and RISCUM. Suitable fields are the exploitation of iron ore, the establishment of a nitrogen and explosive factory and the manufacture and use of the varied by-products of coal, copper, agriculture and other primary industries. This would set up a snowball reaction and ancillary industries servicing the major concerns would be established.
- (ii) The possibility of participation by a Federal Agency in the equity capital requirements of those industrial establishments where the element of risks limits the availability of private investment capital should be investigated.
- (iii) Taxation incentives must be given to Northern Rhodesia, perhaps as a co-operative effort between Federal and Territorial Governments. For example, the rights to Territorial income tax surcharge could be relinquished and the Federal Government could encourage industries to specific and selected areas by means of the quick write-off of capital investment and by other forms of differential taxation designed to produce the same results.
- (iv) There should be an increase in the amount of Federal Development works in the Northern Territories, since this indication of Federal faith in the future would encourage other investors to follow.
- (v) Immigration into the Territory, on a highly selective basis, should be encouraged and should be limited to skilled professional men, technicians and to persons having development capital. These should be encouraged to set up small industries to cater for local markets and should be capable of expansion as markets develop.

Before leaving this subject, this Association would draw attention to a memorandum which, in August, 1959, was submitted to the Federal Committee on Industrial Policy. It is felt that this may be of interest to members of the Commission.

11. Conclusion

As a preface to this, the final section of this memorandum, this Association would emphasise that while Commerce and Industry in Northern Rhodesia are prepared to contribute to the maximum of their ability to the future of the Federation, they are not prepared to do so unless they can be assured of stable government and economy.

It has been pointed out that Federation has not brought the advantages which had been hoped for and this Association would go further and say that Northern Rhodesia has suffered considerably in the economic sphere. Neither has that stability of Government which is so essential to development been achieved.

A number of factors affecting the situation have been discussed, but these are by no means comprehensive. The main criticism of the Federation is of the relative neglect of Northern Rhodesia by the Federal Government. All that is expected is that Federal policy should be to advance all parts of the Federation to the highest possible standards and that the least developed areas should receive preferential treatment. This principle should be written into the Constitution.

If, as is anticipated, the result of the Constitutional talks is that, in the face of pressure both in the United Kingdom and in such organisations as the United Nations, it is decided that in the Northern Territories considerably more power is to be given to the African population, then the rights and interests of the European settlers must be fully protected.

Any settlement which is reached, and decisions which are made, must, so far as is humanly possible, have permanence. They must not be subject to review after every five or ten years. Both the Federation and the Territories of which it is comprised must be given adequate time in which to settle down to work out their own solutions to the problems confronting them.

The major fears of this Association are:—

- (a) That Northern Rhodesia which is of itself a viable state with, at present, a comparatively settled African population, will become a testing ground between an African controlled Nyasaland and a European controlled Southern Rhodesia.
- (b) That in any settlement the rights and interests of the European settler will be ignored in deference to the political expedient of meeting the vociferous demands of African demagogues.

If, as a result of the deliberations and recommendations of the Commission, a solution to the problems posed by racial aspirations can be found and if, in addition, some solution can be found to Northern Rhodesia's justified complaints regarding its treatment within the framework of the Federation, this will be most welcome. Commerce and Industry given security and the knowledge that it is operating in a climate suitable to its growth, will do all in its power to ensure that the ideals of the Federation are fulfilled and that the concept of partnership between all races becomes reality.

Lusaka,

5th February, 1960.

Oral Evidence

THE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

Represented by:

Mr. St. John Crees
Mr. Rosser
Mr. T. C. L. Symmes
Mr. Glaser

CHAIRMAN: We have had the advantage of reading your memorandum, and a number of my colleagues will certainly be asking questions. I would like to start with my points on section 5, under the heading "Education," where you reach the conclusion that the only correct policy is to advance the African economically by providing educational facilities, good housing and hygienic conditions, so that mentally and physically he can prepare himself better to compete with other races. Then you go on to education specifically. You advance reasons why youngsters ought to have been directed to treat their own country as a challenge and go out and develop projects where there is nothing at present.

You say that the present separation of African and European education into water-tight compartments under the



control of the Territorial and Federal Governments respectively makes any planning in the extremely important field of post-school technical training extremely difficult. Then you point out what you call the shocking failure on the part of the government which is responsible. What is your recommendation? A. (MR. ROSSER): Firstly, African education is a Territorial matter. We have at Lusaka two excellent training schools, the Munal Secondary School and the Hodgson Technical College. However, industry is not advancing enough in the north for us to make use of the product of these schools. The Hodgson Technical College is by far the best technical college in the whole of Northern Rhodesia, European or any other race. The African who is emerging from this is not a tradesman completely, but has undoubtedly had a first-class grounding on the theoretical side of his trade and some practical training, and when he finishes his training there he should be going on to an in-training scheme.

At his age it would be difficult to put him into an apprenticeship scheme but, nevertheless, with that training he is quite capable of fitting into the industrial plot; but there is no industry here to take him up, and a big danger is that the Territorial Government, in supplying these excellent educational facilities, it is only leaving his future to the possibility of being a petrol pump attendant, rather than a vehicle mechanic which he has been very ably trained for in a theoretical and, to a certain extent, practical sense. It means that in technical education the young emergent African is running a bit faster than the territory itself has developed jobs to take him up.

From the Munal Secondary School aspect, the young emergent African is being trained very well, even up to Cambridge examinations. He is not being mollycoddled by anybody; he is actually passing these examinations in the north. The examination papers, as you know, are set and corrected in the United Kingdom, and once again, at a rather young age, considering the various employment fields, he is if anything being over-educated. At the same time as this is going on, because education in Northern Rhodesia is Territorial, the selected emergent African is in fact in a position to have education at a very low cost but, comparatively, very costly to the African's father, sister or brother who is helping to educate him, and he is able to pick up the better education that follows primary schooling than is the European in the Territory at the moment.

African education is Territorial and the quality of the establishments where the student is at work is far superior in the north for the African than it is for the European. Lusaka itself is possibly the end of the line in as much as we have these two fine scholastic establishments here, while if you look at the European scholars' technical education here, it hardly exists.

Q. At present the situation is that African education is a matter for the Territorial Government. When you say the present separation of African and European education into compartments is a disadvantage, I wondered if you were going to make any suggestion—but do not if you do not want to—as to whether the responsibility for African and Europeans ought to be in the same governmental hands and, if so, which? A. (MR. SYMMES): I think on this we do know the terms of the constitution, that the Federal and Territorial Governments can, at a technical level, reach agreement that technical education can be handled by either one or the other. It would be the opinion of my association, in view of the difficulties of planning, that up to technical levels at any rate, there must be either Territorial control or Federal control, but it must not be mixed or split. I do not think my association would recommend at this stage whether it should be Federal or Territorial.

Q. Thank you. The matter of development in Northern Rhodesia did arise, industrial development, and you have gone on to handle that here. As I read it, there is some criticism as to what has happened in relation to development being rather more active in the south than it is in the north. That is right, is it? A. Yes.

Q. It is an understatement? A. Yes.

Q. In the same connection you also talk about the siting of the Federal capital. Are you wishing to see that changed in spite of the five years or more in which it has gone on? A. Yes.

Q. You have given illustrations of the exodus of organisations which were previously established in the north, and we have seen some of it for ourselves. What do you recommend in order to remedy or offset that? You talk about the way in which everything has been rather inclined to leave the north and go to the south—heads of companies and organisations. Can anything be done? A. We feel, quite frankly, if the Federal capital were re-sited, there would be a tendency for these people to spread themselves more than they are doing at the moment, instead of centralising themselves in one place. (MR. GLASER): May I elaborate on that? Quite a proportion of our memorandum has been devoted to the lopsided development of the Federation, and the way we look at it is that there has been no major incentive placed north of the Zambezi to induce the development in this Territory. While we can appreciate that the Federal Government cannot direct investment or development, it can create incentives to spread and decentralise development. We accepted Kariba as against the Kafue Scheme. We accepted quite a few things like that, but when investment or capital comes out here to see where they can invest, they turn round and say that Northern Rhodesia is a long way from the coast.

We are land-locked, and there is really no inducement here to attract development. We are very concerned because we are virtually an under-developed area. We have a population that is emerging, and we would like something to occupy them, but we can envisage very little. Those are our principal concerns.

Q. In Section 6(e), you say you consider it is an obligation to direct investment to Northern Rhodesia because the right atmosphere does not exist here, and it has been created in the south. Are there any positive steps which you think the Federal Government should take in that direction? A. Yes. One would be to establish an iron and steel industry in Northern Rhodesia. The deposits are here, and that in itself would create a nucleus of industrial development. Another thing is agricultural development in the Kafue basin. That, once established, would induce snowball development in that sphere.

Q. Is it in that connection also, that you say what you say in Section 9 about communications? A. Yes.

Q. We have heard a little about that from other witnesses. You desire to see a link to the west? A. Most definitely.

Q. It has been said, and I think Lord Crathorne brought out on another occasion, that a railway from the Portuguese area towards Northern Rhodesia had not been linked up and that there were no prospects at present of the small extra bit that was needed being built to link it up. Is that something which the Portuguese Government or the Federal Government or the Northern Rhodesia Government are preventing? A. (MR. CREES): I believe that it is the Rhodesia Railways because of the cost. It is the cost of crossing the Zambezi.

Q. Yes, it is not length but the expense of bridging? A. (MR. SYMMES): There was a very interesting article on that particular link in a journal—I take it you are referring to the Mossamedes. A survey has been made and they have discovered a very suitable place for bridging the Zambezi some one hundred miles or so from Livingstone, to the west and slightly to the north, with quite an easy route through there into Portuguese Territory which could be linked up. I am sure that journal could be made available to the Commission. It is the Rhodesian Engineering Journal, about last month or the previous month.

Q. I am sure we can get that. While we are on railways, I think another thing to which you would attach importance is the link between Salisbury and Lusaka? A. Yes, at the present moment our lines of communication in the central part of Northern Rhodesia are either from Lobito, which gives us two thousand miles shorter sea route, but I think we have certain difficulties with the shipping companies on freight rate; or through Beira or Lourenco Marques or the Union ports, by the long rail route via Bulawayo and Livingstone. So far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned, the introduction of that Sinoia-Kafue link would cut down the distance from the coast by approximately 600 miles to any part of Northern Rhodesia.

We feel that in the first place until one can overcome the problem of the freight rates it would assist the development of Northern Rhodesia by giving lower costs in raw materials

which might have to be imported for development. It would also—and this is an important issue—ease the cost-of-living problem as regards the reduction of freight rates on consumer goods, and it would also, in our opinion, open up an area of country which is completely undeveloped at the moment and which probably has quite a large potential. Mr. Rosser, I think, knows more about the potential of the Zambezi basin than I do, on the production of items like sugar, but there are these possibilities and we feel that in a country like this which is developing, our railways should be used as an instrument of policy in that development.

It is more important at this stage of our development than the pure business of profit making. A. (MR. ROSSER): I would like to add to that if I may. It is possibly highlighted by a simple statistic in relation to what happened to one company in Northern Rhodesia. They had occasion to ship empty bags from Ndola to Chirundu Sugar Estate, and if they had done that by rail it would have cost them 5.19 pence per bag to shift them. If they had shifted it by road, even with a private contractor naturally making his profit, they could have sent them for 2.2 pence per bag. This rather highlights the fact that this vast run-round of Bulawayo-Livingstone is thrust directly across the internal economy of the two Rhodesias.

Q. I take it the suggestion of making this link, which like the suggestion of a railway to the west, has been put forward over the years quite firmly by your association? A. Yes.

Q. But it has not been accepted. Is money the reason? A. I think we must accept the fact that the Federal Government, within its own financial resources, could not possibly undertake an immense task of this nature; and it calls for the mentality of Rhodes himself, as it were, or else a loan from the World Bank or from other sources to establish it. (MR. SYMMES). We understand that when the project was first mooted, which I believe was in the neighbourhood of fifteen or twenty years ago, the cost was then estimated at 8 million pounds. The figure that we are given now is in the area of 25/28 million pounds.

Q. Yes, and when it comes about it will be more. Now I have a question about the system of land tenure. Under Section 7, having said that in the remaining 6 per cent. the greater part is leasehold, and saying how expensive it is compared with Southern Rhodesia, it is appreciated that the Northern Rhodesia Government has produced a draft scheme for the conversion of leasehold land in urban areas to freehold, and therefore the position is aggravated. That does not quite coincide with some of the evidence we have had. Is the only scheme going forward now one that is really blocked by this? A. The scheme is at present a draft scheme and we are expecting there will be some final development in the very near future. The present position in a number of municipalities, of which Lusaka is one, is that the leasehold land is taken on a long lease from the municipality, and quite a considerable sum can be paid for a commercial plot. With the new scheme, according to the period of the lease, considerable sums have to be paid for the capitalisation of the government lease and various other charges, and there is a sliding scale that, so far as residential property is concerned it is so much more, and if it is industrial property it is twice as much, and for commercial property it goes up to three times as much.

Q. Is this really for the purchase of Crown land from the Government? A. Yes, there is comparatively little freehold land in the towns. Another point which has caused some concern is that where land is mortgaged, on conversion from leasehold to freehold, a new title is issued and I understand from the legal profession that this will involve the mortgagor and the mortgagee in entering into a new agreement which under the present law can be done but only at considerable cost. That is another matter which has to be overcome in regard to conversion.

Q. Thank you. Now you say something under investment—a tentative proposal as to how the right climate for investment could be created here. We have had a look at that, and also at the memorandum of August, 1959 which you have attached to your memorandum to us. In your conclusion (Section 11), you say that Northern Rhodesia suffered considerably in the economic sphere and that the stability of government, which you postulate as necessary, has not been achieved. Then relative neglect of Northern Rhodesia by the Federal Government is complained of. If it is decided that

more power is to be given to the African population you say that the rights of the European settlers must be fully protected, and I was wondering if you had any suggestions to make as to how that should be done. A. (MR. CREES): On the question of stable government and how this is to be achieved, I must point out that our Association is non-political, but a stable government is possibly the most important thing of all to encourage investment and industry and commerce in Northern Rhodesia. We feel that we can go so far as to say that we require a stable government which is an elected government on a qualified franchise which, quite simply, to us means a franchise of responsible people. We cannot make any recommendation on what the franchise should be. If any one of us does speak on that, it would be in his personal capacity and not as a member of the Association. But I would emphasise that a stable elected government is the first requisite to encourage commerce and industry. (MR. ROSSER): As a Vice-President of Industry which is my role in this Association and also coming from the Chamber of Commerce where we have African members, it is our opinion that within the Federation the mono-economy of the copper mines is in itself a dangerous thing for Northern Rhodesia unless we back it up with industrial development and we have a tendency to liken ourselves to an area around the United Kingdom, such as Northern Ireland, where the British Government itself has attacked the problem as one of policy to overcome and to encourage investors to that area. One knows that whatever any government wants to do politically, without stability they will not get anywhere with industrialists, large or small, who are otherwise prepared to invest their money in the territory. The aim must be to improve the economic outlook but what Government can do is to create a background that allows an industry which for economic reasons wishes to go to an area to do so and this, I would suggest, is what the British Government has recently done with Northern Ireland. In suggesting things that could be done to encourage industry in Northern Rhodesia it does not necessarily mean in every case an industry from outside the Federation. These factors are the things which will stop the mining industrialist leaving this country, whatever race he is. Among the deterrents to an industrialist coming to Northern Rhodesia is the cost of industrial land. This we consider on policy should be made cheaper to encourage other industries in and to the territory. The municipalities and the local authorities have a tendency to put high building clauses in their industrial land sale agreements. They do this primarily because financially they must ensure that they get as much money as they can for that industrial land. This is a deterrent to the small man who wants to start up his business.

Electricity is now going to come to the North from Kariba. We would say on the Government policy level that because of the need to encourage a person to keep his overheads down and give him a reason to come here, that electricity to the North and those areas which could prove an incentive to secondary industry being there, should be cheaper in the industrial zones.

We feel that every industrialist who comes into the Federation, if he runs any sort of small chemical industry, is immediately interested in water supplies. In the North we must regularly expect a water shortage—although in Lusaka I have not heard of one—and if adequate water supplies are not ensured, industry simply will not come here. The cost of water also affects industrialists. These are the sort of things bearing on policy which the North considers should be remedied to attract secondary industry to take up the industrial potential that we have in the North and also to reduce reliance on the mono-economy that is copper.

CHAIRMAN: I am sure some of my colleagues would like to ask questions.

PROFESSOR JACK: May I just ask you a question? It is sometimes represented that in the last six or seven years import duties on the kind of commodities which are consumed by Africans have been raised very sharply and much more so than duties on the kind of things consumed by Europeans and this has resulted in a much greater rise in the African cost of living in Northern Rhodesia than the European cost of living. Can you make any comment on that assertion? A. (MR. GLASER): The only reason for that we can understand is the protection or the inducement of local industries to manufacture that particular class of requirement, which is otherwise imported. It is generally low priced

128

merchandise, clothing rather than anything else and it has had the effect of establishing industries to manufacture such lines. It is unfortunate they have been established in Southern Rhodesia.

Q. Do you think there is some substance in the allegation?
A. No, the duties were not directed to raising the cost of living of the African; rather they were imposed to induce the production of those commodities in the Federation.

Q. In the opinion of your Association has this policy been a wise one?
A. To an extent, yes, because it has induced the setting up of industries to cater for the basic requirements of the lower income groups within the Federation.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: Has it had the effect of increasing the cost of living of the African?
A. Not really because when broken down to the individual item the increase is very small and not even noticeable.

Q. How is the locally produced article sold in competition with the imported article?
A. Very much on a par.

Q. And the price at which it is sold, has that been higher than the price of the imported article could have been imported before Federation or about the same?
A. About the same with the changing trend of present-day markets.

MR. MENZIES: And the fall in the value of money?
A. Yes.

PROFESSOR JACK: Could I take you on another point? In Section 10(ii) of your memorandum you are dealing with investments. You speak about the possibility of participation of the Federal agency in the equity capital requirements of those industrial establishments where the element of risk limits the availability of private investments of capital. Can you amplify that?
A. We have a very good example of that. The establishment of a cement industry in Northern Rhodesia, Chilanga Cement, where Government with other bodies, and I think originally it was the Colonial Development Corporation, put in the capital. There was an element of risk. They established an industry and then handed it over to private enterprise. Other projects we have in view are rather big projects like the development of iron deposits in Northern Rhodesia.

Q. Yes, these are particular projects but you are talking about Federal agencies and that Federal agency, however it was set up, would have to be financed in some way from some source. What kind of agency do you have in mind and what sources of finance do you think the agency would require?
A. The type of agency would be an industrial development corporation. The finance would have to be obtained and I do not think there would be very much available within the Federation but it would have to come from similar sources to that which financed the Kariba scheme.

Q. Is there any reason to suppose that an agency of that kind would lead to greater distribution of industries throughout the Federation and not just the greater concentration of industry within a particular part of the Federation?
A. That is what we are hoping.

Q. You would not have any guarantee that that would be the result?
A. I think we should have a certain amount of guarantee that they would disperse and decentralise industry to some extent.

Q. What is the basis of that supposition?
A. The supposition is again related to the iron industry. The deposits are in Northern Rhodesia and there are also iron deposits in Southern Rhodesia. If they developed this alternate scheme in the North it would set up a snow-ball reaction that would attract subsidiary iron industries to the midlands of Northern Rhodesia.

MR. TAYLOR: Mr. Glaser is possibly unaware that only a matter of two or three weeks ago the Industrial Promotions Corporation opened its doors for business. It is the Federal type of agency that we are talking about. Does he consider that this Industrial Promotions Corporation with an authorised capital of £1,000,000 and extensive borrowing powers in addition, is the sort of thing he had in mind?
A. Yes. We knew of that coming into being but we did not know that it was coming in as quickly as it has when we prepared this memorandum.

Q. At the time you wrote this memorandum it was not operating?
A. It was not.

Q. It is operating now, Mr. Chairman. There are some other points on this memorandum.
A. (MR. ROSSER): Before we let that point go could we just say that the fact that it is there will not of necessity direct it to any particular project. We have had an Industrial Loans Board in operation for some time in the Federation but to a remarkable degree this was only a board one went to when one was in trouble financially and loan assistance was sought to tide one over one's troubles. That is not progressive enough. The thing we would like to see at work is something that would direct and help to build up industry rather than try to rescue somebody who is in trouble.

MR. SYMMES: As I understand it the Industrial Promotions Corporation is a private enterprise organisation, it is not Government sponsored, is that correct?

MR. TAYLOR: The initiative came from the Government and the instrument is the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which is the state-owned Bank, although you are quite right when you suggest the Corporation is a private limited company but through the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland there is a considerable public investment in it.

A. (MR. SYMMES): What we foresee following on from there is some statutory organisation or quasi-statutory body which would be subject to government direction in terms of the general development it is encouraging, so it ties up with the fact that we would hope that Federal Government policy would change in this matter.

CHAIRMAN: I gather that this agency is starting with the capital of £1,000,000 with borrowing powers in addition.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: I happen to be a member of that board and the whole conception of the industrial promotions is to achieve a balanced development throughout the Federation. Whilst we only opened the doors on the 1st February to start business, the lack of balanced development, particularly in Northern Rhodesia, is very well known and it is the desire and the wish of the board to encourage industrial development and help them here to the maximum extent.
A. (MR. GLASER): We are very pleased to learn that.

MR. TAYLOR: In Section 6(e) the words appear: "It"—that is the Federal Government—"has further in our opinion an obligation to direct investment." I want to ask this. Are the witnesses here talking about direction of industry by which is commonly understood the necessity to get some form of industrial certificate before an enterprise can establish itself in a particular place, or are they talking about encouraging it? Do they mean that some government body or some government would say, yes, you can set up an industry provided you put your factory there but you cannot set up an industry if you put it there, or are you merely talking about encouragement?
A. Encouragement is at the back of that. We appreciate that you cannot direct.

Q. We are not after that. In Section 10(i) we get the reference to a snowball reaction if certain things were established. The iron ore industry, nitrogen and explosives and so on. Snowballs are all very well but they have a tendency to melt. Have these industries been examined and, economically, their prospects assessed and if they have been examined is the fact that they have not been developed to be found for the reason that they would not be economic?

A. (MR. ROSSER): I would suggest the intention in using the word "snowball" is not in the sense that the snowball is made of snow. If we had an iron industry here instead of having, as people do in Northern Rhodesia, to import small fabricated things like iron gates and things of that nature, subsidiary secondary or "snowball" industries, run or owned by people of any race, could be established and so serve to take up the large industrial slack that exists here. It is essential to set up smaller manufacturing industries as happened in Wales, for instance, where they developed on government policy the depressed areas of that country. Small secondary industries came into being and one industry as we know led to another; in other words, secondary industrial development "snowballed" there and it must follow the same course here.

Q. I understand that but it does not quite answer the question. Is the iron ore industry being investigated to show that it would be an economic proposition?
A. (MR. GLASER): It has been very difficult to get information on this iron ore industry. We know that the deposits are there and that is as far as we have been able to get.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: First to declare my interest, I am the Southern Rhodesian representative on the British Iron and Steel Corporation but does the witness realise that at the present moment there is not sufficient consumption of iron even in the Federation to make it economic, even the one in Southern Rhodesia? A. That illustrates our point; we are subservient to the interests of Southern Rhodesia.

Q. No, I am asking this: by spending £10 m. in Northern Rhodesia is there sufficient consumption in this country alone to make it economic? A. We are hoping it will go further than that and that the iron industry here will be developed and eventually goods manufactured which would be exported in the same way as copper is exported, except that copper is exported in the raw state. But we are hoping with the development of the iron deposits here, even on a small scale, to start with sufficient for our own requirements and we hope that that will lead to the export of iron manufactures in due course. A. (MR. SYMMES): I think we have emphasised in our secondary memorandum that the question of the problem of examination of markets and so forth is too great to be tackled by an individual body or local authority and that there must be some analysis of these through a government agency. We also know that in a number of instances local manufacturers in Northern Rhodesia have from time to time had very great difficulty in getting sections and special rollings, or different types of rollings, and we do know that in certain instances RISCUM are unable to supply these. If there were an iron industry here with subsidiary industrial rolling sections. I have it on fairly reliable authority, there would be a very good market for things like fencing, steel goods, nails and other things such as those. We also know that both Japan and Sweden have displayed an interest in the local deposits here. We know that as far as the Japanese are concerned their only interest is to extract the ore and export it to Japan for processing there. Sweden, we understand, were interested in pig iron and smelting but that would not give us very much extra here and we feel that these industrial ore deposits should be used as the basis for other developments.

MR. TAYLOR: Finally, Mr. Chairman, do the witnesses know that the development of industry is a concurrent subject and not an exclusive Federal one and if so what response has been given to any representations that they might have made along these lines to the Northern Rhodesian Government? A. We are fully aware that it is a concurrent subject. The Territorial Government has been approached. It received a copy of our original memorandum to the Federal Government and we do find that government departments do work rather slowly and we are seeking a further interview for the purpose of discussing the development of the iron deposit.

MR. GONDWE: I am sorry I am going right away from this question of industry. In Section 4, you have a paragraph which begins "As with most primitive people western standards of integrity are unknown and unless European civilisation is given time"—and you go on to say that the placing of Africans in high positions can only result in corrupt administration riddled with intrigue, nepotism and the like which are foreign to British way of thinking. Can you amplify that? A. (MR. CREES): I think it is our overall submission that when it comes to the question of stable, elected government, again it comes back to a qualified franchise, we say we must not hurry unduly the natural evolution. At the moment I think that the majority of Africans, particularly in the outside areas, have their tribal customs, they have their tribal taboos and so forth behind them. They have not yet appreciated the western concept of honesty, integrity and of living amongst others; that is where you still have tribalism. We accept and I think we have said so here that you have got a large number of Africans who are rising very steadily and very successfully and they are rising very largely through education. We have mentioned this and we have emphasised it, that to bring the African forward education is of the highest importance and with that we feel that if you educate you must improve the African's economic opportunities as well and you will find that all these questions of racialism will gradually die away. It is a levelling out process.

Q. Thank you very much. I seem to understand it in a different way and I should like to be corrected. From there you go on to say that what you would like to see is the

economical educational facilities being made available to the Africans. By that I think you mean to say that the Africans should not at this stage be allowed to participate in the political field? A. No. Again, coming back to the franchise, it should be a responsible one. Many of the Africans are coming up to a real sense of responsibility. They have their businesses, they have their training but what we do say is that the very simple fellow in his village who has not yet, through no fault of his own quite possibly, had the opportunity to attain what the other Africans have attained, should not automatically have the vote; it should not be a case of simply one man, one vote, without having any regard whatsoever to qualifications.

MR. GONDWE: I still am not quite convinced.

CHAIRMAN: Do not worry about it, we need not convince each other.

MR. WOODROW CROSS: On the previous point about industry, although you do not represent a political body in any way and are purely concerned with economic processes, do you think greater Territorial representation in the Federal Government would ensure more chance of development industrially, economically and agriculturally in Northern Rhodesia? A. (MR. ROSSER): Greater representation with Africans you mean?

Q. Greater Territorial representation in the Federal Government from an economic point of view? A. (MR. GLASER): I do not think so.

PROFESSOR JACK: Could I ask the witness whether in view of all the difficulties to which they have referred in the memorandum they still think the principle of Federation is desirable? A. Definitely. (MR. CREES): That is one of our principal points. Whatever criticism we have to make has been made for the better working of Federation; COMMUNA is wholeheartedly behind the Federation.

MR. KATILUNGU: Coming to Section 11, under your conclusions, you say that this Association would emphasise that while commerce and industry in Northern Rhodesia are prepared to contribute to the maximum of their ability to the future of the Federation they are not prepared to do so unless they can be assured of a stable government and economy. Am I correct when I infer that when you speak of a stable government you are not dealing only with the Federal Government but that you are relating your remarks to a stable government in the North as well? A. That is correct. By that we mean a stable Federal Government and a stable Territorial Government. (MR. GLASER): May I amplify that? What we mean by a stable Government is that the constitution which is being considered now should be settled more or less once and for all and not come up for review in two, three, four or five years' time. I think that if we know what our constitution was to be and what we were in for that would be three quarters of the battle to induce development here and to induce happiness amongst all its population. That is the point we have stressed right at the beginning.

Q. In Section 11, the last paragraph starts "If" and so on. I am not concerned with other points that have been raised but I am interested in the assessment your Association has made in regard to political development prevailing now in Northern Rhodesia and I gather, if future decisions which in consequence of a review of the constitution of Northern Rhodesia and the Federal Constitution arrived at a conclusion that resulted in an African majority in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, you would desire some kind of protection for the interests of Europeans. Is that what you have concluded? A. (MR. CREES): That is not an easy one to answer. Basically, we feel yes; when we look outside our own borders that there must be some safeguards given to those people who have done so much to build up this territory to what it is today; I think that is quite a natural desire. There is the point there, of course, that if things are not hurried too much, it could quite easily come about over the years that there might be no reason to have to give anything of that sort. Again, this would flow from a responsible stable Government, irrespective of its racial texture. (MR. ROSSER): I think, Mr. Chairman, that the feeling is that with the present franchise as it is, coupled with the industrial development of Northern Rhodesia that we have referred to earlier in our evidence, it will inevitably mean that we will have a majority of African members in our

legislature by their sheer voting power in the years to come but it is felt that in the intervening period between now and then the European coupled with the fast emerging African at all levels, advanced by education and his natural ability, will give the country the capacity to hold the position under the present franchise under which these same Africans will be entitled to the vote. It would be a perfectly natural happening in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council for the Africans to have the majority. I do not think the European is particularly worried about that aspect of it at all, because he understands by just the length of time, even in a fast developing country like this, that the emerging African should by then be well trained in all of the duties to run the community and that there would be no need then for safeguards. The safeguard is that the African, taking up his duties as he emerges, as he can do under the present franchise, will be a man of the type from whom you will not need to seek safeguards. It is only if the thing is speeded up beyond that that the European then has need to think of safeguards because the natural ascendancy of the African has not been achieved by men capable of thinking.

MR. CHIRWA: You have dwelt a great deal in this memorandum on the question of stability of government to enable the country to develop economically and politically. You have stated that you would like to see Federation remain. I believe by saying that you mean that Federation would provide the stable government which you require. I just want to put this question. You no doubt are aware that the Africans of this territory with whom we live are very much opposed to Federation. On the other hand the Europeans want Federation. Suppose Federation continued in its present form, is it likely to remove the present instability which exists? A. (MR. CREES): Mr. Chairman, I am not quite sure if it is correct to say that all Africans are against Federation. I think that there are some who are in favour of it. I think there are an enormous number who do not really appreciate what Federation is or what it is aimed at. It has only had a short number of years since its inception, and in the scheme of things it is a very short period in which to even try to iron out initial teething troubles and I am not saying that our Association feels that this is the only type of Federation. I think that is your principal job, to make recommendations if there may be some other way of running a federation, but basically it is the linking together of these countries and the principal thing was economy. Again we come back to our mono-economy of copper and I think that we feel that Federation, possibly with amendment, should continue along this path that has been such a short one so far.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, I think what Mr. Chirwa was putting was this: Is it your opinion that if Federation goes on as it is at present, assuming that that happened, would that be likely to cure your reduced stability of government? A. (MR. ROSSER): I think the answer must be if it has not produced it now, I cannot see how it is going to in the future. It has been tested.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: I just wanted to ask you this. We fully appreciate that your Association is concerned with economics rather than with politics and I am not going to worry you on that. But I do understand from what you have said that you consider the main advantage of Federation in the very broad sense really is economics, the economic co-ordination between the various parts of the territory. I do also gather and I would like to be quite sure about this that all you gentlemen have really been saying is you do not feel that Federation as it has so far operated has resulted in satisfactory economic co-ordination or co-operation? A. (MR. CREES): That is correct.

Q. I do think we are entitled to ask you again, not as politicians but as people interested in economics, how you suggest, if you can suggest it, means by which that result could be brought about, not from a political point of view but from a business point of view? A. (MR. ROSSER): I think on the sheer economics of it as Northern Rhodesia is situated at the moment it is contributing to the economy of the Federation by the copper mines. That money goes into Federal coffers for the general advancement all round of any partner or territory within the Federation. The North itself knows that for what goes out of the territory something should come back to establish the basic necessities for the advancement of the people within the territory. Furthermore, the

immigration of yet more Europeans' brains and "know-how" is necessary to allow that development to go on a very steady economic rate. To our mind in the North it is not economically sound solely to look after the emergent African; it is also a matter of fetching in even more European brains and "know-how" to lead the emergent African into correct fields of progress and we feel that more money should have come back to the North.

Q. From that point of view political stability is not really what matters from your point of view? A. The main thing, I think, from the political angle is to get back to the basic need to be able to live in an area with your children and one's feeling can be very little different from that of an African. Political stability is necessary; you want to live in your country where you were born or where you immigrated or you are making your life and you want to live in that country according to your own abilities and you want to establish the life of the other people according to their abilities.

Q. Your Association is not prepared to put forward any positive suggestions for improving the economic co-ordination between the Territories? A. Only for the reason it is a mammoth subject in itself which needs a first class governmental survey. Living as you do in small towns and rather cut off from the high finance you do not always see even the correct Federal aspect of it so you are in no position to complain about what is happening and very often you find yourself doing just this when you have no full knowledge of things that can happen.

Q. Anyway, you say Federation has not achieved proper economic co-ordination so far? A. It has not done it so far.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: There are one or two points on our detailed terms of reference on which I would like the advice of this Association. In the terms of the constitution the territorial share of the federal income tax is fixed and entrenched in the constitution. Your share, I think, is 17 per cent. It has been suggested that this makes for inflexibility, but as the emphasis of development changes you might want to change the share which each territory has from the Federal income tax. Would you like to see this remain an entrenched clause in the constitution or would you like to see it taken out of the constitution and be a matter which can be adjusted from time to time? A. (MR. CREES): I think it must be slightly flexible and not absolutely fixed.

MR. MENZIES: Has it not in fact been altered once? A. Yes.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: It is absolutely inflexible, it has to be altered within the framework of the Constitution, it requires a constitutional amendment, which is a terrific exercise.

MR. MENZIES: It only happened once in sixty years in Australia.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: My question is whether it should be entrenched in the constitution and, as you know, constitutions can be amended. We have been asked now to advise on amendment to the Constitution. Should it remain an entrenched clause in the Constitution or not, that is my question? A. (MR. SYMMES): It is a very difficult one to answer. We have not even discussed this amongst ourselves but I think where you have a very rapidly developing Federation such as ours with problems that are not common to other countries, it is safe to say that our Association would take the view that there must be a degree of flexibility and changes should not take too long to be brought into operation. In other words, it should not be an enormous exercise to alter the fixed percentage.

Q. In terms of the Federal Constitution the right to impose a sales tax on the sales of goods—no such tax has been imposed yet—but the right to impose such a sales tax is entirely a Federal matter whereas in constitutions like Canada and the United States it is a Territorial matter. Would you like to see that power remain in the Federation or would you like to see it a Territorial matter? A. (MR. ROSSER): I think a Territorial matter.

Q. Have you any observations to make on the operation of the present loans council set up under the Constitution; the loans council which approves the raising of loans and

distribution of loan funds, have you anything to say on that?

A. We have not really given that item particular thought.

Q. As far as you are concerned the present loans council is operating satisfactorily? A. I think so, it is a Federal concern. The Federal Government is responsible for the repayments of those loans. I think it ought to remain their responsibility.

PROFESSOR CREIGHTON: Can I ask one question? It is related to one which Sir Lionel Heald asked previously and also it goes back to a further question which Mr. Woodrow Cross has asked. It seems to me important and perhaps it might be repeated a little more precisely. It is that a very large part of your submission is concerned with what you think is the inadequate promotion and development of Northern Rhodesia under the Federal system, and it would seem therefore that you might argue a necessary consequence of this is that in your view the interest of Northern Rhodesia was inadequately represented or expressed in the Federal Government. It is a matter of immediate and direct concern to us to see whether it is advisable for any reason—for this reason in particular—to modify or change the constitutional set-up of the Federation. There are two important ways in which obviously this can be done: either by changing the character of Federal institutions or by a redistribution of political functions—governmental functions. If in your view the interests of Northern Rhodesia are inadequately represented or imperfectly represented, have you any idea as to how this might be corrected in the Federal legislature? At the present moment Northern Rhodesia has a representation which is considerably smaller than that of Southern Rhodesia. Would you be prepared to advocate either (a) an equal representation for each territory irrespective of size and population or (b) representation on the basis of population? Do you think either one of those could secure a better promotion of Northern Rhodesian interests in the Federal Government? A. (MR. ROSSER): To my mind something has got to be done I think on the former question of giving more representation to the North. I think population is a very dangerous thing because census statistics in this Federation have not been awfully good and I think I would challenge any census of how many people lived in the urban area of Ndola to within some 5% accuracy. It could be if population was the key-note that the figures themselves could be incorrect and therefore would not be valid. The difficulty of the whole subject as far as I really can see may not lie so much in the number of representatives that the Territory has but in what I have always understood to be the hall-mark of a democratic minority, that of the strength of an opposition. As a group, we would not like to talk on politics because we are not competent to do so, but it may well be the representatives we have from the North when down in the South are part of a political party and have to bow to the Whip rather than the representation of their own territory. Whether it is a matter of principle or of politics I am afraid I would not know.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: I would like to analyse the position from an economic point of view in a country that has self-government and a country under the Colonial Office. You have rightly said that there is an urgent demand for balanced development in both Northern Rhodesia and I assume you mean Nyasaland as well. The rising population here demands that employment must be found for the Africans and Europeans as the country develops. You said that Southern Rhodesia as a self-governing colony and, indeed, as senior partner, has not paid enough attention to the development of the north. In Southern Rhodesia the balanced development in the North is what we all want but would you say that the actions of the self-governing territory in Southern Rhodesia have been far more effective in encouraging industrial development than the actions of a government under Colonial Office control? A. (MR. SYMMES): Yes.

Q. Let me explain one thing. You are complaining that all the industrial development is going to Southern Rhodesia. Do you know in spite of that Southern Rhodesia as a self-governing Government is prepared to guarantee on fixed property? That has nothing to do with the Federal Government. They are giving guarantees to fixed property. They are saying in a multi-racial state you must give something more than come in and invest—some security. In Southern Rhodesia the Government itself is giving guarantees on fixed property—in a country where they have got freehold title.

If we are going to get industrial and commercial development in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, do you not think that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland through the Imperial Government should make greater efforts to encourage industrial and commercial activities and those things in the shape of guarantees in a country where political changes are bound to take place? A. (MESSRS. SYMMES, CREES and GLASER): Yes.

Q. Is that not the fundamental difference between the two countries? A. Yes.

Q. It is not the Federal Government that has been backward on this? Is it not the government themselves, through their agencies, that should take a far greater initiative in this? A. Yes.

Q. Is the Federal Government really directly responsible for this present state of affairs? A. (MR. CREES): No. (MR. ROSSER): Not in its entirety.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: In the development of essential services I will agree with you but something far more than that is necessary to get the thing working.

CHAIRMAN: I understand a statement has been made A. I was going to say not in entirety. We feel even taking into account what we have got (Section 2(c)) four representatives of the Crown, four legislative bodies—taking that into account, it is changing but it is not changing at the speed of the Territory. It is possible there are elements both economic and industrial but we would not absolve by virtue of your previous statement the Federal Government itself or blame it.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: I am not asking you to do that, but could not some initiative be taken here? A. As the President said, while you are carrying on with your expansion, the Colonial Office itself through the present form of government that we have here is of itself a deterrent, as the land tenure is and things of that nature, but even if the constitution has that written into it, we should still say in the North, this being a known fact, the Federal Government should have taken steps to lessen the effect of the lop-sided development and not have let it go on.

MR. MOLSON: We have heard a great deal about the movement for the development of secondary industries in Northern Rhodesia. In view of the fact that one of the subjects is investigation and development of secondary industries and also promotion of exports, does it not arise from the evidence we have heard today that this Association would be in favour of transferring responsibility for the development of secondary industries to the Northern Rhodesian Government if, at any rate, it becomes somewhat more responsible to the electorate? A. (MR. GLASER): No, Mr. Chairman, I think that responsibility should still rest with the Federal Government because the three territories are in different stages of development.

Q. It was you who pointed out with regard to the iron and steel industry that the fact Mr. Ellman-Brown is associated with the development in Southern Rhodesia, was a clear case where the interests of Northern Rhodesia had been sacrificed to Southern Rhodesia? A. Yes, but it should be co-ordinated through the Federal Government and we feel it should be left to the Territorial Governments to enter into competition. There must be the co-ordination of all the industries and development at the Federal head.

Q. Merely arising out of everything that has been said, am I right in understanding your evidence to us to be roughly this? You are in favour of Federation as a principle because you believe that it is in the long run to the economic advantage of the three territories that those various common economic services like finance, banking, customs and so on, should be in the hands of a central government, but that you are dissatisfied with the way that the Federation has worked so far? That you are anxious for a stable government and therefore you are anxious to meet as far as possible the wishes of your African co-subjects here and that you would therefore welcome any proposal that could be made which would both give greater political independence to the three territories and therefore satisfaction to the African inhabitants of the two protectorates, provided always that the economic unity of the whole area was preserved? Is that really what you have been saying? A. (MR. CREES): Yes, that is a very good summary.

MR. KATILUNGU: Assuming from the explanations that



have been given in regard to this question of the availability of land for economic development purposes, in so far as the present order is concerned it specifically states that this is to be in consultation with the people living in a particular area. I would like to know if the members present can give a specific case where any project for the economic development of Native Trust Land or Native Reserves has been suggested, has received negative replies from the authorities concerned? A. (MR. GLASER): We have a scheme that has been developed in the Northern Province. I think there are two mentioned. It is our opinion that if European interests in development were permitted to associate themselves with the present scheme it would be to the benefit of all. We have a fear that once this scheme gets going it might fall flat.

CHAIRMAN: This is where? A. This is at Abercorn. (MR. CREES): I think the point is this. Where you have native trust land a lot of formalities have to be gone through and it takes a very great deal of time to get them completed. It probably is accepted that in the end a European project in a native trust area might be accepted, but it is a very great deterrent to normal commerce and industry who otherwise could go in and start up a business and so forth without any sort of let or hindrance. In other words you are allowed in and can go in.

MR. KATILUNGU: But surely, the members appreciate, Mr. Chairman, that at one stage of economic development the area here which is known as the Rhokana Corporation was at one time in Chief Nkana's area (after whose name the mining industry was called) and because it was found necessary that a mining industry should be developed he has had to be moved more than twice. The area where he has recently moved from is the site of the economic project. I am sure there should not be any difficulty whatsoever. A. As I say the whole thing is there is not a free movement of trade. You cannot go and set up a store and so forth without a lot of formalities. It is not in the ordinary run of things, the same as in the 6% European land.

Q. Would you say then that in the next few years in Southern Rhodesia where you have the Land Apportionment Act, whenever any industry is about to be established in a native area there are no formalities to be complied with and which can be related to what we are dealing with today? A. (MR. CREES): That is in Southern Rhodesia. I am not competent to pass an opinion on Southern Rhodesia. (MR. ROSSER): Mr. Katilungu asked if anybody could give an instance where this stopped development taking place. Personally speaking I shall attempt to give that instance at some time later when we are sitting because I do not feel myself competent to give it now, but I hope to give an answer some time when the Commission is still sitting here. I must refer the matter elsewhere. I would like personally to answer it.

CHAIRMAN: You must apply to the Secretary-General if we are to hear you again. We have not unlimited time. Thank you very much for attending to help us.

Memorandum

THE EURAFRICAN SOCIETY, CENTRAL PROVINCE

1. The Eurafrikan Association of Northern Rhodesia, which represents the interests of peoples of mixed descent in Northern Rhodesia, wish first to record that they are giving evidence to the Commission under strong protest. It is very regrettable that the terms of reference exclude consideration or recommendation of any other form of association including the dismemberment of the Federation. It is hoped that as many members of the Commission as possible will interpret the terms of reference as widely as possible so as to be able to make a finding which will bring peace and goodwill, at present fast diminishing.

If the Commission cannot recommend secession, it is hoped they will say they are unable to find a solution within the terms of reference.

2. It is felt that a brief history of the Eurafrikan Society will suffice to serve as an introduction to the Commission of the people.

The Eurafrikan Society are the offspring of unions between mostly the early European settlers and Africans. The population is growing rapidly and now is in the region of 3,300. It is sad to record that throughout the constitutional development of

this Protectorate, the Eurafrikan Society, despite repeated well-founded claims to be given some measure of say in the administration of their country, have been completely ignored and denied this democratic right. It cannot be said that it is because they are irresponsible and illiterate, as they have, and are playing their part in the development of this country in all fields, and as such, feel that they have been done a grave injustice in being completely denied a say in the administration of the country to whose well-being they are contributing.

3. The Eurafrikan Society, as a result of their fluency in African languages and their frequent contacts with the African people, are in a unique position to be able to assess the growing discontent of Africans against the present form of Government and in particular the Federation, which was undemocratically imposed upon them, and which they justly claim should be dissolved.

That the discontent of the indigenous races is daily gaining momentum is an indisputable fact, and unless satisfactory measures, other than reprehensible ones, are taken immediately, it can be said with almost certainty that what happened in Kenya and the Congo may well occur here.

The discontent stems mainly from the fact that the minority European settlers are not willing to share fairly the administration of this country with the indigenous people. It may be said, as was so weakly pointed out by the Territorial Government to the Eurafrikan Society, that it is the hope and policy of Government to do away with racial representations, whilst on the other hand Government conveniently overlooks the fact that the leading political party, composed practically exclusively of European membership, has been the deciding factor during the last elections. To prove the unfairness of elections of the nature that were held last in the Territory, we would quote the example of an African who is now a member of the Legislative Council who received no more than thirteen votes from the African community, but romped home as a result of the preponderant European vote. He is now held as a representative of the Africans and an example of the partnership scheme. This self same man was, and is at present so much disliked by the Africans that it makes one wonder how he can still be made their representative. In actual fact, the Africans have very little say in the election of their representatives. Normally an insincere African solely after material gain joins a European party, speaks bitterly against his fellow-men and as a reward he is certain to win the seat he contests on European votes. Can this man truly be a representative of the Africans? No, he is actually a traitor to their cause.

There are two African political parties in Northern Rhodesia, the United National Independence Party and the ageing African National Congress. Both parties are boycotting the Commission.

In Southern Rhodesia there are two African Political parties, they are the National Democratic Party and the United People's Party. Here too both parties are boycotting the Commission.

In Nyasaland we find the Malawi Congress Party, which is the only popular African political party there. This too is boycotting the Commission.

The African Trade Union Congress in Northern Rhodesia is boycotting the Commission. They are urging all Africans to boycott the Commission because it is not clear that the Commission's terms of reference allow it to consider, still less recommend secession. They are not satisfied with a Commission which will merely hear evidence without power to give full effect to all kinds of evidence both for the continuance of or the dissolution of Federation. They are bitter against Federation, and look forward to its dissolution. Even in Southern Rhodesia, where they voted for Federation in 1953, now they are boycotting the Commission simply because they want Federation to break up. They do not want a Commission whose task is to prove Federation.

The following are some of the things the Africans complain against:—

(a) High Franchise Qualifications

This Association feels that the unduly high franchise laws are designed not to ensure that only responsible elements of all communities get the vote, but to keep the majority of the indigenous peoples away from the polls, thereby ensuring the Government remaining

in the hands of the minority group. There are many responsible men denied the franchise as a result of being in the poor income group, in which 95% of them fall.

This Association, therefore, recommends that the franchise laws be considerably relaxed to accommodate these men.

(b) Equal Pay for Equal Work

Races are paid their wages and salaries according to the colour of their skins. Africans and most of the Eurafricans are paid below subsistence level, placing most in arrears of high rents for poor houses.

There is no minimum wage scale. The standard of living is so high that unless a person receives at least £30 a month, he cannot live well. The average pay of Europeans is £100 a month, while the average pay of Africans is £5 per month. There are no opportunities for some of the races in various industries and in the Civil Service of the Territory.

(c) The Outlawing of the Colour Bar

The un-Christian practice should be outlawed and equal facilities extended to all men according to their ability and industry. It is useless saying, as is upheld now by the present Government, that the colour bar will wear away with the advent of time; it will not, and as a matter of fact it is waxing in certain spheres. It is a known fact that no one can ever accept indefinitely a lower status in life, based solely on the pigmentation of his skin.

(d) Constitutional Evolution of Independent States

Every component state, particularly the two lagging Protectorates of the Federation, have not been allowed individual democratic constitutional development according to the wishes of the majority of their respective inhabitants, but merely the dictates of the minority settler group.

The British Colonial policy has not been applied here as elsewhere. The Federal Prime Minister had to go to England to protest against the Northern Rhodesia Constitutional proposals, which he claimed were too liberal.

The dates for the granting of democratic self-Government to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have not been fixed, which is causing much worry amongst many people.

(e) Declaration of Fundamental Freedom

In the Federal Constitution, the fundamental freedoms of men are not declared, and there is no special Court charged with the protecting of individual rights of all inhabitants. Now we have laws such as the Public Security Bill which gives the Governor power to suspend laws and orders.

Lusaka.

Oral Evidence

THE EURAFRICAN SOCIETY, CENTRAL PROVINCE

Represented by:—

Messrs. H. A. Thornicroft
P. W. Fredman
G. S. Cornhill
F. R. Old

MR. CORNHILL: I wish on behalf of this delegation to thank you for giving us this opportunity to give evidence and as you will see in our memorandum we are prepared to discuss particulars right to the end with you because we feel that as a small minority in this country we are at times among time-forgotten issues.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: We have all read your memorandum and perhaps I might very briefly go through it.

In the first paragraph you deal with the terms of reference. I do not think we need trouble about that this morning because we are anxious to hear anything you have to say which you think might assist us. Then secondly you give a history of the Eurafrican and you say there that the population

is now in the region of 3,300. It that in whole of the area? A. That is the territory—Northern Rhodesia.

Q. In paragraph 3 you refer to the growing discontent of Africans who you say your members are in a very good position to be able to assist, and it may be some of us would like to ask a question or two about them. Then you come down on the next page to more specific matters. You deal with the franchise and say you think the limits are unduly high. Then you deal with the subject of equal pay for equal work and then with the colour bar, and as I understand it you there say that mere reliance on time will not be sufficient. You mean too that some kind of policy steps should in your view be taken to remove it? A. (MR. THORNICROFT): Yes.

Q. I do not know whether you could give any specific examples what you think could be and should be? A. (MR. CORNHILL): We feel that the only way this question should be solved is by legislation being passed against the colour bar.

Q. You realise that very great difficulties exist in making legislation on such subjects? A. We do, Sir, but we have seen it done in some countries. We appreciate at the beginning there will be difficulty, but eventually it will solve itself, and if we have to rely on time when people have changed in heart I think we shall wait a very long time.

Q. Has your association considered any wording for actual legislation? Some of us have. I was wondering whether you could give us any assistance? A. I think we feel that this commission is in a better position to term it in a legal way than we are.

Q. Then the next one is constitutional evolution of independent states. I do not know whether you wish to add anything there? A. Yes, on that we feel that since it has been stressed so often we do not know how effective this may be, but it does appear it is not the intention of the British Government to dismember the Federation. We feel since that cannot be done the only solution left is that the three territories should be allowed to develop constitutionally on their own and that the Federation should remain but each of the adjoining territories should be allowed to develop according to the wishes of the majority of the people. At the moment what has been taken into consideration so far as we are concerned is the wishes of the Europeans. That we can prove by the very fact that when we look at the franchise laws they have been designed specifically, it appears to us, to exclude the indigenous peoples. The standards given are so high that at least ninety per cent. of the people are excluded from it, and as it was said it was designed to retain government in the hands of civilised people. To us that seems not the case, but to retain government in the hands of the minority of white settlers, because we do know—among the Africans we have many dealings—many Africans who are responsible but who would not be able to qualify. You would think many prominent Africans would be able to come into the Government and be able to contribute constructively to the running of the country, but as a result of the high franchise laws they are excluded.

Q. Would your view be that, if the individual territories could attain a substantial degree of self-government, you would be in favour of co-operation between them in the Federation? A. Yes, we agree to that. When we look at Southern Rhodesia in this Federal set-up, they have been dominant throughout and they have dictated policy to the other two territories. They are clamouring for, I would say, complete freedom to sever all connections with the Colonial Office and we feel that a lot of indigenous people would be adversely affected because Southern Rhodesia has got a lot of influence with the South African population here.

Q. Then in (e) you refer to certain specific safeguards that might be introduced? A. Yes. We feel at the moment there is no protection whatever that is afforded to individuals. For example, you have the recent Bill passed which gives the Governor absolute authority in revoking laws and introducing laws he thinks fit. I think that is quite undemocratic.

MR. MENZIES: What is your idea as to the franchise? How far should it be broadened? A. We feel that, as I have already stated, amongst the indigenous peoples, that is

Africans and Eurafricans, we have many people who have not been able to go to schools and attain the standards required, but there are many responsible men amongst them, and the fact that a person is able to complete the questions set out on the form of application to be a voter, if one is able to fill that in should be ample qualification and one should not consider property. If you look at present standards most of the people are in receipt of a very small income. How can one be expected to advance socially when in receipt of a small income, yet when they go into shops they are competing with people who have an income of £150 a month!

Q. You spoke of an always developing independent constitution? A. An independent form of government that will be democratically elected in time and will be representative of the entire nation.

MR. MCCLELAND: Would you suggest the time is ripe for a form of independent government to begin, or that the Colonial Office should maintain certain control or there should be still a majority European representation or a majority African representation? A. I think the time is opportune for the majority of the people to be allowed more say in the local legislation than they are now, because we have seen and we have compared other countries which have been given that facility, the peoples of which in our opinion are less advanced than the people we have here. If we take Tanganyika, people there are no more advanced and we feel the time here is opportune as well. What has been put forward by the United Federal Party in particular who are controlling practically all the seats here as well as in the Federal is being used as a stopper to the advancement of the people in order to retain power in their hands.

If we take the last election, I know personally of an African who received no more than thirteen votes from the Africans. That man is not liked by the Africans. He is one who has gone there purely for personal ambitions and is not interested in the development of the country as a whole.

Q. I would like to know whether you consider the people of the country are ready to take over the Government of the country now without outside control? A. I would say the British Government should maintain a sort of supervisory role over them but if they are not given now more say than they have, I would say the situation will deteriorate still further.

MR. KATILUNGU: Would you say that the present franchise as pertaining in Northern Rhodesia, is regarded as a form of pretence or mockery to the Africans? A. It is, yes.

Q. Do you not appreciate that franchise is regarded as multi-racial with the spread of seats on the Copperbelt and in the rural areas and do you think under that franchise that any African can contest a seat with a European in such places as the Copperbelt. A. I am not convinced that the seats at the moment are multi-racial. We did point out to the last government that the very fact there were reserved seats in this last election already defeats the purpose of multi-racialism.

MR. CHIRWA: Reading through this memorandum—you did not give us much time—one comes to the conclusion that you say that Africans do not want Federation? A. Yes.

Q. What about you yourselves? Do you want Federation or not? A. Federation, what is represented and what is practised are two different things and I would say what they have put on paper is not what is in practice. There is quite a lot of difference. First of all, I for one would say that while this Colony is a British protectorate and Britain has always been the leader and mother of democracy, democracy is not practised in it, that 90% of the people are against Federation and because of this we feel it should be disbanded. We are not in agreement with it. Since the majority of the people are against it, we consider it is undemocratic. What we would agree to is that Federation should be retained, but a lot of power should be withdrawn from it, and restored to the territories and the Federation should be a structure dealing with functions such as external affairs and finance, the rest of the powers being given back to the territories. It should be something like the United States. Each of the States administers its own laws. When it comes to certain major issues they refer them to the Federal Government.

A. (MR. FREDMAN): If the Federation remains in existence it should retain certain matters and let the territorial bodies have full control of its own people. If, however, Federation is dismembered let the territories dissolve themselves and have their own previous interest to advance on their own in self-government in a true sense, but as it is now the Federation has been a dictatorship. Whatever the Federal Government says on territorial matters that was not the original idea of the Federation. We were made to believe that Federation was coming in apace to advance all people—black, white and brown—but today we find in the Federal Government there are certain jobs the Eurafricans cannot have, such as policemen. In the police we have no vacancies. You will have only Africans or Europeans, but no Eurafrican is employed in the police as in South Africa. We find certain Government departments in Northern Rhodesia which used to employ Eurafricans; those advantages have been withdrawn. We find another reason, that the Federation will not advance any race except Europeans. As such we are against the Federation, but if it is to continue on we believe that certain practices must go back to the territorial bodies; but the whole thing is that we are against Federation. (MR. CORNHILL): Just as a rider to that we would say as we see Federation now it is, as I have previously stated, totally different from what we have expected. What we see of it now is that all the European settlers are realising time is running out and the time is coming when the African will have to take over control of the country. The time will come, but what they are trying to do now is they are using Federation more or less as a spanner they would throw in the wheel. We feel the Europeans are using it to impede the constitutional development of the two northern territories. I assume they do not want the two territories to get self-government which no doubt would be run by the Africans, and Southern Rhodesia as the dominant partner does not want the two northern territories to be dominated by the Africans because of policies which would affect Southern Rhodesia as well, which believes to a certain extent in the policy of South Africa. We feel it is being used as a weapon by the Europeans.

MR. CHIRWA: When you say Southern Rhodesia believes in the policies which are similar to those of South Africa, could you give a specific example? A. Yes. You have in Southern Rhodesia at the moment so many segregatory laws which are comparable to South Africa, where Africans cannot hold land. They have a lot of Acts which are similar. If you study the laws passed in Southern Rhodesia they are designed on racial grounds almost comparable to South Africa. If you went to Southern Rhodesia, you yourself if you were sensitive would be able to feel there was not much difference at all from the Union. I have had experience of both territories and I have seen there is very, very little difference.

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE: Do you think the time has come to remove all discriminatory legislation, for example such as that which prevents the European going in to trade in a native reserve and that sort of thing? A. On the question of trading I think that we are of the opinion it should be removed. After all, the little stores that are run in these native reserves, I have seen them; they are not up to much at all and it would be to the advantage of the inhabitants of these rural areas to have as many stores as possible. They would reduce the cost of living to the people. You will find small African stores. They charge fantastic prices for items, and if there were more competition and more stores opened up which could hold large stocks of goods you would find prices would come down.

Q. For Europeans to take land in native reserves, would you think that discrimination? A. Yes, I agree to that. We feel what should be done now is every person should be allowed to hold land irrespective of colour. If you go to the native reserves you will find an African has no initiative to develop the land whatsoever because he has no titles to it. What would prompt a man to spend all his money knowing he can be moved tomorrow and cannot secede it to his heirs in law?

MR. MOLSON: In paragraph 3 you speak of Eurafricans and contact with the Africans which enables them to know what is going on very much better than Europeans can. Then you go on to say that the discontent of the indigenous races is daily gaining momentum, and unless satisfactory measures,

other than reprehensive ones, are taken immediately, it can be said with almost certainty that what happened in Kenya and the Congo may well occur here. Is that an impression, or can you say something about what it is, that very serious statement? A. It is not a mere impression, Sir. We are in a position first of all, as I have said, as a matter of the language question, where we are able to judge from the Africans better than what the Europeans are, because they are able to express themselves more freely to us in their own tongues than what they would in English. They would convey to a European a thought which might be misinterpreted due to the language barrier, and we do know definitely that at the moment the Africans feel very frustrated and that their frustration is not being alleviated at all and there is nothing being done to alleviate that frustration.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: Do you have separate Eurafrican schools here besides in Northern Rhodesia? A. Yes, Sir, we have separate schools for Eurafricans.

Q. Would you agree to Eurafricans and Africans attending the same school? A. Yes, Sir, we would agree to that. What has been happening is this, that Government has been trying to a certain degree to keep the Eurafricans away from the Africans, and again there are certain laws passed for the Africans which affect the Eurafricans as well. The true position is this, that the Eurafricans are in the same position as what the Africans are and it is Government policy not to cater for any other separate racial group. I have, for example, an extract from a letter which had been written by a Governor of Northern Rhodesia to the Colonial Secretary.

Q. When was that written? A. About three weeks ago I think.

"The problem of the Eurafricans is one with which Government has been faced for a considerable period and it is felt in the best interests of these people not to encourage them to regard themselves as a separate race. It is hoped that as the African progresses the better-educated African and the better-educated Eurafrican will find common ground and common interest."

First of all, the Africans and ourselves hold the same status. We are all British-protected persons. We all suffer the injustices from this racial discrimination practised in this territory, and whatever benefits the Africans as a result of agitation and I would say even as much as personal imprisonment when they achieve anything, we as Eurafricans benefit equally by it. For instance I would quote in the dining saloons on the trains first and second-class passengers are supposed to be allowed to enter the dining saloons but it has never been the case. I have been turned away when I wanted a meal but have been served in the compartment.

But recently Africans had agitated, and quite a number freed from imprisonment. Now we have done away with that, with the result that I can go to a dining car as well and will not be turned away. We feel, not only with this example but with many others, that it is right that whatever happens for the Africans the same should apply to us as well, because after all we are the same people, we have the same status and suffer the same injustices; and whatever the Africans gain we should also benefit from. Therefore it would not be fair for us to sit back and let the Africans suffer all the actions that are brought against them, and then we just reap from what they have planted. (MR. THORNICROFT): Adding to that, I would say if we went to the same schools as Africans I think we, as a community, would have received much better education because we see many facilities in the education department which we do not receive ourselves. For example there is a very big training school here called the Hodgson Training Centre, which we have not got. Therefore I feel if we were allowed to go to the same schools as the Africans we would also benefit from privileges such as the Hodgson Training Centre. As soon as we get out of school we have nowhere else to go. We are refused permission to go to any European college.

MR. KATILUNGU: Would you say in fact that many

Euro-Africans have been brought up in many cases alongside African children? A. (MR. FREDMAN): Certainly. (MR. CORNHILL): On that question it is more a matter of the parent, I think. There have been a few cases where the father, who in most cases happened to be a European, has left money for the education of his child. Those children were privileged and had money to go to schools; but in the majority of cases you find that European fathers had completely neglected their Euro-African offspring. Those children were brought up by the Africans.

LORD CRATHORNE: In your answer about the schools, are you speaking on behalf of the Branch alone, or for the whole of your Society? A. (MR. THORNICROFT): As you will see, the memorandum is presented by the Eurafrican Society, Central Province.

Q. Is that the general view, or just the view of your branch? A. The general view.

MR. CHIRWA: Would you object to going to the same schools as Europeans? Supposing there is an opportunity for all Africans, Eurafricans and Indians to go to the same school, would you object to that? A. (MR. CORNHILL): On that, first of all the Federal Government is committed to a policy of partnership, and we feel that the fact of discriminating between children at schools only defeats that point. There is no point in partnership if you are going to have separate education for the children. We feel that if children learned together at the same schools and grew up together they would have better respect for each other and they would have better understanding; and harmony would be created.

MR. GONDWE: What is the home language of the Eurafricans? A. In many cases, in the majority of cases at the moment—I would say it is perhaps 50-50. The Eurafricans that have been brought up in towns and have had an opportunity of being educated, especially now, are using English; but you will find Eurafricans who are uneducated and live in their rural reserves use African languages.

Q. So there would be no barrier, and it would be advantageous if your children were educated at the same institutions as European children? A. What we would put forward is this: that in schools, apart from the lower stages, English should be the major language and all lectures should be delivered in English. English should be used, and children of all races should attend the same schools. It has always been put forward that there would be linguistic trouble in schools, but I think that is one of the excuses used just so as not to implement the policy.

Q. So you would like to see multi-racial schools? A. Right from the bottom. Since the Federal Government is committed to a policy of partnership they should implement it right from the bottom and not from the middle. Now before we close, there is one thing I would like to make clear here. We said we would come to give evidence to this Commission under strong protest. Our reason is this: we do not say this Commission sitting here has already been influenced by the Federal Government, but we already see the shadow of the Federal Government's hand—or rather of Sir Roy Welensky's hand—in that before this Commission was sitting he had already had conversations with the Colonial Secretary and he prayed that this Commission would interpret the terms of reference accorded to it as widely as possible. We trust you will not allow that shadow, which we already foresee, to influence the Commission in its interpretation of the terms of reference accorded to it. We should disregard that. We feel that Sir Roy Welensky's trip to England has been unwanted: he went there to try and sow the seed.

CHAIRMAN: Anyone can entertain any suspicion they like, but I can assure you this Commission is going to give an interpretation to its terms of reference which it believes to be right and just. A. Thank you, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for your attendance and for giving us your evidence.



LUSAKA

15TH MARCH, 1960

Memorandum

THE NORTHERN RHODESIA DIVISION OF THE
CENTRAL AFRICA PARTY—H. Franklin, Chairman

Introduction

1. This memorandum deals primarily with the historical and human background to Federation from a Northern Rhodesian point of view. It is assumed that on all materialistic matters the Commission will receive ample and detailed facts and figures but men and their beliefs and feelings, right or wrong, are perhaps more important in our present situation here, than figures. If, however, further facts and figures are required to add to those given herein as examples to show how the present difficult human situation has arisen, they can be supplied in verbal evidence before the Commission.

Historical Background

2. Until the early 1930's, the European population of Northern Rhodesia was very small, and consisted mainly of members of the Colonial Service, missionaries, post-war farmer settlers, and others, most of whom had a strong sense of duty towards Africans, who themselves were decent, simple, though primitive people. Metaphorically, the European was leading the African by the hand, in mutual trust, along the path towards civilisation, with no need for dangerous haste, and indeed without either the means or the spur of the people's own desires, which might have facilitated speed. Nobody ever thought much about politics, self government, or African nationalism.

3. From the middle 1930's, with the opening of the great copper mines, the European population began to grow rapidly. The new immigrants were miners, artisans, railwaymen, and the camp-followers of fresh riches, drifting in from Johannesburg, Kimberley, and some from the United Kingdom. The main purpose of most of them was, and this still applies to many, to make as much money as quickly as possible and return with it whence they came. They were not, and some still are not, much interested in the fate of the native people, nor in the solid, long distance, future of the territory. On the contrary, they realised that the man advantage of Northern Rhodesia to an ambitious European who lacked the education and skills necessary to compete successfully in a society where the European was numerically predominant lay in holding back for as long as possible an African community whose lack of advancement made them qualified only for unskilled manual work.

4. Africans, coming in hundreds of thousands to and from the mines and the industrial and commercial areas that subsequently developed, began and have continued, slowly to lose faith in the Europeans as people whose intentions were to lead them forward to a better life. The impact of industrialisation and urban life upon the native people began, and has continued, to break up those steadying influences of family, tribe, local law and custom and religion. The war accelerated this break-up. The process was fast and the corrective means at our disposal, such as facilities for proper education, were meagre. As a result of these factors, the people became more and more bewildered and demoralised and to a considerable extent, disillusioned. They retained, however, their faith in the "Colonial Office Local Government" as the symbol of their proclaimed protectorate status, in the British Government and in the Crown. Faith in the Crown still remains almost complete, but faith in the British and Territorial governments diminishes steadily. Faith in the Federal government has never existed.

5. Soon after the end of the war, the Africans began to realise that the power was passing from their friends and trusted leaders, the officers of the Colonial Service, to the European politicians who represented, in the main, the newer immigrants. The Africans regarded the new European leaders and those whom they represented, as people whose interests were inimical to their own.

6. They resented too, the behaviour of many of these Europeans towards them. The importance of this latter point cannot be overestimated. "You have brought us many good

things—medicines, roads, bicycles, clothes—but you regard us and treat us as inferior specimens of humanity and nothing can make up to us for that."

7. The Africans did not lose trust in the good will of the Colonial Service official, but they lost faith in his power to maintain an equitable balance which recognised the protected status of the African. In the struggle of the new Europeans for power, the two leading politicians, Sir Roy Welensky, and Sir Stewart Gore-Brown, who desired a rapid approach to self-government, conducted, as of course they were entitled to do in pursuance of their aims, a policy of discrediting colonial administration, which fostered the achievement of the new Europeans' ambitions, but increased African fears. The rapid development of defensive African politics was now inevitable, and was accelerated by the inspiration afforded to the African of the material benefits to be derived from politics viewed as a vocation, and of the power that was to be gained from political agitation. It is unfortunate that to this day the pay of an M.L.C. is better than the pay of any African in any other employment. Meantime the influences of education, and of nationalist aspirations which were filtering down through Africa, were playing their part.

8. Next came the issue of Federation, which, it has sometimes been said, the African people did not understand. This is quite incorrect. It is true that the peasants in the remoter areas had no understanding at all of this issue. It is possibly true that villagers and labourers elsewhere might have had no understanding of the matter had they been left alone. But they were not left alone, by political and other African leaders, nor, eventually, by their District Commissioners and District Officers, who first had to reassure them that Federation would not be imposed upon them, and then had to attempt to justify its advent; a process which left the Colonial Service itself, bewildered—a condition from which it has still not quite recovered.

9. Amongst the more perceptive Africans were many who knew a good deal more of the issues of Federation than many European men in the street. Such detailed knowledge diminished as it was passed downwards, but at the end of the chain, the simple fact of the matter appeared to ordinary Africans to be that the local Europeans were intending to unify and consolidate themselves, so as to protract for as long as possible their power and dominance over the black people—a line of action easily understandable by Africans in view of the history of their own major expansionist tribes. Nothing that has happened since Federation has done anything to shake this view; much has happened to strengthen it. But the most important factor for the future which emerged from Federation was the Africans' considerable loss of faith in the British Government.

10. To begin with, the uneasy people were told, both by the local Government officials and by the British Government, that they need not worry about the European demand for Federation—they were led to believe that it would not happen if the Africans did not want it. The British Government's promises in this matter have since been denied. While it is true that the pronouncements of the Conservative Government, and of the Labour Government, after Mr. Creech Jones ceased to be Secretary of State for the Colonies, were qualified, they were accepted, and reasonably accepted, by ordinary people with little political experience, as promises. To an African, to say that the wishes of his people would be carefully ascertained and considered and that full weight would be given to them, meant that if his people did not want Federation, as he knew they did not, it would not happen. Mr. Creech Jones, in a widely published statement for the press and radio had previously said quite plainly that "whatever may be done must only be done with the good will of both races, African and European."

11. The African leaders, and thus their people, and indeed, except for a few at the top, the Colonial Service officials, were completely bewildered and finally utterly disillusioned at the turn about of the British Government's attitude, reflected in the Local Government, on this issue. The African people regarded consent by the British Government to Federation as a betrayal. It is perhaps worth noting here that the Federa-

tion imposed was a very different Federation from that proposed by the Conference of Officials in 1951, which also insisted upon acceptance by the inhabitants.

12. From the very first negotiations leading to Federation, as far as Africans were concerned, things got off to a bad start. The small percentage of intelligent educated African were watching and listening, and passing the news down, though few Europeans realised this.

13. Sir Godfrey Huggins, now Lord Malvern, typical of Southern Rhodesia's upper class settler population, always had the Rhodes spirit of expansion northwards, in his blood. It was a right and proper spirit for the day. He also had an inexplicable dislike of the Colonial Office and of the Colonial Service Administration in Northern Rhodesia, which the Rhodesian Press played up to vigorously, as it still does. Amalgamation, absorption of the North was what Sir Godfrey Huggins and his followers always wanted and that desire is still not eradicated from the hearts of some of Southern Rhodesia's leading citizens to this day. Africans have much longer memories than Europeans. They knew then, and they remember now, that the local protagonists of Federation really wanted the abolition of British Protection over the North and its absorption into Southern Rhodesia as a white governed independent dominion, which Southern Rhodesia very nearly was then and very nearly is now.

14. Nyasaland never entered into the picture, being a poor country, and never would have entered into the picture except at the insistence of the British Government, whose motives throughout were no doubt well meaning.

15. In the North, Mr. Roy Welensky, as he then was, was thoroughly dissatisfied with the very slow advance of the Protectorate towards self-government, which he began to perceive might well, when it came, be an African government. He too, as a Southern Rhodesian, no doubt thought on the same lines as Sir Godfrey, and turned eagerly to the latter's support in the demand for Amalgamation which was later changed to a demand for Federation when the British Government's firmness against Amalgamation became apparent. The demands of these two European leaders made little progress until a few years after the war when a number of factors combined to make their prospects of succeeding more propitious.

16. In the first place Southern Rhodesia's economic policy had led that country to the verge of bankruptcy. The Central African Council, which should have been the basis of a gradual building up of closer association of the territories on sound lines, was not working well because its recognition of the individual status and rights of the territories was inimical to the policy of amalgamation favoured by Sir Godfrey Huggins. Nyasaland remained poor, while Northern Rhodesia had rapidly become exceedingly rich. The idea of Federation, which had hitherto received little support either in Whitehall or in Lusaka, came to be looked upon more favourably in the Colonial Office. The Southern Rhodesia Government's bluff that if Federation were not quickly agreed to, Southern Rhodesia would join the Union of South Africa, no doubt played a significant part in influencing the British Government's decision, and that Government also presumably saw an opportunity of pursuing its policy of handing over the responsibilities of Colonial territories to the local inhabitants, and thought that it could ensure a fair deal for all races in this part of Africa through the Federal Constitution. In the event this has not been ensured.

17. At the Victoria Falls Conference no Africans were invited as delegates, the proceedings were largely secret and several of the pronouncements of Sir Godfrey Huggins were headlined in the Press—"Africans are scarcely out of the trees yet," was one of them. Not long before, Mr. Welensky had said in Legislative Council that if Africans would not come along with Europeans they would die out like Red Indians. This was in fact an innocent and well meaning remark, as no doubt most, perhaps all, of the statements of this nature that were made, mostly by Sir Godfrey Huggins, throughout the period of negotiations were. But there were many of them, and there have continued to be many of them since. However innocent they were, they infuriated Africans, and reflected the beliefs of these two European leaders and others, which they may, or may not, have abandoned by now, that Africans had neither eyes nor ears nor understanding and that they could, in general, be discounted. Any African reaction to the desires

of these political leaders was considered to be just the work of a few wicked minded agitators whom the "soft" Colonial Office policy had allowed to spring up.

18. Reference to these statements may seem unimportant, but it is not. Nothing is more important to a true understanding of the human reactions of Africans, which are of such vital consideration to the future of Federation. A study of our newspapers from that time until now would reveal, almost weekly, a series of statements from European political leaders of the Federation, sometimes insulting, more often frightening, to Africans, confirming their worst fears as to the European's intentions regarding Federation, playing straight into the hands of extremist African Nationalists, and provoking counter statements leading to further statements—to the delight of local newspaper reporters. Nothing could have set back Federation more, except its impossibly bad beginning, than the constant statements of its first two Prime Ministers relating to Dominion status, Boston Tea Parties, Going it alone, getting rid of the Colonial Office, removing the Protectorate status of the Northern territories and so on. It is these statements, more than any other single factor that have increased the Africans' dislike and resentment of Federation to something like a pathological hatred, so set and so deep that no mere alterations to the Federal Constitution will now remove it. The idea of a Partnership with the European on the basis of Lord Malvern's dictum, likening it, in the circumstances of Central Africa, to a rider and his horse, has not appealed to the African people.

19. Federation has been a rocket-booster to African Nationalism, a Nationalism which would have developed in any event, but at a slower pace. We needed time. We desperately need it now if we are to build up a multi-racial country. We have very little time left.

Why Federation Has Failed

20. When the Federation was established, those who regarded Federation as an ideal which should not have been imposed before its potential benefits were made acceptable to the peoples of Central Africa, but approached more slowly, with greater safeguards and with a fairer bargain for Northern Rhodesia and particularly for the African inhabitants thereof, worked increasingly hopelessly, to make the Federation a success in the only way it might have been a success—through the fulfilment of the promises which were made as to the course it would follow. Partnership was to be the Federal policy. In the early stages of the Federation it was said, the African would find no difference in his life, and later he would see and share in the benefits.

21. As far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned what have those benefits been? Such normal advances as have been made in the various services under Federal control would have been made by the territorial Government and would have been made faster and more extensively without the drain of Federation on our finances. Much has been made of the attraction of overseas capital through Federation, but as far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned that capital was flowing in and would have continued to flow to a territory with our assets and resources and minus our riots and disorders which Federation has occasioned. And that capital would have been used for the benefit of Northern Rhodesia and not for the South. We would not have experienced the restrictions imposed on our borrowing by the Federal Loans Board and we *would* have had the Kafue Hydro-Electric undertaking.

22. The Kafue/Kariba affair is an excellent example of the attitude of mind of a Salisbury/Southern Rhodesia dominated Federal Parliament led by powerful Southern Rhodesian leaders such as Lord Malvern, and of the effect of that attitude of mind upon African opinion and by now on European opinion as well. An Agreement was signed by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who later ratified it as Prime Minister of the Federation, that the Kafue scheme should come first. The terms of that agreement were fulfilled by the Northern Rhodesia government, work was started and money spent, when the Federal Prime Minister suddenly decided to disregard the agreement and put the Kiriba scheme first. He made no attempt to suggest that the Kafue scheme was a bad one, indeed he said "the government was faced with very great difficulty in deciding between two good schemes."

23. Northern Rhodesian reaction to this was one of bitter disillusion and one interesting factor about it was that for

once Europeans and Africans were united in opinion and indignation and revealed a great and united loyalty to *Northern Rhodesia*. This is a lesson for the future. The Federal government's continuous and clumsy propaganda—which consistently ignores the psychological principle of anti-suggestion—aimed at obtaining African loyalty to the Federation, has in fact had the reverse effect. At this stage all efforts should be directed towards building up a united people of Northern Rhodesia, which is still possible. Only after that is achieved can a real loyalty be extended to whatever form of Federation can, in the meantime, be obtained by consent.

24. The repercussions of the Kariba decision are still with us. Amongst other things, the decision ignored the fact that some 40,000 instead of 1,000 Africans would have to abandon their homelands. Africans do not forget easily, and fairly or unfairly, they attribute to Federation the deaths from dysentery, bullets and plant poisoning that have come to their people in the Gwembe valley in consequence of their enforced move.

25. The Federal Government's contempt for the interests of the North was again revealed in the siting of the Federal capital at Salisbury. It may, or may not be, that Salisbury is the best place for the capital. But the way the little Commission ostensibly set up to decide this, rushed round Northern Rhodesia in a few days, as compared with the long and patient work of a bigger Commission set up to consider the siting of the Southern Rhodesian capital, led Northern Rhodesians to believe that the former Commission was a farce, and that the Federal government had previously decided upon Salisbury as the capital. If, in the event, this existing Federation can continue at all, the Federal government might be wise to reconsider the question of the capital.

26. Before leaving the aspect of the effects of Federation on the economics of the North, let us consider what the Federal government might have done, and should have done, for the advancement of Africans in industry. In the Railway industry, in which the Federal government has the power to act and concerning which there was an agreement made at the time of nationalisation which made African advancement a condition of the new arrangements, it has taken the Federal government over six years to reach the present somewhat confused position where some little African advancement appears possible. Without provisions for training, African advancement is almost meaningless, yet when the Mining Companies offered to give to the Federal government their Copperbelt Technical Foundation (which so far has been for Europeans only) the Federal government declined to accept it, adding that even if it had decided otherwise it would not have made the Foundation multi-racial within the foreseeable future. The Federal government also added that the Northern Rhodesian government could not accept the offer either, because the Foundation came under the heading of European Education, an exclusively Federal subject. The Northern Rhodesian government would, of course, have made the Foundation multi-racial. Several years previously the Federal government rejected proposals to build an African Technical College and spent heavily on European education instead.

27. Another adverse economic factor has been the enormous increase in the cost of living since Federation which has hit Africans particularly hard. Admittedly there would have been a considerable increase in the cost of living regardless of Federation, and there is undoubtedly a tendency to blame Federation unfairly for anything that anybody does not like. But not only has the cost of a fourth government been immeasurably greater than £350,000 a year, envisaged in the White Paper issued before Federation, with consequent increased taxation, but the Federal government has followed a deliberate policy of "making the Africans pay more." Notable examples of this have been the original Federal Customs tariff and subsequent amendments thereto, putting up the duty particularly on blankets, pots and pans, cotton print and all the sort of articles that Africans buy most, and the removal of the subsidy on maize meal. At the same time the African producer of kaffir corn and groundnuts has had his price reduced to suit the interests of Southern Rhodesian European oil expressers and the Grain Marketing Board in Salisbury. Another example of greatly increased expense brought home particularly to Africans has been the hundred per cent. increase in postal charges. Even accepting that, without extravagance on the part of the Federal government all this extra revenue

was needed and had to come from somewhere, any government that wished to sway the Africans in favour instead of against it, would hardly, for example, have doubled the price of the Africans' "Tom Tom" cigarettes while greatly reducing the price of the Southern Rhodesian Europeans' whisky and better class cigarettes. Simultaneously there was a considerable increase in Income Tax despite the fact that the "Fiscal" White Paper on Federation stated that Income Tax rates should not go above the Northern Rhodesian level.

28. Politically, thanks largely to pressure from the British Government, the Federal government has made some concessions to Africans, but not nearly enough. Due partly to the great preponderance of European votes and partly to African boycotting of Federal elections, very few of the Africans in the Federal Parliament are at all representative of their people. If Federation can last at all a very great widening of the franchise is an essential. And Africans are not to be won over by statements intended to prove good intentions such as those recently made by the Federal Prime Minister and the territorial Federal Party leader, that it was the Federal government that first gave some votes to British Protected Persons. African leaders know enough about the long battle that went on between the Federal Government and the Northern governments and the Colonial Office over the Citizenship Act and the Federal Franchise Act to know that the Federal government fought as hard as it could against votes for British Protected Persons. They also saw the impotence of the African Affairs Board in regard to these two Acts.

29. The lack of any strong opposition to the Federal Party in the Federal Assembly and in the Territorial Assemblies has been an unfortunate factor. The Northern territories had never had any political parties before Federation, and Sir Godfrey Huggins' party had long dominated the South. With Mr. Roy Welensky and his powerful European following joining Sir Godfrey it was inevitable that the United Federal Party would meet little organised opposition. It was also inevitable that United Federal Party territorial leaders (in the Northern Territories at any rate) would be much too inclined to take orders from Salisbury, thus slowing down the liberal advances that the official elements in the North's governments would wish to make at greater speed. A recent example of this was the Report of the Select Committee on Racial Discrimination in Hotels, Cinemas, Cafes, etc. The Report was laid on the table of the Northern Rhodesia Legislature on a Tuesday. On the next day, Wednesday, Sir Roy Welensky announced over the radio that he was against legislation on such matters, thus hardening local Federal Party resistance to the government's outright acceptance of the Report's recommendation to legislate, leading to a government statement of "initial reaction, to accept" instead of a forthright acceptance. In fact an acceptance, through the power of the official members and the difficult situation in which the Federal Party finds itself on this issue, may well result in three months' time. But Africans, always listening and watching, remember Sir Roy Welensky's pronouncements that removal of colour restrictions is up to the territories and outside his powers, and his hints that they would be removed more quickly if it were within his power to do so.

The territorial franchise would undoubtedly have been more liberal towards Africans but for the strong influence of the Federal Party and of Sir Roy Welensky.

30. In the field of Social services the Federal government has done some good things. It has, for example, abolished the separate colour-bar entrances in Southern Rhodesian Post Offices and it has abolished colour bar practices regarding passengers on the Railways. But it has certainly not improved the Health services for Africans. Incidentally one of the fallacies on which this Federation was based was that all matters African should be territorial responsibilities, and all matters European should go Federal. Nearly everything that every government in the Federation does affects both races.

31. Whatever the Federation has, or has not, done since its inception, one thing is certain. It has very greatly stepped up the rate of growth of African Nationalism and bred a growing hostility to the territorial government through the influence of the Federal government and of the Federal Party on the territorial government, to such an extent that riots and disturbances have led to the introduction of a spate of repressive legislation much of which only serves to create more hostility. There have been amendments to the Penal Code

banning publications, forbidding picketing, outlawing boycotts, creating new offences and penalties for sedition and so on. There have been amendments to the Native Courts Ordinance limiting the rights of Appeal. There have been enacted the Societies Ordinance, the Public Order Ordinance, the Public Order and Security Ordinance, the Riot Damage Ordinance, the Protection of Public Places Ordinance and—in the language of Auctioneers—other items too numerous to mention. The regular police force has been vastly expanded, a Reserve Police Force established, and a European "Territorial Army" formed. Air and gunnery displays, flag flying tours of armoured car mobile units and so on have been regarded by the local populace with a cynical silence. The governments clearly expect trouble.

32. The current situation, which is worsening, is this. At rock bottom, the human greed and human fear of the Europeans is warring with the human greed and human fear of the Africans. The former wants to keep all he can and fears losing it: the latter wants to take all he can and fears that if he doesn't take it soon he will be permanently prevented from doing so. The European's greed is diminishing as his fears increase. The African's greed is increasing as his fears diminish.

33. The thinking Europeans, regarding the world scene of the Western and Eastern blocs and the uncommitted nations, casting their eyes down over Africa from Tunis to Elizabethville and looking closely at their surroundings, might prefer Federation to stay, though this is becoming increasingly doubtful, but do not greatly care whether it does or not provided their future peace and prosperity can be secured. They are in the mood to agree to very great political, social and economic concessions to Africans, though by no means to a Ghana.

34. The thinking Africans, the teachers, civil servants, chiefs and so on are in the mood to accept considerable concessions and also do not want a Ghana, at any rate for some time, because they know that the African Nationalists and their followers with remarkably few exceptions, lack ability, integrity, and all the other qualities that enable men to build a nation. But they still hate the Federation and want it to be abolished, and territorially they will not be content without considerable concessions. If the Federation stays as it is and the concessions are not made, they will increasingly swing over to the Nationalists, with disastrous results for Northern Rhodesia. They may do so in any event. We have, as usual, given too little, too late, and it may now be too late to give even too much.

35. But there is still hope, and it is suggested that the best ways of realising that hope are these:—

- (a) If the consent of the people cannot be obtained, and every effort should be made to obtain it, to some kind of Federation very different from the present one, then the Federation is bound to break up and it might be some years before a new start could be made to build up a Federation based on the consent of the people. The most likely method of avoiding a complete break-up would appear to be to devise an association of the territories rather on the lines of the East Africa High Commission, controlling air and railway communications, Postal and Telecommunication services, Customs, Meteorological services, Defence, External Affairs and Currency. The name of such association might be League, Alliance, Commission, or any more suitable name that can be thought of, provided the word "Federation" is avoided. To begin with the paramount power should lie with the territories, the "association" should be little more than an agency of the territories. Then step by step, with the consent of the majority of the peoples, the association could be built up into a true Federation whose borders need not be confined to the borders of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. The "High Commission" idea is not unacceptable to some African leaders with whom it has been discussed.
- (b) A territorial constitution should be framed (and a parallel Federal one as regards franchise and safeguards if Federation remains) that would give Africans something like an equal vote now and a majority vote in ten years. The powers of the British Government, of the Governor and of his officials on Executive Council should be retained during those ten years at least and

the constitution renewed thereafter. The Constitution should embody safeguards against the repression of individuals and races through a Bill of Rights enabling individuals to take legal action to enforce their rights and also by the creation of a Council of State. The Council of State might consist of the Appeal Court Judges and other members nominated by the Crown, excluding of course politicians. It should have the power to veto discriminatory legislation.

36. The above are merely suggestions and obviously the nature of the constitution must depend upon what the majority of the people will agree to. Negotiations to that end might well be started concurrently with the Federal Review. There is no time to be lost and the day of imposed constitutions has gone.

Conclusion

37. It is greatly to be hoped that the African Civil Servants Association, the African Teachers Association and the European Civil Servants Association will give evidence to the Commission, although such evidence might be given rather guardedly. In a country such as Northern Rhodesia, they together form much the largest number of our educated, intelligent, experienced and balanced population. It is unfortunate that the African National Congress, which otherwise would have given evidence, has felt impelled by the example of the British Labour Party to boycott the Commission. The fact that U.N.I.P. has decided on a boycott may not be to the disadvantage of the African people, but it is unfortunate for the Commission that they will not be heard.

38. It is essential to our future that the weight of all shades of opinion be measured in the balance so that government from London, government from Lusaka and government from Salisbury may be by the consent of the majority—most particularly government from Salisbury. If any further evidence were needed to show that that government has not got the consent of the majority it can be seen in the voting figures of the territorial elections less than a year ago—and the position has deteriorated since. To Africans the Federation and the Federal Party are all one. The African voters, in view of the present highly restrictive franchise qualifications, are not the extremist agitators amongst our population. An analysis of their votes was published in the press and is appended to this memorandum.

Lusaka

11th February, 1960

Annexure

The claim made before the elections by Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. John Roberts that the United Federal Party is the only party which has effective support from Africans is now thoroughly disproved by analysis of the Special (i.e. almost all African) votes. The following list gives the U.F.P. candidates' proportion thereof:—

LUSAKA CENTRAL	Mr. Sergeant	...	1	out of	77
LUSAKA WEST	Mr. Grindley Ferris	...	1	out of	142
LUSAKA EAST	Mr. Carlisle	...	7	out of	253
SOUTHERN	Mr. Beckett	...	41	out of	312
BROKEN HILL	Mr. Roberts	...	50	out of	266
NDOLA	Mr. Burney	...	10	out of	202
LUANSHYA	Mr. Malcomson	...	51	out of	205
KITWE EAST	Mr. Stanley	...	13	out of	132
KITWE WEST	Mr. Steyn	...	31	out of	255
MUFULIRA	Mr. Wulff	...	18	out of	295
COPPERBELT	Mr. Musumbulwa	...	67	out of	1,309
(Reserved)					
SOUTH CENTRAL	Mr. Kazokah	...	32	out of	1,198
(Reserved)					
EASTERN RURAL	Mr. Kidson	...	57	out of	1,267
WESTERN RURAL	Mr. Mitchley	...	63	out of	1,441
BAROTSELAND	Mr. Mumbuna	...	83	out of	408
EASTERN	Mr. Nkholoma	...	17	out of	644

Where did the African votes go? They went first to the Central Africa Party, wherever that party had a candidate. In the straight fights for East Rural and West Rural Sir John Moffat won 1,210 "specials" out of 1,267 and Mr. Franklin 1,378 out of 1,441. On the three-cornered contest at Ndola, Mr. Hunt received 181 out of 202.

In the crowded field at Lusaka West, where the African National Congress, from its Headquarters at Chilenge, judging

that Mr. Seal (C.A.P.) could not win, decided first to back Mrs. Siebritz (Ind.) and then hurriedly changed to Mr. Edmonds, the African voters largely ignored Congress, giving Mr. Seal 81 "specials," Mr. Edmonds 46, Mrs. Siebritz 14, and Mr. Derby nil—one less than Mr. Grindley Ferris (U.F.P.).

In the Eastern constituency, despite Congress instructions to the contrary, the Central Africa Party candidate, Mr. Gondwe, beat the African National Congress man, Banda, by 280 to 249 special votes, with 17 and 98 for the two African independents.

Oral Evidence

NORTHERN RHODESIA DIVISION OF CENTRAL AFRICA PARTY

(Mr. H. Franklin, Sir John Moffat, Mr. Gondwe)

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Franklin, my colleagues have all seen your memorandum, and I think it is fair to say that the first seven or eight pages are dealing with the background in history to the problem we are now facing. In para. 21 you begin with the matters in respect of which you think Federation has failed, and you deal first with Northern Rhodesia. You say much has been made of the attraction of overseas capital through Federation, but you say it was flowing before, and it would have been used more for the benefit of Northern Rhodesia instead of the south. You deal with the problem of Kafue and the Hydro-electric Scheme that did not come: then after some pages on the railway industry, in para. 26, you deal with what the Federal Government might have done and should have done. You refer to duty having been put on to things which Africans use like blankets, pots and pans and cotton prints: also the removal of the subsidy on maize and meal. You say the price of certain things has been reduced to suit the interests further south. You want to see a great widening of the franchise if the Federation lasts at all; and you say in para. 30 that you do not think the Federation has improved the health services for Africans. You draw attention to the amendments to the law in para. 31. Now in para 35(a) you say there is still hope, and you have suggested certain ways of achieving that hope. The first one would appear to be to devise an association of the Territories rather on the lines of the East Africa High Commission. You also give all sorts of alternative names for an association, but not Federation. You think the power ought to lie with the Territories. You feel a Territorial constitution ought to be framed parallel with a Federal one, and safeguards should be given if Federation remains to give Africans something like an equal vote now and a majority vote in ten years. You say that the Governor and all officers on the Executive Council should be retained for ten years at least. Then you go on to speak of a Bill of Rights, and a Council of State, and so forth. Would you amplify some of those points before we ask you questions? A. (MR. FRANKLIN): I would like to say a little bit more about (a) and (b) in para. 35. In the first place I have not attempted to say what I would like to see personally in an ideal world; I have attempted to say what I think is possible in a rather unideal world. If I might deal with the High Commission idea first, I imagine the members of the Commission probably know the present set-up of the East Africa High Commission. My idea is not quite the same as that. I would see a House of Assembly, a legislature based on delegates from the three territorial legislatures, multi-racial, official and unofficial, elected on a non-party basis by the legislatures, with a Council of Ministers to cover the subjects responsible, the Ministers in the first place to be nominated by the three Governors concerned.

I would retain, at the top a sort of governing Crown control, and having an assembly of officials would help to reconcile the Africans of the northern Territories—I suppose I should really only speak for Northern Rhodesia—because they still have a considerable regard for the Crown and for the Colonial Service, and in the case of Northern Rhodesia, the Governor. That is the sort of shape one wants if this idea is to be any good at all, to get all the leaders of opinion together and really find out the maximum association they would accept. Those are my ideas at the moment.

I think that in addition to the subjects I mentioned in the memorandum there are others which would fit in—scientific research, tsetse control, geological survey, the collection of income tax, auditing and banking; but there again it is a question of getting down to discussion with various leaders and finding out what would be accepted. I would think

the delegates should be in equal numbers from each territory, despite the fact that they are not at the same stage of economic development or population, but that is the way they run the East Africa High Commission, where the same question of equal development applies to some extent.

Q. Thank you. Would you like to add something on (b)? A. Well, Sir, it is impossible to work out a franchise with any practical degree of accuracy at all, to say that it will have such and such an effect at such and such a time. The speed of economic development, the progress of educational development, and so on, are always rather imponderables. If there was a copper slump next year and it lasted for two or three years it would put all one's figures out. I have worked out on the best figures I can get that if you made the qualifications for the vote—abolishing ordinary and special—what the present qualifications are for the special vote—that is £120 plus Standard VI or £150 plus literacy (filling in the form), that would produce an equal number of votes, roughly speaking, say next year. If you take the level of £120 and literacy—and you cannot fill in the form without a Standard VI education, so it really amounts to the same thing—it would in so far as any one can see in this extremely difficult computation, give something closely approaching an equal vote very soon, in a year's time.

That would mean, of course, that you would have a majority vote at the next election in five years, assuming a five-year period ran, but it would not, I think, mean African political control, owing to various factors of parties, and to the fact that the Africans so far have not registered to anything like the next maximum that the Europeans have. However, it would, I think, fairly clearly lead to major African political control in so far as voting power goes at the end of ten years; that is at the election thereafter. There again one would hope that would not lead to black domination in ten years. One cannot tell: you have to take the risk. But with the renewal of hope and faith of the majority of Africans in ourselves, in the local Europeans and the Government and the British Government, and so on, one would hope it would lead us to a genuinely multi-racial set-up, with the Africans becoming increasingly in the majority.

It seems to me, Sir, we should look at our task in this way: it is inevitable that after X period of time the African will be in the vast majority, if not 100 per cent, in all our legislatures, cabinets and so on. If one regards that as inevitable it seems to me that the duty of the Europeans and of the current governments is to see that that stage is approached peacefully and that by the time it is reached those black heads in cabinets and legislatures are educated with integrity; and also to ensure, if we can—and this I doubt—that there will be a few white heads left amongst them. Probably it will not happen, but by that stage no one is going to worry what colour the head is. That, of course, is ideal.

It is on that line of thinking that I regard the Territorial set-up, and it is really on that line of thinking more than anything else that I regard the Federation. The major thing about the Federation is that it is a colour irritation—a colour infuriant, if there is such a word—because hatred of the Federation is one of the very big things that prevents the multi-racial growth of Africans and Europeans together.

Q. May I see if I have got this right? You have been explaining why you want to see parity coming and then an African majority inevitably coming, and you are spacing it over a period during which they will be growing in educational facilities and other opportunities; and you say nobody can do a sum which will for certain bring the result you are after. Do you think a suitable and likely way of doing it would be to adopt for a single roll what are now the qualifications of the ordinary roll? A. Yes, Sir; I should drop it to £120 with literacy; abolish the £150 and Standard VI. After all literacy means the ability to fill in the form, which is Standard VI.

Q. Yes, that is the second of the alternatives in the list of special voters, and it drops from £150 to £120? A. Yes.

Q. Going back to (a) you are envisaging a certain number of subjects to be left to this agency, this High Commission or whatever we are going to call it, so that it will have a certain number of matters in respect of which it will be able to legislate. Am I right in thinking that the East

Africa High Commission really does not legislate except by consent of the constituent territories? A. I thought, Sir, that it did legislate on the subjects within its control.

Q. I am thinking of the budget. A. Yes, I believe the system is that it applies to the territories for what it needs, above its self-supporting services. It takes the revenue for itself.

Q. Taking the example of banking, do you mean in that area the legislation by the central authority would be effective—it would have to be to take the subjects into control? A. Yes.

Q. As I understand it, it would be something which would only be included as a subject of the agency by consent, but once included, the agency could legislate about it? A. Yes.

Q. So that the matters which you have put in (a) and to which you have added more items, there would be a legislative function for the agency to perform on its own? A. Yes, Sir; just as there is with the High Commission.

Q. I am trying to see what the fundamental distinction is between this suggestion and a form of Federation, from which you may have removed a number of contentious items and given them to the Territories. A. I am not an expert, but it seems to me that if the Territories control the finance, then really they control everything. The High Commission, as I understand it, runs its self-supporting services, like the post office, on its income, but it is dependent for a number of activities on finance from the Territories and also—it is a long time since I knew anything about the High Commission, but I did know seven years ago—my impression is that the three Governors who actually form the Commission get together and have a very considerable influence over what legislation the High Commission does pass. For example, I do not think the High Commission will ever increase, as has been done here, postal charges without discussion with the Territories and so on; and if they needed more money and the Territories did not want an increase in the postal charges, then the Territories would have to come in with some Territorial revenue.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: Mr. Franklin, there are one or two statements of fact in the memorandum which might appear to be a little misleading. I am sure you would not wish to mislead the Commission on any questions of fact. If you look at para. 16 of your memorandum, you say there that in the first place Southern Rhodesia's economic policy had led that country to the verge of bankruptcy. Have you any authority for that statement? A. I think I have, Sir. I can remember the great "to-do" in the Press, and although I cannot remember exactly now all the background, the tremendous adverse balance of payments—I am afraid I cannot give the names of people, but I was told by two senior civil servants that at one time they had had a letter from whichever authority it was, saying they would have to wait a month for their cheques. That was told to me by two reliable senior civil servants.

Again I am not an economic expert, but I have been told this and I have discussed this with very senior members of the party in this Territory. They know these things better than I do, and they themselves, although they would never say so publicly, have told me it was so. However, if it was never so then it should be easy to demonstrate.

Q. You have not actually examined the Southern Rhodesia Budget Statements for the years prior to Federation, or examined the rates at which the Southern Rhodesia loans were circulated on the London Market, and the enthusiasm with which they were taken up—have you gone into that? A. I read at the time the Government Budget Finance Statements as put into the Press, and I seem to remember that there was one loan which did not go at all.

Q. Around that time? A. I think so, yes.

Q. In para. 16 you also talk about the Government of Southern Rhodesia's bluff that if Federation were not quickly agreed to Southern Rhodesia would join the Union of South Africa. Have you any information that that did happen? A. I know it was one of the major points in the Press at the time.

Q. By whom? A. By Sir Godfrey Huggins. At that time Mr. Gordon Walker, who was Commonwealth Relations Secretary, had just been down to South Africa, just before the London Federal Conference, and he was rather badly

insulted by some of the South African Nationalist Ministers; he came through and back to London, very impressed with the fact that at no cost should Southern Rhodesia go into that dreadful country, South Africa. I can only say that I get my information from fairly top people in these matters. I may be wrong, but I do not think so. I can only judge by what I am told, and particularly the Labour Government, and, later the Conservative Government; because, as you know, they changed. It is possible Sir John may know more about that than I do.

Q. Would it surprise you to know that so far as I know no Southern Rhodesian at that time knew that there was never any suggestion of it. A. It would surprise me to know that. It was one of Sir Godfrey Huggins' arguments. These things were a long time ago. I do not know whether one could get at the Press for that day on somebody's files, but I think it would be found in the Press.

Q. Then in para. 17 you are referring to the Victoria Falls Conference; that was the Conference in September, 1951, presided over by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, and delegates from the three Territories came along— A. There were two, the second broke up in a hurry because there was going to be an election. It is the first one I am referring to. I do not remember exactly when it was: it must have been 1950.

Q. At the Conference that we know as the Victoria Falls Conference there were a number of African delegates. A. There were none at the first conference, Sir Stewart Gore-Browne was allowed to go along as an observer. That fact, of course, can be verified from Government files. A. (SIR JOHN MOFFAT): Sir, I referred to that this morning. The two local members of the legislatures were turned back at the Falls.

Q. Perhaps there is some confusion in what we are referring to respectively as the Falls Conference. I know there was a conference in 1951. Now on para. 22 you refer to the Kariba Scheme, and you say, "The Federal Prime Minister suddenly decided to disregard the agreement and put the Kariba Scheme first." Did he suddenly do it? A. He may not have suddenly decided in his own mind, but so far as the outside world was concerned he certainly suddenly decided.

Q. The facts are that there was some doubt as to which was the better scheme, the Kariba Scheme or the Kafue, and a French independent firm was appointed, who spent some considerable time in investigating the two schemes and went thoroughly into both of them, later submitting a report which was made public. In that report they came down heavily on the side of Kariba. Is not that correct? A. There were a number of reports at the time by Monsieur Coyne. None of them was immediately published. I recollect that this Government got a copy of one of them, because I was a Minister in this Government at the time; but I recollect that some were not made public for some time. It is my belief—and this, I am sure, could be verified because the reports must be somewhere—that Monsieur Coyne's first report came down for Kafue: and it was then thought by Lord Malvern that he should be asked to give far more attention to Kariba, and indeed a great deal of attention was then given to Kariba, and he produced another report.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: I happened to be a Minister of Southern Rhodesia at the time and that was not so. He was specially brought in on the agreement of the two governments to give a complete and unbiased opinion as to which was the better scheme, in the interests of the Federation as a whole.

CHAIRMAN: I suppose the reports are on record? A. They must be, yes.

CHAIRMAN: We must have them, and they will speak for themselves.

Q. MR. CHIRWA: Is it not correct there was a lot of controversy about this point, and Sir John might be able to explain that better, because he was directly involved? A. (SIR JOHN MOFFAT): They were two good schemes. The material point here is that it had been agreed between the Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Government of Northern Rhodesia before Federation came about, that Kafue would proceed. This is a matter I brought up in the Federal House. I said I was aware of this fact, and it

was not contradicted. This agreement had been reached before Federation and was altered after Federation; that is the material point. There may have been good grounds for altering it, but nevertheless it was altered. A. (MR. FRANKLIN): The essence of the thing is that Lord Malvern said himself that the government was faced with great difficulty in deciding between two good schemes. That being so, one would have thought he would have been bound by a signed agreement; but I think a good witness in this matter would be the then head of the Electricity Commission—I think his name is Ward.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: Yes. A. I think Mr. Ward himself, Sir, who is a great expert, will give you evidence, if he feels he can, of this Kafue-Kariba controversy.

Q. MR. ROBINSON: Also on a point of fact in para. 21 you say you would not have experienced restrictions on borrowing from the Loans Board and you would have had the Kafue undertaking. Can you tell us why you make this statement? A. As regards the Loans Board, I can remember, as a Member of this government, the Member for Finance complaining and going through various papers with me. We had to defer putting forward a loan at one stage; I remember that. Again, I have not got a very good memory for details, but I remember that there were several occasions, as a Member of the Government, when there was a great deal of difficulty with the Loans Board. Again, Sir, the most accurate report on this you could get from the Minister of Finance.

Q. And the second point? A. Well, we would have had Kafue if Kariba had not come along.

Q. Where would you in Northern Rhodesia have raised the money for Kafue? A. We had all the money in sight. We had tremendous reserves and balances—I cannot remember the figures, but again the present Minister of Finance can give you all the documents.

PROFESSOR CREIGHTON: I would like to return to para. 35(a) and ask Mr. Franklin about the constitution of the body which he proposes to take the place of the existing Federation. As I understand it, he proposes a body and gives the analogy of the East Africa High Commission, which would be composed of an equal number of delegates from each Territory, elected by the legislature of those Territories. A. Multi-racial, and officials and unofficials alike.

Q. Yes. This is not an unusual form of institution. It follows the Senate of the United States of America which was composed and elected in this way. Then you go on to ascribe a certain number of functions to this body, including the collection of income tax. This would seem from the outside to be a fairly typical federal constitution, equipped with a certain number of Federal functions including the collection of income tax. I gather it is not really to be a financially independent body, but merely to be empowered to collect the taxes, which it must immediately hand over on some arrangement, and is merely given a certain stipend from the Territories to proceed with, plus the revenue of its earnings from the governmental services which it has under its control.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: You do agree that Southern Rhodesia has had self-government since 1923 in this particular line? A. Near self-government.

Q. Now with your official and unofficial in your Federal House, do you not agree, so far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned, she would lose that self-government immediately? It is important from the point of the electorate of Southern Rhodesia. A. I follow that.

Q. I want to see where we are. Southern Rhodesia has self-government; it has an electorate and a floating vote there now. Do you for one moment imagine that the electorate of Southern Rhodesia, as they are presently constituted, would be prepared to accept the federal constitution with official members—I take it that is from the Colonial Office—with the Federation dealing with the main items of finance, and so on? It would be going back, say, forty years, as far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned, constitutionally. Do you not concede there might be a difficulty there. A. Oh, yes. I am sure there would be a difficulty, but is the electorate of Southern Rhodesia going to concede the same; and what are we to do with the two Northern Territories

and the great mass of their populations who will not stand for the Federation.

Q. Where we are dealing with matters of finance, economy and so on, it is to the benefit of the population, and we are trying to increase the earning potential—do you not think the constitution of that body or association—you do not want to use the word Federation—should be under the control of what I call civilised people who are in fact contributing to the wealth of the Federation? Must you go on the economic side purely at this stage, assuming the territories have their own individual legislatures with a franchise which will satisfy the various Colonies—do you not think the economy of the country should be in the hands of the people who are supplying the wealth? A. Sir, it is a common fallacy—speaking of Northern Rhodesia, and I imagine of Southern Rhodesia—that the European supplies the wealth. The wealth of Northern Rhodesia comes from copper. The copper is dug by Africans, and the scientific know-how is provided by Europeans. The African contributes just as much to the revenue of this country as does the European. As regards keeping the economic side of affairs in civilised hands, I am in the first place proposing a plan which should go with a most intensive plan of training and education; and it is my experience having been a Minister, that the really able people who keep the country going are Civil Servants. I may say I have also been a Civil Servant.

Q. MR. MOLSON: Would there be anything different in that state of affairs from what we have at present in the Federation? Would it not be appropriate, Mr. Franklin, that if officials went to represent the legislatures and governments, that publicly elected Members of the Southern Rhodesia Legislature could go and represent Southern Rhodesia at the same time—is that what is envisaged? A. That is what I mean.

Q. Would it not mean that in point of fact the general line taken by the delegation for the three Territories would be that laid down by the Government, and especially by the Finance Ministers in each of the three Territories. A. Yes, because the delegates from each of the legislatures would be under the influence of their own legislatures. I had not meant that Southern Rhodesia would contribute officials, but I do not think that was the Member's point. I think he meant that the Southern Rhodesians, although they would all be elected to this Assembly, would object to having officials from other territories on it.

Q. MRS. HUXLEY: Am I right in thinking that when you say you wish to see a great widening of the franchise, you intend that £120 and Standard VI would be a suitable qualification? A. Yes.

Q. That would not be a very great widening, as it is reducing it from only £150 to £120? A. That is not quite so. The special vote is a heavily de-valued vote. It can never count for more than a third of a vote, in fact it can be less, but it is never more than a third.

Q. And you will do away with the special vote and have these qualifications for the ordinary vote? A. Yes. There will be one vote.

Q. MR. CHIRWA: Do you not think the main objection of the African people against Federation is that it is connected with Southern Rhodesia, and the fear that as long as Southern Rhodesia is within the Federation it would dominate them; therefore if they want to get rid of Federation it means they want to get rid of Southern Rhodesia. They are also afraid that the policies which are adopted now in that country will in the end affect their territories. A. Those are major considerations, Sir. I think there are others, and they perhaps flow from those considerations. Other factors are that it is, so to speak, the same people in the Federal Party in their Territory exercising so much influence, and which are to some extent under the direction of the Federal Government in Salisbury. In my opinion there is also quite a national pride in being a Northern Rhodesian. I do say that applies to everybody, but I think it was shown particularly in this Kafue/Kariba thing. It has been shown in other respects too. It is a major factor.

Q. And do you think the kind of legislature you are suggesting would overcome those fears? Do you think the Africans would accept association with Southern Rhodesia? Is it not a fact they would still say, "we still have Southern Rhodesia in this association, and we do not want it"?

A. It may well be so, but what I have suggested is the only way that I can think of which would preserve some kind of federal association. I know that one top African nationalist leader—I suppose he is the top one now—does not think that something on these lines is at all a bad idea. He may have in his mind, though he has not said so, but I have gathered it from other things he has said, not only these three territories but possibly Tanganyika or something like that. My suggestion is that we should try to do something to preserve some kind of association, but only with the consent of the people. Let us get something the people will accept, if they will accept anything at all, and then go forward from there. A. (MR. GONDWE): I would like to say that we Africans in Northern Rhodesia and, I should think in Nyasaland, think that there has been nothing done by the Federal Government which would be interpreted in terms of advancing Africans, as we used to be under the Colonial Office.

Q. LORD CRATHORNE: Going back to para. 35(a), under your system your plan would not break down if you did not have Officials, would it? It would be all right if you had an equal number of representatives from the three territories? A. (MR. FRANKLIN): That plan would break down in this way, that while I do not suggest we could get African consent to this, I am quite certain we could not get African consent to any kind of association with a Parliament composed mostly of European politicians. I know it would not stand an earthly chance to start off.

Q. But they would not necessary be Europeans, would they? They would be Europeans from Southern Rhodesia probably, but not from the other two. A. As far as we can see from the Northern Rhodesia point of view, they would be for some considerable time.

SIR DONALD MACGILLIVRAY: On para. 35(b) you suggest the constitution should embody safeguards through the Bill of Rights, and also through the creation of a Council of State, and you say this Council would not include politicians. It would, of course, have to deal with pretty hot political matters, and you have suggested that the Council of State might consist of Appeal Court Judges. Would you have no fear that the complete independence of the judiciary might be put into jeopardy if it had to deal with these hot political matters? A. I must confess it had not occurred to me, Sir. I was thinking of this at a later stage, when the control of the Crown had gone—the individual, the Bill of Rights first, and this afterwards. I do not really know enough about the subject.

CHAIRMAN: I think the point Sir Donald has in mind, at least partly, is that there can be, can there not, discriminatory legislation which, on examination, is found to be on the whole worthwhile in spite of the fact that it can be regarded as discriminatory. If you asked the judges to decide this problem, they would also be deciding whether on balance it would be a good thing in the public interest. A. Yes, Sir, this, I suppose, must come up. I repeat, I am not an expert, but I suppose it must come up a great deal with the United States Supreme Court.

Q. Yes, there are those who think it does. A. Well, if it works there one would hope that it would work elsewhere, but how well it works, I do not know.

SIR DONALD MACGILLIVRAY: But you envisage the Council of State's decision should be final? A. Yes, once the Crown has gone.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: In para. 28, Mr. Franklin, you referred to the long battle that went on between Northern Rhodesia and the Colonial Office over the Citizenship Act and the Federal Franchise Act. I am afraid I do not know the details of that. Could you tell us very briefly what happened? A. Yes, I think, Sir John could tell you better. He was on the African Affairs Board at the time this went on. I was in the Government here, and the Federal Government did not want to give the vote to British protected persons. The Federal Government wanted Africans to take an oath of loyalty to the Federation, and those who did so were to go on to the Roll. The fact is that there was a long and protracted battle—that I know because I was engaged in it myself. A. (SIR JOHN MOFFAT): I was chairman of the African Affairs Board at that time, and we reserved both these Bills, the Constitution Amendment Bill and the Franchise Bill that followed: and we lost them.

MR. CHIRWA: Would you not say that was one of the big things that Africans resent, that did help in undermining the confidence that Africans had? A. The reservation by the African Affairs Board on those two Bills, and their being passed in spite of that reservation, had a very profound disturbing effect on African opinion, right through the whole protectorate.

MR. MENZIES: In fact, Sir John, have any other matters ever been referred in the history of the Board to the Colonial Office? A. No, Sir. I was Chairman of that Board, and there were various matters that arose which we considered differentiating measures.

Q. But that particular reference—was that a singular occasion, or had it happened before. A. I was going to explain, Sir, that I was perfectly well aware that the African Affairs Board had some influence until it reserved a Bill. We knew beforehand that when it reserved a Bill it was going to lose it, and the obvious tactic was try to wait for the reservation until this major issue arose—which we knew was coming. There were various matters in the Press and the Board was very anxious that we should reserve various measures, differentiating scales of pay in the Army and so on; but I knew the African Affairs Board had one shot in its locker, and we kept it for these Bills.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: Could you not just tell us what would be the effect of taking the oath of allegiance to the Federation instead of simply remaining a British protected person? Why was it such a serious thing? A. The reason was because the Africans felt no loyalty to the Federation at all, and they considered this requirement of taking an oath of allegiance to the Federation before they could vote was an indication of the approval of it. They were not prepared to do anything that indicated their approval of it. A. (MR. FRANKLIN): Or to abandon in any way their protected status, because they thought—and with good reason—that if they did this on a large scale the Federal Prime Minister, whoever he was at that stage, would immediately turn round to the British Government and say, "What is all this talk of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Africans being protected? They are not protected any more."

Q. It might imply the surrender of protection? A. Yes.

MR. ROBINSON: Are you wanting the Commission to understand that from the very start of the work of the African Affairs Board you believed that the United Kingdom Government would not pay proper attention to any matter you might refer to it in the normal conduct of its business? A. (SIR JOHN MOFFAT): No, I did not infer anything of the kind.

Q. My reason for asking is your statement that you realised that it was useless to deal with a number of minor matters, because you would only have one shot and you reserved it for major matters. A. That is fair enough. With the appointment of the Board and the examination of the Bills, it was quite obvious that no Federal Government was going to produce and publish a contentious law which might be reserved by the African Affairs Board and reserved by the Home Government: it was a risk they could not take. Obviously, before that they were going to cover themselves with the Imperial Government that it was acceptable. It seemed to me self-evident that was so. Also, I was blamed in a public speech by Sir Roy Welensky for reserving those Bills, because he said categorically that I should have realised the Federal Government would never produce any law unless it had cleared itself with the Dominions Office beforehand.

Q. With great respect I do not think that you dealt with my point. I am asking you why you have suggested to the Commission that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would not pay proper attention and independent attention to anything that you might see fit to reserve? A. I am not suggesting that. What I am suggesting is that it was obvious in those circumstances that when a Bill was published it had already reached a stage of agreement between the Federal Government and Imperial Government; that the reservation of power was merely a gesture which was not going to have any effect.

MR. MENZIES: My question originally started this; it related to the extent to which I read in the official correspondence the reservation on the franchise for Northern Rhodesia and it was claimed, I think, by the African Affairs Board on that occasion, that this was a piece of discrimina-

tory legislation. The matter appeared in the White Paper and it seemed to me that it was a singular occasion, that was the one occasion on which you had gone in that way to the United Kingdom Government. Was it that that created the feeling of disaffection amongst the African community? A. That is true, but we did it twice, it was the same thing. It was the enabling Bill that amended the Constitution.

CHAIRMAN: In substance one thing? A. Yes.

MR. CHIRWA: Mr. Franklin, you have travelled a great deal to meet the Africans in the villages and so on. You collected data from many places to which you have been. Do you think yourself that if it was left to the African people to put forward any scheme it would be possible for that scheme to operate if there is no agreement? A. (MR. FRANKLIN): If there is no agreement from the majority of the people any system will fail.

Q. Do you think there is any possibility of the present Federation in its present form being acceptable to the Africans? A. No.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much gentlemen for your attendance and for helping us. We are most grateful.

Memorandum

THE CENTRAL RACE RELATIONS ADVISORY AND CONCILIATION COMMITTEE OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

Central Race Relations Committee

1. The Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee is a statutory body established in terms of the Race Relations (Advisory and Conciliation) Ordinance, Cap. 223. A copy of which is attached. This Committee was first appointed in 1957 after consultation with municipal councils, management boards and other committees and associations. There are also sixteen District Committees. The membership of all these committees is representative of a wide cross-section of public opinion and includes persons from all communities. The functions of the Central Committee are set out in Section 9 of the Ordinance and they include the following:—

- (i) to take such action as it may consider desirable to improve relations between the people of various races within the Territory;
- (ii) to act as an advisory body to persons seeking advice or information on questions of race relations within the Territory.

2. Although an important part of the work of Race Relations Committees is connected with conciliation and the remedying of specific complaints and grievances, they have also the wider responsibility of advising on the general question of race relations. This subject cannot be dealt with in isolation for it is a relevant factor in all forms of human activity in this plural society since personal relationships affect the life and work of the people in all spheres of activity—economic, social and political. The political future of the Federation itself will be determined largely by the success or otherwise in achieving harmony between the races.

3. Little can be done to improve race relations if the constitution itself is found by any large section of the community to be inimicable (*sic*) to the attainment of harmony in daily life. This is why the Committee is vitally concerned with the work of the Commission. A constitution which commands the acceptance, confidence and loyalty of the people promotes a climate of goodwill and moderation in which good personal relationships prosper. Moreover, along this path alone lies any hope of creating a sense of Nationhood transcending racial and colour consciousness.

4. In the political field the main problem is at present the question of the franchise and representation. In the economic field, it is the matter of equal opportunities of advancement in employment for all races and of fair participation in the economic progress of the country. In the social sphere the main problems concern education and health and the existence of discriminatory practices in everyday life. All these matters are problems of race relations which are the particular concern of this Committee. It is not simply a question of seeing fair play for Africans or for Europeans. Nor is it a matter of ensuring that other minority interests, such as the Asians and Euro-Africans, are not forgotten. It is the problem of welding them all into a nation, and this cannot be done simply by

removing discriminatory practices. There must be a philosophy, a way of life, a racial harmony which is backed by the constitution and nurtured in congenial conditions created by the constitution. Re-framing of the Constitution and the enactment of laws are not, however, the complete answer to such problems, for even if the Constitution and the laws are based on a non-racial concept, much would remain to be done in the education of all the Territory's peoples to ensure that principles are put into practice and that the promise of the Constitution is not vitiated by the harsh realities of everyday life in a society which has not wholly accepted these principles.

Constitutional Background

5. Race Relations Committees are very conscious of the fact that the Federation itself was established on the principle of partnership. This concept is enshrined in the Federal Constitution and it was hoped that it would be adopted by the people as the basic philosophy of the Federation. The fifth recital of the Preamble to the Constitution runs as follows: "... and in particular the association of the Territories would foster partnership and co-operation between their inhabitants ..." This declaration underlined the need for the positive promotion of good personal relations between the races. This was reinforced in Northern Rhodesia by the adoption of the Moffat Resolutions. On 29th July, 1954, the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, with one dissident, approved these resolutions which, *inter alia*, called for the removal from each race of the fear that the other might dominate for its own racial benefit, and recognised that every lawful inhabitant of Northern Rhodesia had the right to progress according to his character, qualifications, training, ability and industry, without distinction of race, colour or creed. During July, 1958, a debate in the Federal Parliament on a motion based on the "Moffat" Resolutions ended inconclusively.

6. The Preamble of the Constitution and the "Moffat" Resolutions are two declarations on the policy of racial co-operation, and from them should flow the principles which determine Government activity in this field and which influence the activities of other organisations and individuals. It is, however, clear that despite these declarations people are not satisfied that partnership has been adequately put into practice. Partnership is not felt to have been implemented either quickly enough or widely enough and this feeling has created not merely impatience but cynicism as well. There is disbelief in the sincerity of those who have the power to implement the policy. Africans have little confidence in Federation because, among other things, they feel that they had virtually no say in its establishment and have had no effective influence over the subsequent activities of the Federal Government. There would be a happier community if there were now a Federal Constitution which commanded the confidence of all and had won the loyalty of all communities. That this is unhappily not the case is the measure of our dilemma.

7. It is vital that the general constitutional background of the Federation and of each of the three Territories should be conducive to racial harmony and goodwill and should be such as to permit the fullest participation in its life by all sections of the community. This would lead to the creation of a public opinion which will not tolerate discriminatory practices and will foster public confidence in Governments. At this point it would be well to note that the significance of the political advance in other African territories must not be ignored. Two Territories adjacent to the Federation are to achieve virtual independence this year under African political majorities. In 1953 the Federation was presented as an experiment in the establishment of a Central African community based on the principles of inter-racial co-operation and partnership. The experience of the last six years has confirmed the opinion of the majority of Africans in Northern Rhodesia that their original opposition was justified. The affairs of the Federation, they maintain have been conducted mainly by a European Government largely in the interests of Europeans and they do not concede that in this Territory any benefits have been forthcoming which could not have been provided by the Territorial Government. It must be recognised, therefore, that virtually all Africans (not simply their leaders or extremists) are opposed to the existing Federation and the opportunity must be taken now to devise some form of association which will have the support of all races.

Removal of Discrimination

8. The Central Committee does not advocate the immediate removal of all forms of discrimination. There are some discriminatory practices which may, at this stage, still be considered beneficial to the majority of the people; for example, the protection afforded to African land by the Native Reserve and Native Trust Land Orders in Council. There is also protective legislation in such fields as labour and health. It is possible that in this connection we can learn from the experience gained in framing the Nigerian constitution. In a plural society such as in this territory, there must be a period when some discriminatory legislation is justified to protect the politically weak from the politically and economically strong. In any future constitution protection must be afforded to all races and cannot be related solely to the interests of one race.

Safeguards against Discrimination

9. The existing safeguards against discrimination are (i) the powers of the United Kingdom in relation to the Federation and to the Territory and (ii) the African Affairs Board. It is considered that the powers under (i) should be retained, particularly those relating to the reservation of bills, the disallowance of laws, the competence of the United Kingdom to legislate for the Federation and the rule of repugnancy under the Colonial Laws Validity Act.

The African Affairs Board

10. The African Affairs Board was originally designed as the safeguard against discriminatory practices and, as its name implies, was established specifically to protect African interests. However, the Federal Constitution Amendment Act and The Federal Electoral Act undermined and discredited the Board in African eyes so that, to-day, it does not have their confidence. There has been political penetration of the Board and it is now widely held to be an ineffective safeguard and the tool of the party in power. There are six members of the African Affairs Board and four of them belong to the same political party. The Board cannot therefore maintain an existence independent of political party control. Another point is that it is now an anachronism. What we require to-day is a safeguard against discrimination for any community. We have been more concerned in the past with the protection of African interests, but in future we may need a safeguard to protect non-African interests. In fact the political minority of to-day will certainly become the political majority of tomorrow, and so the constitutional safeguard must be capable of working on behalf of any minority. It is clear, too, that whatever replaces the African Affairs Board—and an effective alternative must be found—must be able to deal not only with legislative discrimination but also with the executive and administrative acts ensuing from this legislative power.

Alternatives to the African Affairs Board

11. This Committee does not feel competent to make specific recommendations as to the type of safeguard which should replace the African Affairs Board. We are aware that difficult problems of constitutional law are involved. It may be that the answer lies in a second Chamber, a senate, a judicial safeguard involving the Supreme Court, a Bill of Rights enshrined in the constitution itself, a Council of State or some other device which provided a built-in safeguard in the legislative process. The Committee has considered these possibilities but feels that they have not the expert experience and knowledge of constitutional law which would enable them to make an effective proposal in this respect. We merely wish to point out that there is a need for the replacement of the African Affairs Board by a more effective safeguard against discrimination for all races. However, we do comment below on the possibility of a reformed constitution providing in itself a general safeguard against discrimination.

The Safeguard of the Constitution

12. We have pointed out above the need for an acceptable constitution which will lead to the promotion of confidence and good relations among the peoples of the Federation. There is also the need for a constitution which itself can provide a safeguard to ensure that the concepts upon which the Federation was founded are put into practice for the benefit of all. It may be felt that this might best be done by ensuring that the constituent territories of the Federation should have equal representation in the Federal Assembly. At the moment there is a great disparity between the representation of the Northern Territories and that of Southern Rhodesia. It may be that if

there were equal representation in the Assembly many of the difficulties outlined above will be reduced, for there is a widespread fear among Africans of domination by Southern Rhodesia. This fear has been intensified by the fact that the capital of the Federation has been sited, not only in Southern Rhodesia but also in the same city as the Southern Rhodesia Government and legislature, which are composed entirely of Europeans. Further, it is for consideration whether the franchise which sends these representatives to the Assembly should be that of the Territorial Government. In this way, each territory could proceed at a pace suited to it and there could be no suggestion that the Federal Government, for its own purposes, was restricting the franchise for the benefit of any particular community.

13. In this connection the Committee feel that it is first necessary to establish an acceptable relationship between the Territory and the Federal Government, based on an agreed division of functions, before any change can be contemplated in the relationship of the Federal to the United Kingdom Government. This is particularly so in view of the terms of the Preamble and the Protectorate status of the two Northern Territories. For the Federation to be a success there must be a unity of purpose amongst its peoples and a common loyalty overriding racial affinities. This means that the constitution must meet the wishes of the majority of the people and must be acceptable to them. It also implies that, in accordance with the Preamble, further constitutional progress by the Federation can be made only when the majority of the Federation's inhabitants so desire. One way to determine this would be by an extension of the franchise. If the qualitative franchise is to be retained the motive must be genuinely to ensure that the vote is only given to those capable of exercising judgment and not, as at present it appears to Africans, as a device to ensure the continuing political domination by Europeans.

Machinery of Government

14. It is fact that the Federal Constitution is itself a discriminatory instrument; but, as has been explained above, this is inevitable. The countries of the Federation are now moving forward to adult statehood and the time has come to reduce the discrimination contained in the constitution. It does seem to many, for example, that the division of agriculture into European and African is an unfortunate arrangement, as is the same dichotomy in the education sphere. There may be good reasons why sections of education should be administered on a racial basis, but it is open to argument that it should be controlled by separate Ministries and, indeed, by separate Governments. It does mean that the Africans, for example, look for their education to the Territorial Government and the Europeans to the Federal Government. Further, there can be little co-ordinated approach, in these circumstances, to social development in its widest sense. The problems of Federation are those of human relationships and their solution is made no easier by the constitutional division of responsibility for those services closely affecting the lives of the people. Such division makes difficult a co-ordinated attack on social problems. It is also a sound principle of central government administration that responsibility for a service should reside with that Government closest to the day to day lives of the people so that there can be an immediate application of policy based on local knowledge and experience for the benefit of the Territory. The principles upon which the division of functions depends are manifold, but it is clear that the most important ones are those of consent, competence, flexibility and experience. The basic principle in a Federation is, of course, that the functions handed to a Federal Government should be those which the constituent territories wish themselves to give up voluntarily to the control authority.

Functions of Government

15. The Committee wishes to comment on the following functions only, because they are the ones which most concern us:—

Education. In considering ways and means of improving race relations the Committee has frequently found itself considering educational matters. The Committee believes that the foundation of better understanding between the various races in the Territory (and in the whole Federation) should be laid in the schools. The Committee regards as particularly unfortunate the existing division of responsibility for the primary, secondary and technical education of Africans and non-



Africans between the Territorial and Federal governments respectively. This division means in effect that segregation is an integral part of the constitution of the Federation in a sphere where there is most need to create mutual understanding and goodwill. The Committee is well aware of the difficulties to be overcome before a fully integrated educational system could be made to work without any lowering of the best standards at present prevailing in either the territorial or federal systems. It realises that there are at present differences in language, culture and standards of living which call at some stages for different methods in education. It is convinced, however, that there are now fields of education, such as technical and senior secondary education, where the balance of arguments, both social and practical, is already in favour of a non-racial approach.

16. In December, 1959, the Committee, whilst recognising the constitutional difficulties involved, unanimously resolved that the question of unified technical education for students of all races was a matter of the greatest importance and decided to urge the respective governments to find temporary means of attaining the desired ends prior to the outcome of the 1960 constitutional talks. It was distressed to learn later that it had not been found possible to find such temporary means.

17. Ever since its formation in 1957 the Committee has been concerned with means to remove the marked lack of knowledge of the African's background on the part of European school-children. It has pressed steadily but unsuccessfully for the teaching of a main African language in European Secondary Schools as a compulsory subject. It has stressed the need in African Schools to teach a knowledge of European manners and customs. In particular it has emphasised the need to ensure that the education of African women keeps pace with that of the men. It has to be recorded with regret that little has so far been achieved at District Committee level to bring about closer co-operation between the schools of different races. What has been achieved in this sphere has been the result of individual enthusiasms and perseverance; where these have been lacking the existing constitutional separation of the races has served as a convenient excuse for lack of initiative. The unwillingness of certain European Parent/Teacher Associations to discuss these matters with District Committees has been particularly discouraging.

18. In view of its experience over the past two and a half years the Committee is agreed that it would be in the interests of better race relations and the full implementation of partnership if the education of all races was the responsibility of one government. Its experience and also its appreciation of the advantage of local control in matters such as education lead it to recommend that the responsibility for education should rest with the territorial rather than with the federal government. In 1949 the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council accepted as undesirable the continued separation of European and African education under different Secretaries (Ministers). Their coming together under one Minister was then accepted as a first step towards amalgamation. Even if separate school systems for European and non-European pupils had to be continued for a while under the one government until it were possible to bring all up to the level of the present best the Committee believes that closer co-operation and therefore better understanding could be achieved when one government is in control than under the present system. The extent and speed of such co-operation are likely to vary in each Territory, an argument in favour of territorial rather than federal control.

19. As regards higher education the Committee believes that no government should be in control. The principle of autonomy which applies to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be accorded to any other institution of higher education established in the Federation. It appears therefore to the committee purely a matter of fiscal convenience whether such institutions are grant aided, as they must always be, by the Federal or the Territorial governments.

Labour

20. This is a territorial subject and should remain so. It is a function which clearly affects the lives of the people of all races and is a sphere where races come into competition. The territorial government must retain control of labour movements from the villages to the towns, registration for employment and for identification purposes, the promotion of employment opportunities for all races, and the creation of

equal opportunities for apprenticeship and training. But all this does not create employment and it must be ensured that the economic affairs of the Federation are administered in such a manner that there is an equitable development of local industry and commerce throughout the Federation to provide suitable employment. The Committee is much concerned that the industrial and commercial development of the Territory should go forward and thus provide employment for those coming from our schools and training institutions.

Agriculture and Marketing

21. It is considered that Agriculture and Marketing should both be territorial subjects. Agricultural and livestock products are the same, whether produced by Africans or non-Africans, and the principles of production are basically the same. It is unfortunate that the subject is not only administered racially but by different Governments. We should encourage a class of farmers, stockmen and marketmen, not *African* agriculturalists and *European* cattle-owners, and so on.

Prisons

22. This is an unpopular service with any Government but it would be wise for it to revert to the Territorial Government, which already controls district prisons, so that it can be administered along with the allied welfare services and by the authority responsible for law and order.

Health

23. This is a social service which bears directly on all the communities of the territory and is one on which the majority opinion of all races is the same. And that opinion is that health should return as a territorial subject. Few would argue that the health service has kept pace with the requirements of the Territory. Indeed, many hold that it has deteriorated in standard and in the range of its facilities. Certainly many feel that the Federal administration of the health services has been a failure and has led to a good deal of unnecessary bitterness. Co-ordinated social development plans for all races can be better organised if health becomes a territorial subject.

Law and Order

24. Responsibility for law and order must remain a territorial subject. This is necessary for political and security reasons and in order to retain the essential autonomy of the territory as an independent political entity.

Administration and Executive Acts of Government

25. We have dealt with the distribution of legislative powers as between the Territorial Government and the Federation. But each depends upon the way in which legislative power is used and upon the executive acts and administrative measures which flow from the exercise of that power. Often it is these acts which have more effect on the population than the legislation itself. We can see this in the treatment, for example, of the various communities in post offices, hospitals, and so on. It is apparent again in the method of recruitment into the various departments of the Federal Government: for example, recruits into the post office to the same job are treated on a racial basis. Again, there may be an arbitrary exercise of such powers as those under the Immigration Act in the issue of passports, or differential treatment by such Federal agencies as the Grain Marketing Board. There is also the field where the Federal Government can have an influence by administrative means, such as in the work of the Railways Administration. Many feel that the Federal Government should have taken strong measures to ensure that there were better facilities for non-European travellers and better opportunities for advancement by non-Europeans in Railway employment. All these are fields where good race relations are vitally important.

Lusaka.

Oral Evidence

CENTRAL RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Representatives:

Mr. Mitchell-Heggs (Chairman)
Father Houghton
Mr. Mwela
Mr. Desai
Mrs. Smith
Mr. Christie
Mr. Martin Kaunda.

CHAIRMAN: I do not know if all of my colleagues happen

to have a copy of your memorandum : it came a little late for distributing. Perhaps you would not mind if I pointed out to you the main points ; I think we will all have an opportunity of going through it a little later.

First of all, you set out your constitution and the functions under Section 9 of the relevant Ordinance which include taking such action as considered desirable to improve relations between the various peoples within the Territory, and to act as an advisory body to persons seeking advice or information on questions of race relations within the Territory. You talk about the importance of the work in conciliation and remedying of specific complaints. You point out that there is a much wider responsibility which makes you anxious to come before us on these broader issues.

Paragraph 3 seems important — “Little can be done to improve race relations if the constitution itself is found by any large section of the community to be inimical to the attainment of harmony in daily life. This is why the Committee is vitally concerned with the work of the Commission. A constitution which demands the acceptance, confidence and loyalty of the people promotes a climate of goodwill and moderation in which good personal relationships prosper. Moreover, along this path alone lies any hope of creating a sense of nationhood transcending racial and colour consciousness.” You say that in the political field the main problem is the question of the franchise and representation : in the economic field, equal opportunities of advancement in employment for all races and fair participation in the economic progress of the country. You go on to say that this is really the problem, more than these specific things, of a welding of the races and interests into a nation. Then you come to the constitutional background. I am sure my colleagues will read all this at their leisure, but there is an important passage in paragraph 6 when you are talking about partnership—“is not felt to have been implemented quickly enough or widely enough . . . of our dilemma.”

Then you set out a little more about the background and say in paragraph 7 :

“The experience of the last six years . . . the support of all races.”

You then deal with the removal of discrimination and safeguards against it which will bring you later in your paper to the African Affairs Board. That you deal with in paragraph 10 and you say the African Affairs Board was originally designed as a safeguard against discriminatory practices. You say some amendments to the legislation were underlined and you say that it became or appeared to become a creature of the government of the day, an ineffective body. Something else would have to be put in its place. You say there ought to be something in its place? A. Yes. Not necessarily one, perhaps more than one.

Q. But there is an important thing in paragraphs 12 and 13, the safeguarding of the constitution. I will omit the first three sentences :

“At the moment there is great disparity between the representation of the Northern Territories and that of Southern Rhodesia . . . based on an agreed division of functions.”

Towards the end of that paragraph you say : “The constitution must meet the wishes of the majority of the people and must be acceptable to them. It also implies that in accordance with the Preamble, further constitutional progress can be made only when the majority . . . political domination by Europeans.”

Then under the machinery of Government you say it is a fact that the Federal Constitution is itself a discriminatory instrument, but this is in your view inevitable. You point out at the end of that paragraph that the basic principle in a federation is of course, that the functions handed to a federal government should be those which the constituent territories wish themselves to give up voluntarily to the central authority. Then you deal with education, labour, agriculture and marketing, prisons and health and you deal with administration and executive acts of government in dealing with problems on the Railways. A. Yes.

Q. I am sorry to have taken up your time. Some of my colleagues have not got this document, which will merit our careful attention. Is there anything you would like to add to it? A. No, I do not think so at this stage.

Q. Some people want to know what you recommend when you come to the functions of government about education—that is paragraph 15? A. We feel that education, being a matter vitally affecting the people of the territory, should be under the Territorial Government, and that the present position between two ministries and two different governments leads to inefficiency mainly on account of the apparently insuperable difficulties of getting joint action in certain respects. Also from our point of view fundamentally we feel the young people must grow up and develop together. Obviously, at an early stage the children speak their separate languages, and we do not advocate any complete co-education of the races at that stage, but we do feel there is a case at a later stage, particularly in the technical field and in the upper secondary school level. We have ourselves pressed for improvements on these lines, particularly in technical training, and we have been very disappointed to find nothing can be done in that respect.

Q. University education and technological education? A. Those of course, are dealt with separately, because we consider they are best left to the university which is not a government body at all, though Government-assisted. It has its own autonomy or should have its own autonomy.

Q. So that people may know what you have been saying later, you said this is a territorial subject and must remain so? A. That fits in with welfare being a territorial subject. It does rather cut across marketing and commerce which may or may not be Federal.

Q. Indeed, you may be given some advice about that. Agricultural and marketing in your opinion should both be Territorial? A. We do feel that.

Q. Agriculture would be European as well as African? A. We do not feel there should be such a thing as European agriculture any more than there should be European buses. It is illogical and unworkable. There is agriculture.

Q. On that last point while it is obviously quite illogical would you not admit that it is working very well as it is the present moment? A. No, quite frankly, no.

Q. Could you give us an example there? A. (MR. KAUNDA): It will interest the Commission to know that so-called European agriculture really depends to a large extent on the marginal areas—maize grown by Africans. I have lived for three years and come in contact with certain European farmers living near the African areas who bought maize from Africans at a very cheap rate of 30s. a bag. They packed it and sold it as European maize at 40s. a bag. These iniquitous practices creep in when you have agriculture broken up. You cannot separate agriculture. A man is a farmer whether black or white, whether from India or Europe. And our agricultural department is doing a lot trying to develop and improve agricultural farming by Africans. We have a suggestion here that agriculture be a domestic affair and not Federal.

Q. A European farmer who did that was breaking the law and should have been prosecuted? A. He was not.

MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS: I think Mr. Kaunda is trying to put that you do get these abuses with that sort of system which is very difficult to police at all.

CHAIRMAN: Also you say that is a social service bearing directly on the community and one on which majority opinion of all races is the same, that health should be retained as a Territorial subject. You say a co-ordinated plan would be better arranged if it were Territorial. I want to see the range of what you have covered. On prisons you thought they should refer to the Territorial Government—the district prisons? A. Mainly because of the welfare work which is so necessary. I am afraid there is a certain amount of racial discrimination in prisons too. It is not really fair to quote specific individual instances as an argument, but the general trend is illustrated by what is heard of European hard-labour prisoners sent down to Southern Rhodesia, posted to some European farm where they become the personal friend of the farmer, sit on the stoep and have their sundowner—no resemblance to prison life, and the whole object is defeated. I have tried to show what our main points are.

MR. WOODROW CROSS: I think I understand Mr. Mitchell-Heggs to say marketing and agriculture should become territorial. I think in the marketing of main crops to-day they reach the point where export has to be envisaged. You have

such things as the export of beef to the British market and the export of grain and tobacco. Do you not think that would possibly be better Federal than Territorial, because you have to deal with two territories. If you have two marketing systems dealing with one item from three territories could it possibly be to advantage to do all that marketing through one agency? A. I think Mr. Woodrow Cross has something there, but you can get over that difficulty by having one impartial body of which all races from all parts of the Territory are represented, which is not the case at the moment. At the moment, the rural African is, I am afraid, sadly neglected. His case goes by default. There is, we are aware, a great dissatisfaction for example in regard to the matter of price control in the matter of grain bags, the grading of things like ground-nuts. Even in the specification of what maize is acceptable. The African is prejudiced to some extent because he grows maize of the wrong colour and of course he has not got, except for certain areas of the Southern Province, the machinery for removing the cob, so he does that by hand and in many respects the sort of grain he produces is superior in result to what is produced by the Europeans. There are other features, of course. We could make a long list. I do not want to seem as if we are reprimanding anybody. It is matter which has been overlooked. There was I think, provision for a local Territorial committee but I do not think that it has functioned properly. I believe Sir John Moffat was on the Marketing Board one time and has left. I do not think there is anybody who knows about these things. Again, I think in the local field there have been stupid difficulties put in the way of the African rural farmer, being told he must take a cheque and cannot have cash for his goods. I think we sound as though we are advocating the case of the African, but as we are interested in discrimination that is why we mention this.

MR. CHIRWA: May I know whether in your dealings with the Race Relations Committee you have had the opportunity for making representation to Government on matters which discriminated against members of those communities? If so, what has been the action of the Government? A. We have made recommendations through the Northern Rhodesian Government to the Federal Government and in certain cases our recommendations have been accepted. In other cases we have not really met with the response that we wanted. We have been disappointed.

I do not want to hand out bouquets but I think on the whole the Territorial Government has met us. There has often been a delay. It has often been rather irritating but nevertheless the problems we have put up have been solved as far as the Territorial Government are concerned. Unfortunately, some of the other matters are still awaiting answer.

MR. CHIRWA: If you have something to say about local government we should be interested to hear it. A. A comparatively few years ago the African was not ready to take his place in local government, particularly in the urban areas, but to-day we have expressed concern that there is not a greater share in local government by Africans. We do not mean merely an advisory board but really councillors sitting in the municipalities with an equal say, which again is linked with the matter of votes—who shall put the councillors in and who shall be councillors. That is tied up with the present system whereby Africans on the whole are not classed as rate-payers, but I do not think you would want me to go any further than that, do you?

Q. No.

MR. ROBINSON: I get the impression from the evidence which has been laid that you find the Territorial Government more sympathetic to your representations than the Federal Government. Is that so? A. Yes, to be quite honest, that is the case.

Q. Can you tell me whether before Federation the process of breaking down the colour and racial discrimination was moving along rapidly and since Federation has slowed up considerably, or has the course of events been the reverse? What has been your experience before 1955 in respect of the rapidity with which the discriminatory practices were broken down and since Federation? A. There was progress before. I think the war probably came as the biggest stimulant but the progress was not sufficient. That is why the Northern Rhodesia Government set up a commission to go into this matter. Our Committee was the outcome of all that. That was purely a Territorial effort.

Q. When was that? A. Either 1955 or 1956—we have only been in existence for 2½ years.

Q. Would you say there was a general trend to improve the state of affairs as far as the breakdown of racial discrimination is concerned? You are an expert committee. Can you give us some idea as to what is actually happening both territorially and federally in respect of the colour-bar in its widest implications? A. We have examined this matter in a very wide field and we have also gone at it from a practical point of view on various specific problems. For instance, take the admission of Africans into shops—in those fields there has been a steady progress. It is only a matter of comparatively recent times when the Africans had to go to a little side ticket hole in order to get his groceries and so forth. All that has gone.

In the banks, too, the African customer is accepted. He stands with the other customers in the regular line and there has been considerable progress, but we have also come up against certain almost insuperable problems and we have had to advocate legislation. I do not think we wish to blame any government particularly for that sort of thing; that is the behaviour of the people: but on the other hand, as we have said, if there were more of a lead from the constitution and in the everyday carrying out of the functions of the Federation, that would engender a better attitude of the other side, of Europeans. We would have sympathy in dealing with these problems. To put it another way, the dominant race at the moment is living in a kind of a cloud cuckoo-land and they have not been brought down to earth. One must lay the blame to some extent on the Government concerned.

Q. Do I understand you correctly when you say that very slow progress has been made in trying to get expert opinion on this matter? A. I think things have progressed. I would say it is rather like Alice with the Queen—you have to run hard in order to stay in the same place. Things are moving fast, but not fast enough.

MR. MENZIES: Do you think it can be accelerated by legislation? A. I do not think legislation is the only answer. Human behaviour is the thing really.

Q. But do you think that can be arrested or accelerated by any form of coercion or legislation? A. Undoubtedly, yes. We have given this a lot of deep thought. We have made recommendations of that nature.

Q. Do they appear in your memorandum? A. No, we made recommendations to a select committee which was set up by the Legislative Council of the Territory. A. (FATHER HOUGHTON): It is the Ridley Report.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: I would like to ask Mr. Mitchell-Heggs this: you have said that virtually all the Africans are opposed to Federation. We have had evidence given to us from a number of people on that subject. It has been said that there is intimidation, misunderstanding of the purpose of Federation, lack of proper explanation and so forth. I wondered if you could give us some assistance as to why it is that your committee feels entitled to say what you have said about the opposition. Can you give a short statement, telling us who these ladies and gentlemen are, and the opportunities they have had of knowing the facts, and where they gained the information—in other words, to help us in interpreting the evidence here, and also the absence of evidence of people who do not come. A. (MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS): As you quite rightly say, we should not say that unless we feel confident; and we do, because individually we made sample censuses—not in a formal way, but we have discussed this matter with various people with whom we come into contact. Most of us are members of bodies on which the races are represented irrespective of race. Mrs. Smith, for example, is here on behalf of various voluntary organisations, particularly the women's organisations such as the Women's Institute and so on. The work they do is well known. Father Houghton, apart from his missionary work, both rural and urban, is in touch with a wide cross-section of Europeans and non-Europeans, Asians as well as Africans, as, of course, Mr. Kaunda is and also Mr. Desai. They are also on such bodies as the Waddington, which is becoming very well known, the United Northern Rhodesia Association, and other similar bodies. We all have opportunities of getting out into the rural areas too. Mr. Christie is from the Copperbelt. A. (FATHER HOUGHTON): For eighteen years my work has been entirely with, for and among Africans; and that eighteen

years includes the seven years that Federation has been in existence and the three or four years when it was under discussion beforehand; and I am bound to say in all honesty I have never yet met an African who is in favour of Federation. A. (MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS): We do not say they give logical reasons. Often the reason is emotional, and one might almost say instinctive.

Q. Supposing it was a mistaken fear in some cases, do you think it is an easy matter to remove it once it is there. A. (FATHER HOUGHTON): Terribly difficult. A. (MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS): It goes back such a long time, dislike of Southern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesian methods. It goes back to the beginning of the century, and there has been nothing done to alleviate it.

Q. I have made a note that you said there was this widespread fear of Southern Rhodesia. Does the same answer apply to that? A. I am afraid so.

Q. It may be illogical to some extent, but it is nevertheless there? A. Yes. You mentioned intimidation. We would not deny that there is intimidation. I think it is greatly exaggerated. Remember that your Press is controlled by Sapa, and they are naturally out for news. If they can point to any instance, they will.

CHAIRMAN: But you do not deny there is some intimidation? A. No, I think it is inevitably really.

MR. CHIRWA: Why do you think that? A. Naturally you have these people who are incoherent. They have not the same newspapers and opportunities and are not, on the whole, so favourably disposed to put their case forward; and although we deplore it, they resort to all kinds of ways that seem obvious to them. We must remember that the terrorists, from one point of view, are often patriots from another point of view. We do not advocate terrorism and we think it spoils the case for any one, but we can see why it arises. And, of course, intimidation is a form of terrorism.

Q. Do you think that if the franchise were widened to include as many people as possible, that would help to alleviate intimidation? A. I do not think they are related really. Intimidation can be suppressed by efficient police work. No civilised person will approve of intimidation. As regards the franchise, we have said we feel it should be a genuine system and not a device, just to control the majority, but a genuine system to ensure that we do have voters who know what they are talking about.

MR. GONDWE: What would you suggest as being an acceptable franchise which would include as many Africans as are capable of understanding what they are voting for? A. Of course, the Territorial franchise is designed—it probably could be improved, but on the whole it is not a bad scheme. It is progressive and tries to eliminate hostility between the races by trying to make the franchise completely irrespective of race and, by this progressive development, get rid of a special voter.

Q. Would you say the majority of Europeans in the Territory accept the present franchise as being reasonable? A. They ought to, because it means that every European can vote. He has only to go to the secondary school for a limited period. He does not have to pass out with a very high standard; and if he has three hundred pounds a year he automatically gets a vote.

Q. There is some fear amongst the Africans at present, though it is acceptable to some of the more moderate Africans, that Europeans, if it suits them, might in the near future advocate the increase of say the monetary qualification of the franchise in order to keep the Africans from swelling the votes. A. That would be wrong, and definitely immoral. We would not advocate that at all.

Q. Would you say their fear is well based? A. (MR. KAUNDA): At the present time. A. (MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS): That is why we feel these matters should be under some kind of control from the United Kingdom government.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: Can you give us some examples of the recommendations you have made to the Federal Government which have not received a sympathetic response from that Government? A. Yes. We feel, after going into this very thoroughly and having taken advice from experts, that the European child should have instruction in at least one African language. We even wanted an African language to

be made compulsory at some stage in schools, and certainly for voluntary facilities to be provided. We have been very much discouraged; and difficulties have been thought out.

Q. Are there any others you can think of, in any field? A. (MR. MWELA): Yes, at one time there was an idea to establish a technical college in Lusaka. I think people were mostly sympathetic towards that, for the young people. Then came a stumbling block, and that was that African education being Territorial and European education being Federal they could not find a way in which to establish this desire for technical education in Lusaka at all. There is no way of meeting together, because one is Federal and the other Territorial. There the matter stands, even at present, with the result that now the Ministry of African Education has decided to go on with this scheme for Africans only, leaving out the Europeans. A. (FATHER HOUGHTON): Recruitment for the post offices, I think, would be another example. Looked at in a vacuum, there seems no reason why recruits of equal academic status should not be treated in exactly the same way, regardless of race. In fact they are treated quite separately, both in training and in pay.

MR. MOLSON: I understand this Committee gave evidence before a select committee of the Northern Rhodesian legislature when it was considering whether or not it was desirable to introduce legislation regarding the colour-bar in public places? A. That is correct.

Q. I understand that the committee recommended in favour of special legislation? A. Yes, we gave oral evidence as well as some written evidence.

Q. When did they report? A. (FATHER HOUGHTON): January 19th.

Q. I wondered whether there has been any announcement of the Government's intention as to whether they are prepared to accept the recommendations? A. Yes, the Territorial Government is prepared to accept the report in principle. In fact the drafting committee is now at work.

MR. CROSS: I would like to ask Father Houghton this: you said a little while ago you had not found an African in favour of Federation. You have suggested as a group that the reversion of certain subjects from Federal to Territorial would be advisable, and you have also mentioned that discrimination is to be done away with. Do you think all these methods would in any way alter the Africans' point of view about Federation, and if you do not, what other suggestions can you put forward? A. I think practically the only hope is if you could take this Federation apart and put it together again, bearing in mind the sort of thing Mr. Cross has mentioned. You might then have a hope. In particular I would think that the departments that ought to revert to Territorial control would be health, education, agriculture; and I think any suggestion that the police force should become Federal should be resisted. I do not know whether I am at liberty to go further . . . ?

CHAIRMAN: Yes. A. I would tie in with that the point we made in our memorandum to you about parity in the Federal Assembly—parity between the Territories—and also the other point mentioned in our memorandum, that each Territory should be free to elect to the Federal Assembly on its own Territorial franchise. If those things were done there might be a difference of feeling. There are odd things like that which could be done.

LORD CRATHORNE: What do you think about the siting of the Federal capital? A. It was crazy to put it in Salisbury in the first place. A. (MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS): We all feel that.

Q. There would be a great degree of difficulty about moving it. A. Probably the buildings could be absorbed in some way. There are ways of overcoming it, but it is a fundamental difficulty. A. (MR. KAUNDA): It should come to Lusaka, I consider. A. (FATHER HOUGHTON): It could be taken up on the high land outside Livingstone, where the international airport is. A. (MR. KAUNDA): It would be neutral ground.

MR. ROBINSON: It is a long way from communications. However, you say that after eighteen years of missionary and church work in this country you have never met an African who has expressed an opinion in favour of Federation. Do you really seriously suggest that is the case? A. (FATHER

878

HOUGHTON): I said in all honesty that I could not think of one. I repeat that.

Q. You have never met one of the African ministers? A. One of them is a member of my congregation, yes.

Q. Or any of the African members of the Federal Party? A. I have met them all.

Q. And all of them are against Federation? A. I did not say they were against it, but I said I had never met one who, to my knowledge, was in favour of it.

MR. KATILUNGU: I would like to know, from your experience in dealing with legislation, whether to-day we are making an improvement in achieving multi-racial representation in both the Legislative Council and Federal Parliament. A. (MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS): In the Federal Parliament you have your special voters, but they have such a limited franchise, do they not? They are a different category from our territorial voters who do have two votes and put in a considerably larger number of M.L.Cs. In other words, the Federal franchise was an improvement on the old one in some respects, but not enough. Again, take the Constitution. There are certain things in the Preamble which are quietly forgotten about afterwards. We all forget what the United Nations Charter lays down. That has a Preamble which lays down about equal rights of men: there are Articles 55 and 73, which really give us a blue print as to what we should do. It gives equality of rights, freedoms, to everybody; and the duty to develop local institutions in progressive ways. In other words, it is wrong to stay still: we must go on developing so that at the moment the people who are disfranchised, as they come up to the level, they can be enfranchised without delay.

MR. CROSS: May we assume, Mr. Mitchell-Heggs, that it is the considered opinion of the Central Race Relations Committee that the present Territorial franchise should remain as it is? A. Yes, I think so. After all you have your headmen and your councillors and so on. It could perhaps be improved in certain ways. We have not gone into it in detail.

Q. But generally you think it is all right as it stands? A. Yes. It was very well thought out. A. (MR. MWELA): Yes, but even then it is not the perfect franchise. There is room for improvement.

MR. CHIRWA: On the franchise, I think it has been suggested by many people, including people outside these Territories, that when you have two sets of franchises, you are actually encouraging racialism, and that the basis should be a common roll which would take in everyone. Do you think it would be a good thing in these Territories in Central African to work towards a common roll instead of having two forms of franchise, because those who are on the special roll feel they are being differently treated. A. (MR. MITCHELL-HEGGS): Yes, it is difficult. Of course the machinery allows for the special voters to become the same in time. Perhaps the nomenclature is wrong, and perhaps the special voters should be called ordinary and the ordinary ones called special. We do know there is a feeling of being a "second-class citizen"; just as at the bottom of the form it says, "Do you also wish to have your Territorial vote?" Everybody who put "Yes" there felt that he was, in some measure, subscribing to Federation. Therefore he will not say that, because if he did, although he would get his vote, it would imply acceptance of Federation.

LORD CRATHORNE: That is why a lot did not register, I suppose? A. Yes, I imagine so.

Note.—Three letters commenting on the Memorandum of the Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee were received subsequent to the date of the above oral evidence given by representatives of the Committee, and are reproduced below as annexures to the evidence.

Annexure I—Letter to the Secretary General from the Commission from R. J. Macfadyean, dated 18th June, 1960. Lusaka

Dear Sir,
Memorandum to the Monckton Commission from the Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee of Northern Rhodesia

As a Member of the Lusaka District Race Relations Con-

ciliation Committee, I would like to dissociate myself from the above Memorandum.

Having read this document my first reactions were to resign from our local Committee, but feel that this letter may serve a more useful purpose.

In the first paragraph of the Memorandum it seems to infer that the various District Committees were consulted. As far as the Lusaka Body is concerned, I can assure you that this was not the case.

It is my fear that some members of the Monckton Commission may be under the impression that this document contained the collective views of the various District Committees. It is, however, to be emphasised that this is not so, and I am sure that some members of the District Committees may wish to dissociate themselves from the many observations put forward in this document.

This document contains reference to matters of a far more political nature than those affecting the day to day personal relations between the races, and I feel that if this document were published it might put Race Relations Committees into disrepute with the public.

I would also like to make reference to the fact that the members of the Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee are independent persons and do not serve on any of the District Committees, and as such I contend that this Memorandum should not have been submitted without prior consultation with Members of the District Committees.

It is surprising to note that this document does not bear the names of the persons having compiled same, and I wonder whether this Memorandum was the work of The Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee or of a few members of that body.

Finally I feel that I should make brief reference to my background in order that you may gauge my standing in the community. I was born here in Lusaka and have lived in the Federation practically all my life. I am an Auctioneer and Estate Agent by profession, and I have served on the Lusaka Municipal Council for 5 years, having been Chairman of the African Affairs Committee in the 1959/60 Mayoral year.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) R. J. Macfadyean.

Annexure II—Further letter to the Secretary General of the Commission from R. J. Macfadyean, dated 27th June, 1960. Lusaka

Dear Sir,

Memorandum to the Monckton Commission from the Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee of Northern Rhodesia

Further to my letter of the 18th June in connection with the Memorandum submitted to the Monckton Commission by the Central Race Relations Committee, I have now had an opportunity of giving further consideration in detail to the contents of the memorandum. As a result I wish to submit to the Commission certain additional comments on this memorandum, and particularly on the fact that there are contained in it certain statements which are misleading or inaccurate.

The comments I wish to make are as follows and in making them I have not taken into consideration the political implications of many of the Committee's remarks since I do not consider that any member of a Race Relations Committee is in a position to do so, or in fact should do so.

(a) With reference to paragraph (6) of the memorandum; in this paragraph the Committee claims to put forward the views of the "people" of the Territory, but some of these views belong to only a portion of the population and there are many others, of all races, who would disagree.

(b) Paragraph 7. This paragraph ignores the fact that the majority of matters affecting the day to day life of Africans are dealt with by the Territorial Government and by this Government only. On the other hand it also ignores the fact that the sound government particularly in the economic field, provided by the Federal Government, has been to the benefit of all races and will continue to be.

(c) Paragraph 23. Again the Committee takes upon itself to quote what it claims to be the majority opinion of all races. I cannot accept that they have sought such a majority opinion. I would agree that the health service has not kept pace with the requirements of the Territory, but neither did it before Federation.

(d) In paragraph 25 there are certain suggestions which give a completely inaccurate picture. For example with regard to the suggestion that differential treatment is given by the Grain Marketing Board, the Committee are apparently not aware that the Grain Marketing Board makes no differentiation whatsoever in dealing with farmers of any race. The payment by the Board for maize is the same whether it comes from a European or an African farmer but subsequently the Territorial Government imposes a levy on the African farmer which is paid into the African Farmers Improvement Fund to be administered by the Territorial Government.

Again with regard to passports, the Committee is apparently not aware that passports for British Protected Persons are issued by the Federal Government on the recommendation of the Territorial Government.

Finally I cannot let pass the implication in this paragraph that the Federal Government has done nothing to help in the matter of African advancement on the Railways. In fact of course the Federal Government (and both the S. Rhodesia and N. Rhodesia Territorial Governments) have exerted a great deal of influence in this direction.

Further study and consideration of the memorandum has done nothing to remove my concern that a document of so biased and political a nature should have been submitted by a body such as the Central Race Relations Committee. My distress is even greater because of the implication that the Committee is putting forward the combined views of members of Race Relations Committees throughout the Territory, and I would reiterate my complete dissociation from the Memorandum.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) R. J. Macfadyean.

Annexure III—Letter to the Secretary General of the Commission from W. H. Olds, dated 5th July, 1960. Livingstone

Dear Sir,
Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee
of Northern Rhodesia

I refer to the memorandum submitted by the above-mentioned committee and wish to lodge my objections as Chairman of the Livingstone Branch.

My comments are given against their paragraph numbering.

1. Mention is made of the wide cross-section of public opinion emanating from the sixteen District Committees in a way suggesting that these committees had been consulted. This is not the case. The Central Committee's unsigned memorandum is, in short, unrepresentative and comprised of inaccuracies, exaggerations and misleading half-truths.
5. This paragraph is typical of the memorandum in that it gives no credit for the considerable strides made by the Federal Government in winning the voting public over to the acceptance of multi-racialism not merely as inevitable but rather as the desirable goal of any plural society.
6. The fact that Africans, like Europeans in the Northern Territories, were not consulted over the establishment of Federation, was a very minor cause for discontent. Lack of confidence or, more accurately, suspicion arose from the sudden uncommunicativeness of civil servants in the Northern Territories to whom the Africans had always turned for advice and received it. Had the Federation enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the Northern Governments through their servants, the attitude of many thousands would have been more favourable to its establishment.
7. It is untrue to say that "virtually all Africans are opposed to the existing Federation." The majority of Africans do not clearly understand their own territorial entities and only a small minority appreciate the concept of Federation. Of the latter, the majority do speak to-day against Federation but, by and large, in hackneyed

political phrases that do not stand up to ordinary scrutiny.

10. This is good sound sense, and, at last, multi-racial in outlook.
15. It is interesting to note that "for the Federation to be a success there must be a unity of purpose amongst its peoples and a common loyalty." This however, is followed by many suggestions whose essential theme is the disintegration of Federal functions and the destruction of a national patriotism.
18. Far and away the greatest opportunity for the creation of patriotism in its broadest sense, is the ultimate expansion in the Federal sphere of education on the racial pattern of our University. The Central Committee's recommendation is insincere and in accordance with their overriding anti-Federal outlook.
- 21 and 25. This recommendation lacks substance. No mention is made of the present territorial grain marketing or that the levies pay no heed to colour.
22. The comments on health are the "most unkindest." The benefits since Federation have been enormous.
25. The criticism regarding passports is difficult to follow. I can only make the point that their issue by the Federal Government to British Protected persons in Northern Rhodesia is made on the recommendation of the Northern Rhodesia Government.

These criticisms are my own. I am not a member of any political party. You may use or publish them as you wish.

(Sgd.) William Henry Olds.

Memorandum

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

Letter from the Secretary to the Secretary General of the Commission

Dear Sir,

The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia wishes to take the opportunity to give oral evidence before the Advisory Commission on the Federal Constitution when the Commission visits the Federation. The headquarters of the Christian Council are in Lusaka, N. Rhodesia.

I should like to draw your attention to the text of the following resolution passed by the Christian Council on July 3rd, 1959. [Quoted in full in the Foreword below.]

The reasons which led to this resolution being made are outlined in the pamphlet "Where Do We Stand?" section II pp. 4-9 (and especially Sub-Section E). The Christian Council wishes to give oral evidence in support of the foregoing statement and related issues.

Lusaka

7th January, 1960

'Where Do We Stand?'
1960—A Christian Viewpoint

A Statement approved by the Executive Committee of the
Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia

Foreword

At the Eighth Meeting of the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia, held at the Mindelo Ecumenical Centre on June 30th-July 3rd, 1959, the Council accepted the following resolution:

"The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia (recognising the opposition to the concept of Federation which already exists among the great majority of the inhabitants of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland), believes that any increase in the powers of the Federal Government toward complete autonomy within the Commonwealth may only rightly be granted when it is based upon the full consent of the majority of the people of the Federation.

"The Council is convinced, in the interests of the future unity, peace and prosperity of the Federation, that no attempt should be made to grant such an increase of powers until such time as the extension of the franchise



makes it possible for the majority of the people of the Federation to declare their desires."

The Council also appointed a Select Committee to study the issues involved, and to report to the Executive Committee, who would then take suitable action. As a result, the Select Committee submitted a document to the Executive Committee which, at a meeting on November 4th, 1959, was amended and approved for publication in the form presented herewith.

It is more than a hundred years since David Livingstone came to this country to "open a path for Christianity and Commerce." What he so nobly began would seem, under the Providence of God, to have greatly prospered. In town and country the Word of God is proclaimed and European and African Christians work and witness to its eternal power and truth; and equally, throughout the land, great evidence of man's skill and ingenuity may be seen. The combination of European scientific and technological talents with the African's labour for a small return, applied to the mineral and other riches of the land, has made possible a high standard of material life for the European and great financial rewards for the investors behind him, while releasing vast sums, which would otherwise not have been available, for the improvement of the material lot of our African citizens. We should be the first to acknowledge this, and to praise God for His bountiful mercy in creating the conditions in which such an outpouring of Christian witness and man's natural skill and resourcefulness have been made possible. But while we do this we are deeply conscious of the dark under-side to all this appearance of Christian work and economic progress, of the perverse tides of prejudice and fear that are running fast and deep in the minds of our fellow countrymen, of the pressures (outside as well as within our borders) of an increasingly self-confident African nationalism, of the weakening and corrupting materialism that is poisoning the souls of large numbers of Europeans and Africans, and of the lack of a firm and realistic relationship of mutual confidence and respect between our European and African citizens.

Out of our conviction that, at this crucial stage in the development of our country, Christians of all races should come to a fuller understanding of the will of God, we wish to describe our situation and to propose certain bases for prayer, thought and action which, we believe, stem as a result from the Divine imperatives of the Christian Gospel. That our vision is impaired and our understanding of God's will imperfect, we freely and humbly acknowledge. But we believe, nevertheless, that we are called to proclaim the truth as it has been given to us to understand it. We rest confident that God the Holy Spirit is guiding His Church, as Our Lord promised, into all truth; and that He will correct and fulfil, according to His perfect love and wisdom, all that is here set forth. We offer it to Him, in faith, for His praise and glory.

I—The Basis for our Concern

We believe that Holy Scripture and the life and teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ lay upon us the responsibility for a concern with the life of man in all its manifestations. Our Christian faith includes certain convictions regarding the nature of man and society and of God's Providential purposes proclaimed in Jesus Christ. These principles cannot be confined to our theological textbooks: we must see that they are applied in the particular societies in which we are called to serve. The following are the most fundamental of them:—

A—God's Work in Jesus Christ for all Men

God, in becoming man in Christ, has demonstrated that all individuals, irrespective of race or colour, share a common human dignity as those for whom Christ died and whom He calls to share with Him the blessings of His Kingdom.

(John 10, 10 :

"I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

John 12, 32 :

"I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

John 3, 16, 17 :

"For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world: but that the world through Him might be saved."

John 1, 9 :

"That was the true Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

Matthew 18, 11 :

"For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost."

Also: Luke 9, 56 ; Galatians 3, 26-28 ; Colossians 3, 11.)

B—God's sovereignty over all the world

God is ruler of the world as well as Lord of the Church: and hence the Church does not exist for itself, but the world. (Romans 8, 22 :

"For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain until now."

Colossians 1, 16, 17 :

"For by Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things were created by Him and for Him: and He is above all things, and by Him all things consist."

Matthew 28, 18, 19 :

"And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying: 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations . . .'"

Mark 13, 31, 32 :

"Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. But of that day and that hour knoweth no man: no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father."

Matthew 5, 34, 35 :

"But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is His footstool."

Matthew 5, 45 :

"For He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."

C—God's concern for human life, and our resultant responsibilities

God seeks the total well-being of His creatures and therefore in every human being Christ Himself comes to claim our service.

(Luke 10, 25-37 :

The parable of the Good Samaritan.)

I John 3, 17 :

"But if anyone has the world's goods and sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him?"
(R.S.V.)

Matthew 25, 31-46 :

. . . "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me."

Matthew 6, 32, 33 :

. . . "For your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

Matthew 6, 11 :

"Give us this day our daily bread." (Dietrich Bonhoeffer commented to the effect that "my daily bread is a material problem for me; my neighbour's daily bread is a spiritual one.")

Also: Matthew 20, 25-28 ; Matthew 5, 6, 7 & 9 ;
Matthew 5, 44.)

D—The spiritual powers of evil as a factor in every human situation

Every human effort is impaired by the effects of sin and by the resultant opportunity afforded to the spiritual powers of evil. Unless this is realised in humility, idolatry and false ideology may develop. Man needs constantly as a result, to be reminded that without Christ he can "do nothing" and that the sanctifying and corrective power of the Holy Spirit needs to be brought to bear on all human situations and plans.

(Ephesians 6, 11, 12 :

"Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

Luke 22, 53 :

"But this is your hour, and the power of darkness."

John 12, 31 :

"Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out."

I John 5, 19 :

"And we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness."

E—God and Cæsar

Holy Scripture teaches us that the Church is concerned for the continuous transformation of human society but is bound to no social or political system in an absolute way. "*The powers that be are ordained of God*" (Romans 13, 1)—but this calling, this 'ordination,' is to serve in accordance with the will of God. The State to which individual man yields up some of his freedom of action in the interest of the community as a whole is part of the Providential ordering of man's life. But the State, with the whole world, "*lieth in wickedness*" (I John 5, 19). The State's authority rests on the consent of the governed, and is expressed by force, mediated through law and the State's servants; the Church's authority, on the other hand, rests on her union with God in Jesus Christ; it is expressed by love and mediated through her freemen.

Under normal circumstances the Church is bound to support the State and the forces aimed at preserving law and order, but this obligation is qualified by the Church's higher loyalty to the law of God. Where the State is misusing its stewardship of power; where it is not adequately fulfilling its function of protecting the God-given freedom of all its citizens; where it is favouring one section of the community to the detriment of the others, then the Christian is called to protest and to take whatever action is compatible with the Christian Gospel. In this context St. Peter's words to the High Priest (Acts 5, 29) are pertinent: "*We ought to obey God rather than men.*" Or, in the words of the statement by the 1947 Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, "*Since we believe in the Holy God as a source of justice, we do not consider the State as the ultimate source of law, but rather its guarantor. It is not the Lord but the Servant of justice. There can be for the Christian no ultimate authority but very God.*"

II—The Facts of our Situation

Much has been written—and said—of the situation in our country, of its historic, economic, political and religious background, of the reasons for our present confusions. We can in this statement only present the fundamental issues with which we as Christians are faced, stating them on the authority of many years of missionary activity within both African and European communities.

A—The prevailing ideologies

In our situation both European and African experience a certain "lostness," a lack of the stabilising reality of abiding human relationships and of a firm social and political framework in their communities—and seek reassurance and security. As a result each race tends to base its attitudes towards the other upon a series of half-truths—half-truths which are tenaciously held and are highly resistant to logic because they perpetuate the self-interest of each group.

- (i) "The African"—according to prevailing European opinion.

The African, it is asserted, is still "the primitive savage" who needs governing, protecting (from himself), and "civilising." (A standard comment descriptive of this attitude is: "*If you want to know what the African is really like you should see how he lives in his village.*") Hence, it is held, the African needs the protection and tutelage of the "civilised" white man—and it is necessary therefore to maintain the white man's dominant and privileged economic, social, and political position. A further development is expressed in the self-righteous cry: "*Look at all we've done for these people*"—which in turn justifies the complacent European attitude that enough is already being done for the African. The majority of European political thinking within the Federation is squarely based upon this ideology. In its extreme forms it expresses itself in the euphemism of "separate development" and the appeal to European

racial solidarity on the narrow front of self-interest. In its more moderate—and much more widely-spread form—it expresses itself in the principle of "gradual evolution"—which in practice up to the present has meant the authorisation of African social, political and economic emancipation only at a pace and to a degree acceptable to the majority of Europeans. This pace has been and still is unacceptable and frustrating to the African people: and because it is governed primarily by racial discrimination and the European's fear of losing his privileged economic and social position rather than by the dictates of reason and justice it cannot be acceptable to the Christian Church.

We should, of course, also be aware of the opposing myth by which a small minority in this country and a larger number of people in other parts of the world are considerably influenced—namely that of the African as "the noble savage," whose every instinct, tradition and wish is automatically and uncritically to be accepted as valid and good. The African is as much subject to sin as his European brother. However much his former isolation from the rest of the world may have preserved a pattern of social relationships within the family and the community which we might well envy, he is now rapidly moving away from the isolation of the rural environment which made this possible. His claim to be accepted as a member of a Westernised industrial society demands of him a willingness to accept the general norms of right behaviour in that society, however much his own cultural influences and traditions may ultimately colour and mould them into something truly "African."

- (ii) "The European"—according to prevailing African opinion.

This goes back at least to the beginning of the African's contact with the European in industry and commerce—whether here or elsewhere. His understanding of the Gospel was inadequate to enable him to relate the Divine injunctions to the challenges and tensions of urban life, and to prepare him for the experience that Christianity and a white skin were not synonymous.

In any case, being removed from the old security of the tribal framework the African too seeks for security, for the resolution of his uncertainties. To this must be added his disillusionment at the un-Christian attitudes of many Europeans, and his bewilderment at being involved in such a rapidly developing social, political and economic situation. And so the ideology has developed which shows the European as an oppressor, as someone only interested in the perpetuation of European privilege at no matter what cost to the African, as someone not to be trusted but only (more and more grudgingly) obeyed. In turn this encourages the African in his "black nationalism," which provides both unity for the present and the hope of self-government in the (not-too-distant) future.

We would contend that the thinking and actions of the majority of our European and African citizens are controlled, or at least predominantly influenced, by their involvement in these ideologies. Expressing as they do only some elements of the total reality of our situation, their existence constitutes the gravest single impediment to the establishment of workable relationships between European and African. Christians of both races operate in the spiritual and psychological "no-man's-land" between these two myths. If the African Christian moves toward the European, in obedience to his Christian calling, he challenges the myth of his own people. They tend to reject him as an "informer" or "collaborator"—and he thereby loses his immediate influence over them. Similarly, the European who seeks to identify himself with the legitimate aspirations and grievances of his African fellow-Christians challenges the European myth and the same process of rejection by his own racial group begins. Just as Abraham was called of God to go out from among his own people into a strange land, so the European and African Christians are called to go out from among the myths of their own people into a strange and dangerous land of common work and witness and life. Few so far have been willing, or have been granted the grace, to do this as much as they might.

It must be emphasised again that there is sufficient truth in these ideologies to ensure their acceptance by mass opinion in both races. The African myth about the European is unreal in that there are now, and always have been, a minority

of Europeans who measure up to the challenge of their Christian calling in this situation and bear a right witness in their relationships with the African. Indeed, more and more Europeans are coming to have a better understanding of the necessity for a relationship with the African other than that of master and servant. The European myth about the African is also unreal in that the "primitive savagery" of which the African is accused lurks underneath in every human. Western man has become prey to it in two world wars and in the contemplation of a third one, with all the horrors of nuclear warfare included. The African has no monopoly on savagery, any more than the European has on civilisation. And the proven ability of those Africans who have been given the opportunity to absorb and to profit by academic or technological education and training is a convincing answer to those who would deny them the opportunity on the grounds that they are by nature unable to take advantage of it.

B—The Isolation of African Nationalism

A bigoted form of nationalism—whether black or white—with all its implications of injustice and discrimination, is embodied in the racial myths described above. This in turn leads to an emotional rejection of the legitimate claims and assertions of the other racial group. But much more attention needs to be paid to the legitimate aspects and expressions of African nationalism and to the means whereby its dynamism may be guided into creative and productive channels. The strong bonds of blood and tradition that hold a people together are not in themselves evil, though they may be exploited for evil, or directed positively towards good. The arrival of the European in this country, and the benefits which all citizens have in varying degrees derived therefrom over the past 100 years, is part of God's Providential pattern. But it may also be part of this same Providential pattern for African nationalism to arise as a means of expressing the growing unity of the African peoples, to enable them to obtain their full legitimate share in the management of their affairs and the removal of economic, educational or other disabilities resulting from racial discrimination.

In general, it is fair to say that the attitude of Government and indeed of most Europeans—Christian and otherwise—towards the African Nationalist movements has been one of suspicion and distaste. The very words "African nationalism" conjure up for the average European a vision of the deprivation of the rights and privileges he at present enjoys, together with the whole Devil's chorus of racial phantoms. Another factor has been the absence, in the development of colonial government, of the concept of "Her Majesty's loyal Opposition." The result tends to be that any opposition to Government by Africans is regarded *ipso facto* as subversive. Although, in Northern Rhodesia, African National Congress is accepted as a legitimate political party, its leaders are often regarded as unscrupulous and unreliable agitators who do not reflect in any degree the aspirations and convictions of the African people. There are, in fact, instances in our situation where African political leaders have truly expressed the mind of their people.

The "fragmentation" of the African political community is generally regarded by the European as desirable and comforting, an expression of the historically successful doctrine of "divide and rule" and an indication of the incompetence and immaturity of African political thought and action. If there is to be stability and progress in our country, the first essential is for the two principal racial groups to come to a common understanding of each other's problems and aspirations. In order for this to happen, Africans need strong leadership, which must be dealt with responsibly, given the recognition it deserves and permitted to share effectively in the formulation of government policies and programmes.

There are some signs that this period of "fragmentation" is coming to an end, and that there is a general movement towards integration and unity in order to present a common front on the problems of 1960. We should be ready to extend to any leadership which may emerge as a result, the hand of understanding and fellowship, and to offer our help in building a bridge between it and European leadership in Government or elsewhere.

We do not believe that African nationalism can be ignored or lightly dismissed. The tide of consciousness of African unity is rising throughout the whole Continent, stimulated and encouraged by those states which have already achieved self-

government, or are on the point of doing so, as well as by a large section of world opinion. This is an historical manifestation of a fundamental urge towards nationhood. We must accept it as one of the most significant factors in our present situation; we must seek to understand it and to direct it towards the development of our country. To attempt to repress it—or to ignore it—is we believe at best unwise and at worst un-Christian.

C—The Travail of the European

While we do not accept, on moral grounds, the resistance of Europeans to the African's legitimate claims, we must understand the human fears which lie behind it. Many Europeans in the urban areas are immigrants from Great Britain or the Union of South Africa and have made their homes here. Their children have been born here, and know no other country as home. Many of these children are now beginning to form a "second generation" of workers. These families have rooted their lives in our country, and will, most of them, continue to live here if political and economic conditions permit.

These people are in a real sense the victims of all the forces—historic, economic and political—which have produced the present situation. Heavy demands are now being made on them to acknowledge an emancipation of the African which they fear (rightly or wrongly) will progressively crowd them out of their present position and radically change their situation from that of the dominant minority to that of a dominated (and not too well-regarded) minority—and will possibly deprive them of reasonable chances of earning an adequate livelihood.

It is not for us to assess praise or blame, but to point to the facts as they are. And, as we sympathise with the legitimate demands of the African for the removal of racial discrimination, so we must equally sympathise with the present travail of this large group of Europeans and with their legitimate claim to consideration in any decisions that are made in the economic or political fields.

D—The Materialist Heresy

The unreal European thinking concerning the African, within a predominantly materialist and sub-Christian climate of thought, has produced the widely-held theory that the tensions between the races, and the satisfaction of African nationalist aspirations, can be resolved by economic measures aimed at increasing the prosperity of the country as a whole and providing the African with more spending power and the means of satisfying it in consumer goods. This heresy, with its denial of the need for satisfying the spiritual and psychological needs of the African for self-expression, for responsibility within the community and the state, for equality of educational and other opportunities of advancement, is an insult to his nature as a child of God, of equal value in God's eyes as the man of any race. It should have been more openly and adequately condemned than it has been. Materialist society, in East or West, may be dedicated to the proposition that man does live by bread alone: but our Lord's words declare it to be a blasphemy; and history proves it to be wrong.

E—The Constitutional Dilemma

The British Government finds itself on the horns of a dilemma. The majority European opinion is influenced by the ideology to which reference has been made and rests upon the foundation of "gradual evolution" and, by implication, the general assumption that acceptability to European opinion is the determining factor in African advancement or emancipation in any field. The British Government, on the record of the concessions already made to the Federal Prime Minister and his supporters, will find it extremely difficult not to make some further concessions to them as a result of the 1960 talks. On the other hand, the British Government has a direct responsibility to the African people in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (and, it could be argued, at least a moral one to those in Southern Rhodesia) and it must by this time be convinced of the known opposition of the majority of them to the Federation—opposition in turn which stems partly from their own myth of the European but also reflects the failure of the Federal Government to live up to the promises which were felt by the Africans to be implicit in the concept of partnership and which were in general expressed in the "Moffat Resolutions," adopted by

the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia in 1954. The situation is further complicated by the insistence of many Africans on consideration, in any constitutional negotiations, of the possibility of secession from the Federation.

The dilemma is, then, that any move towards the transfer of further powers to the Federal Government is bound to be interpreted by the Africans as a further development in the perpetuation of European control and the stabilisation of the present rate of African economic, educational and political emancipation, and will provoke them to opposition which could lead to great and prolonged tension in the territory, if not to violence. At the same time the British Government is committed to the general support of Federation as the constitutional and economic framework most appropriate to Central Africa and as that providing the best means of developing a responsible multi-racial society. Any agreement on its part at this stage to split up the Federation would not only be a complete reversal of policy (always difficult for any Government, particularly when it initiated the policy in the first place), but would move the frontier of the future African nationalist states down to the Zambezi.

III—The Nature of our Calling

With the Scriptural sanction for our concern already outlined, what is the nature of our calling in the present situation? Where do we stand? Where should we stand?

We must affirm, first of all, that Christ in His Church must be shown forth within the total context of man's life. He is not only Lord of the Church but also Lord of the world; He will not be imprisoned in the tabernacles or the houses of worship or in a narrow piety which concentrates on the worship of God and rejects His injunction to care for our neighbour. Faith must issue in works, prayer in action. The Christ which the African first saw was a Christ who healed bodies as well as souls, a Christ of the Western world, clothed in the achievements of science and man's ingenuity with things, bringing great promises of education, enlightenment and material progress. And above all flew the great banner of the brotherhood of man, of common citizenship in the Kingdom of the Father who cared equally and eternally for all His children.

This was the vision which was revealed by the first missionaries to the wondering eyes of the African. But the vision soon faded. It faded within the Church as the African saw that some of his European fellow-Christians were not prepared to treat him as a brother in Christ and fellow-citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven. It faded within the rapidly-expanding world of social and industrial life when the African saw that the European's use of power was not always consistent with the laws of God which he had been taught by the missionaries.

We could excuse ourselves by acknowledging that all men, including Christians, sin and fall short of God's glorious purpose for them; and that of course the African is bound to have been disappointed by the failure of the European Christian to live out fully the commands of the Christian calling. We could say that we acknowledge, too, that in the development of the country the Church worked as a partner with Government (and rightly so) but that this encouraged the attitude among the missionaries that "the Government knows best" and contributed to the failure to teach the Africans the social and political implications in their condition of a following of Christ. (The ranks of the African nationalist movements contain many who have lapsed from Church membership largely on this account). We could point out the error in African thought whereby, because the first white men they met were Christians, all white men were expected to be Christians; and that because in the early days the missionaries exercised considerable secular power, they expect the Church still to be able to dictate to Government. We have to admit, certainly, that we are a minority in the European community as we are in the African community; and that, because of this, we are unable to influence the Government or the politicians to the extent that the African expects or thinks possible.

But when we have said all this we still cannot escape our responsibility, the total responsibility which our Lord has placed on us, the members of His Body, to carry on His reconciling and sanctifying work. We are the soul of our country; and on the vigour of our spiritual power and on our public witness rests its present and its future. This calls for a new acceptance of our calling, and a more total com-

mitment to it than most of us, up to the present, have been prepared to acknowledge. It calls for a greater courage and willingness to purge from the souls of our people—at no matter what cost—the poisoning and besetting sin of racial prejudice. It calls for a new revival of the "missionary spirit," a willingness to understand and to accept the challenges to faith and action presented to us in the conditions of our day. "*The Church exists by mission as fire exists by burning,*" says Bishop Newbigin. The very existence of the Church of Christ in our land may well depend on our willingness, European and African Christian alike, to accept the challenge to a new mission to our communities, to move out boldly into the prevailing darkness and to bring to it the light of Christ.

All very true—but this kind of thing has been said before, from countless pulpits and in official statements without number. We need to be more specific and to point out some particular areas of challenge where our missionary calling may be shown forth.

A—The Ministry of Reconciliation

The lack of a broad and deep relationship of confidence between European and African presents a fundamental challenge to the Church's work of reconciliation. In the power of the Holy Spirit we must provide the means of developing right relationships among our citizens, at the deepest level of their lives.

First, we should use more than we do the dynamic of prayer. We need a great and steady volume of prayer to go up for the healing of the discord between the races; we need to pray for individuals, for political parties, for Government, for all those in positions of power and responsibility in the nation, both African and European. We must lift them up in prayer, and carry their travails on our hearts to the throne of heavenly grace.

This prayer, if it is faithful, must issue in action. And above all, it is bound to issue in the desire to meet together in fellowship. African and European Christians *can* meet for worship, even with the lack of a common language: prayer and preaching can be interpreted, and we have already enough of a common store of hymns and tunes that can be sung simultaneously in English and a vernacular. We *can* meet for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, to share together in a common remembrance of the Passion and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Bread and Wine that are the covenanted assurances of our abiding in Him, the true Vine.

But, in addition to the meeting of Christians for worship, and for open witness in this way to their common faith, our ministry of reconciliation demands that we provide a common meeting ground for those sections of our community who have otherwise little or no contact. We are called to break down the myths which imprison both African and European—and to do this we must call them to meet, to expose their fears, and to find their common interests and their common humanity. And so we must seek to find the way to bring the differing groups together, in the name and in the power of our Lord. In this way we can contribute to a better understanding of each group's aspirations for themselves and for their country.

B—The Opposition to the Misuse of Power

We are called to support the Government and those responsible for the maintenance of the law and order except where their activities unreasonably inhibit the enjoyment by our citizens of their fundamental and inalienable rights. For example, the detention at the present time of a considerable number of African residents of the Federation without the preferring of proper charges against them is an offence to the Christian conscience and one against which we are called to protest. The existence of legislation, either territorial or Federal, which involves discriminatory practices on grounds of race or colour is equally to be opposed.

In the industrial and social fields, the European minority have misused their power to insist on industrial agreements or social patterns which deny to non-Europeans legitimate privileges of opportunity, of earning, and of enjoyment. Furthermore, because of the known resistance of the majority of the European electors to the legitimate removal of discriminatory conditions, Governments and politicians have been slow in proposing measures to this end. This has perpetuated and deepened the distrust and animosity between the races. It encourages the perpetuation of the provision of separate facilities in medical, educational and other fields, even where

practical consideration do not justify it. This has also greatly over-taxed the professional and technical personnel available. We must bear a clear witness against these disabilities, and support all those agencies which are honestly trying to work towards their removal.

On the other hand we must seek to sanctify the use of power by the leaders of the African nationalist groups, to encourage them to make full use of the constitutional and legitimate means provided for them in Northern Rhodesia in order to make known their policies and their fears. Where they are opposing discrimination, or other abuse of power by the European minority, we must make them feel that they have our support. Where on the other hand they seek to lead their people to violence, or to use intimidation in place of free consent, then we are equally bound to challenge and to oppose them.

C—The Attitude to Constitutional Development

It is by this time generally accepted that the majority of Africans are opposed to Federation as it now stands and as they believe it may develop. We must be the first to acknowledge that this opposition stems from emotional and irrational factors as well as from a deep and legitimate frustration at the continuance of discrimination in many forms and from a profound fear of the removal of the historic "protection" assured by the direct relationship of the Northern territories with the British Crown.

There is no doubt that the concept of Federation was (and is still) supported by large numbers of Europeans in the Federation and in Great Britain as providing the means for the development of an economically and politically viable multi-racial state in Central Africa, in the best interests of all the inhabitants, irrespective of race. However, there is equally no doubt that the high hopes of some who supported its creation in 1953 have been considerably dampened by the fact that, since then, the pace of African political, economic and social emancipation has been restricted to one which the Africans, with considerable reason, consider to be inadequate.

What, then, is our position? First we must state that as Christians we are not committed to any specific constitutional framework—here or elsewhere; except that we must work for, and loyally support, a framework which is accepted by the majority of our citizens, which provides for the enjoyment by all citizens of their God-given individual freedoms and the protection of the rights of racial groups. Where there is even a partially democratic form of government such as exists here, the success or failure of the Government to satisfy our Christian concerns depends not so much on the constitutional framework as on the convictions of the electors themselves—they get the kind of government they demand or deserve. Therefore, the failure of the Federation in this regard rests primarily on the shoulder of the European electorate—and the Church must share in this condemnation. Our immediate task, then, is to use our ministry and our resources to build a right fellowship and understanding between our citizens of all races. When this has been achieved, by the grace of God, and when it is possible (for example, through the extension of the franchise) for the citizen of our country to express an informed opinion as to the constitutional framework of the territory, then and only then should the British Government come to its final decision on the matter. This is not a question of being "against" Federation, or "for" it: it is that we believe the foundations of our state must be laid solidly in an informed society and that it is dangerous—and futile—to proceed in any other way. How long this may take we do not know, but if it takes ten years then nothing legitimate will have been lost, and much gained.

D—The Challenge to Christian Unity

The sin and stupidity of our Christian divisions is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of our missionary task and one of the primary factors in muffling and distorting the Christian voice in our land. To the African, free as he is from the historic conditioning of our denominationalism, it is yet another indication that the European Christian speaks with one voice but acts with many different hands.

Must we not think, and pray, about God's calling to us here? Is our situation in Africa so different from that in India, or Ceylon, where different parts of the Church have

found organic unity? Is not God waiting to bless, as he has done there, the outpouring of sacrifice in the missionary effort of the Churches by restoring to them in turn His gift of unity and peace? Our African Christians are becoming more and more conscious of their national unity—their "Africanism." They believe that this sense of unity, and its legitimate outthrust into the affairs of the Continent, is part of God's gift to them and an expression of His will. They wish this unity to demonstrate itself in common membership in one visible Church. They blame the European for the fact that it cannot; and their growing experience of nationalist unity, their developing self-confidence, will not for ever wait for the Europeans to act—in this matter or in others. Let us take to heart Douglas Webster's words: "*When the Church is being the Church it cannot afford to be divided. Worship and evangelism, preoccupation with God and preoccupation with the world He loves, will use all its energies. But disunity means it has become preoccupied with itself.*" *

E—The Acceptance of the Cross

All that we have said presents a picture of a disunited Church, challenged anew to a fresh impulse of missionary endeavour, called to reach out through its members into all areas of human activity, to challenge, reconcile and bless. But we must not allow our doing to take precedence over our being. For with all our sinful weakness, our disordered counsels and our faltering voice, we are still part of the Body of Christ in this land, trying to show Him forth and to challenge men's hearts and minds to know Him and to do Him homage. And so we must know—and expect to know—the fellowship of His sufferings if we are to experience and to manifest the power of His Risen Life. The processes of God's judgment on sin are everywhere at work in the whole fabric of our life here—as everywhere. We must accept our share in this judgment and offer it up in loving sacrifice, that it may be redeemed and used for good. Christ in us hangs suffering, crucified, held by the nails of racial disharmony, of the Church's disunity, of materialism. But this is no cause for despair, but rather for joy and hope. For Christ on the Cross, willingly accepting, though innocent, the outworking of judgment, has always been the central theme of the Church's Good News. It is not enough for us to preach it: we are called to live it out.

November, 1959.

Lusaka
Northern Rhodesia

* "WHAT IS THIS CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA?" P8
(The Highway Press)

Oral Evidence

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

Representatives: Bishop Green Wilkinson
Mr. Nightingale
Father Sillett
Mr. Musgrove
Mr. Gauntlett
Mr. Mclewe
Mr. Mwala

CHAIRMAN: I understand, Mr. Nightingale, you would first let us know how the Christian Council for Northern Rhodesia is constituted and whom it represents? A. (MR. NIGHTINGALE): The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia is an association of some twenty-four churches, missionaries, societies and organisations such as the Bible Society and Christian Literature and it includes all the principal non-Roman denominations, except the Dutch Reform Church as distinct from the Dutch Reform Missions. The Missions are members of the Council, the Church is not. The only large missionary group which is not included is the Christian Mission in Many Lands, the Plymouth Brethren.

The Christian Council meets once every two years and had its last meeting in July, 1959, when the resolution which is printed in the foreword was passed by the whole Christian Council after a full debate in which pretty well every organisation was represented. When we found we were to have the opportunity of giving evidence to this Commission we presented that resolution as the judgment of the Christian Council, and the executive of the Christian Council prepared an exposition of that resolution which has the approval of the executive of the Christian Council. Father Sillett, with your permission, will give us the gist of that and emphasise the points that we wish to see emphasised. Any question that we

are asked we shall obviously have to answer in a private capacity, although in some cases we would be pretty sure that it would be the view of the whole body. They are so very widely different and of such very different political opinions, the bodies represented, that after we had dealt with the resolution and the exposition of it we shall be speaking as private individuals. If, when that is cleared out of the way, there is an opportunity, I think some members of the delegation would like to make personal statements which arise out of it and are relevant to the issue, though perhaps not distinctly arising out of the resolution.

Q. If the answers to be given to questions are to be given in a private capacity it may be rather difficult to know to whom to address the question. May we then address the question to you, Mr. Nightingale, as President? If you do not answer yourself, perhaps you would ask one or other to reply. If Father Sillett would like to expound first? A. (FATHER SILLETT): We make this presentation on the assumption that members will have had the opportunity to read the pamphlet and therefore all I propose to do on behalf of the executive committee is to draw out and emphasise a few of the points that we have made in the pamphlet.

The background to the pamphlet is our concern for the peaceful evolution of our country towards statehood, and an expression of our responsibility as a Christian body for instructing Christians on the tenets of the situation as we see them in order to stimulate them to take proper action. In addition there is the responsibility for carrying out the work of mediation and reconciliation which is an essential part of the churches' task anywhere.

There are, as you will have seen, three basic parts to the document. The first part is the scriptural background and I would assume that we can take that as read. If there were any theological points any of the members wished to take up with us, we have got some fairly big guns here. So, with your permission, I will proceed to part two of the document which begins on page 4 under the title "The Facts of our Situation." You will see that the first part deals with something which it calls the prevailing ideologies or moods. We believe that our situation here is bedevilled, and I used the word advisedly, by emotional and stereotyped reactions. We believe, to put it perhaps a little bluntly, that people are thinking more with their glands than with their heads in this situation. The church and individual Christians are constantly under pressure to take sides to support one group nationally or politically against another. In this situation we feel and try to maintain a maximum degree of objectivity, and this is why we have laid emphasis on this matter of the prevailing ideologies because we believe that a proper understanding of the psychological and emotional situation is essential if one is, in fact, to maintain the objectivity which we believe is essential. We believe that we have to teach our people to resist the attitude of "either/or" and insist on the "both/and." They must learn to understand the reactions of the other groups, rather than stand off and judge them, or, more directly, to react in equally emotional fashion. We should be glad to develop this situation in more detail if the Commission desired, but we would suspect that the Commission's observations and experience will have confirmed the validity of our assertion about the existence of these moods and these ideologies.

May I then perhaps go on to consider the section which begins under the title "Isolation of African Nationalism." You will see that we assert that in our opinion it may also be part of God's providential pattern in this part of the world for African nationalism to arise as a means of expressing the growing unity of the African peoples, to enable them to obtain their full legitimate share in the management of their affairs and the removal of geographical or educational or other disabilities resulting from racial discrimination. You will see a little later on that we referred to the fact that the period of fragmentation of the African nationalist movement would seem to be drawing to an end, and that there is a general movement toward integration and unity in order to present a common front on the problems of 1960. We would suggest that the growing support for U.N.I.P. would indicate that our ideas on that subject, so far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned, were correct. We believe, as we said, that it is in the interests of every one to encourage a responsible attitude towards law and order and the acceptance of the

principle of negotiation and non-violence on the part of the nationalist leaders. At the same time we believe that this fundamental urge towards nationhood is something that must be understood and dealt with responsibly and not merely repressed. We believe that this is part of our job in this country to endeavour to influence and guide Christians to a right understanding of the good things in nationalism and to teach them at the same time the dangers involved in it. We would like to add two notes of warning on this particular subject. There is a common assertion which no doubt the members of the Commission will already have heard, that the nationalistic movement is a creation of a few power-hungry agitators who are imposing their will and their ambition on ignorant and basically indifferent masses of the people. It is our conviction that this does not square with the facts. We believe that our African people (I speak as one from the Copperbelt, others here have experience in different parts of the country) are becoming increasingly politically conscious. We are afraid that they have accepted to some extent the validity of Nkrumah's irreligious phrase "Seek ye first the kingdom of politics." We believe at the same time that the basic tenets of the nationalistic movement are supported by the vast majority of our Christians, and I am sure that we are all prepared to cite specific examples of that from our own experience.

Growth in the power of this nationalist movement is illustrated in many ways. I would ask the Commission's permission to quote very briefly from a speech made by a man called Takwara, he is a Southern Rhodesian African, has been one of those who has tried very hard and who is committed to multi-racial co-operation to the point where he has been for some time the Executive Officer for the Capricorn African Society in Southern Rhodesia. He has recently come out as one of the supporters of a new African nationalistic party and is in fact the Chairman of the party in Harari. He made a speech on 28th January in which he tried to express the motivations which had led him to make this move despite his commitments as somebody working for the establishment for partnership and a multi-racial state. He says this:—"I am fully committed and dedicated to non-racialism in this country. Partnership must be made to work and work blindly if we are going to survive in this country. My latest discovery, however, is that unless we Africans organise ourselves completely and unite ourselves solidly, Europeans will not enter into a real partnership with us. The Central Africa Party caters for voters and as such cannot speak for the blacks with that natural and native emotion which can only be arrived at from personal physical suffering and humiliations which Africans encounter day in and day out. I therefore firmly feel and believe that an African run party like the N.D.P. which had strong principles of self discipline and non-violence and non-intimidation and open to all races will hasten the day of peace and common patriotism in this country." I quote that only as an indication of the strength and tenacity of this feeling.

The second warning that we would make is this: that we believe that the power of the nationalist leader such as Kenneth Kaunda is on his ability to produce results in a comparatively short space of time. While he is insisting openly at least for the present on non-violence we doubt whether the nationalistic movement in this country has the cohesion and the discipline that is adequate to maintain this indefinitely. If developments over the next nine months are interpreted by the nationalistic movement as a continuance of the trend towards the consolidation of European domination, then the nationalist movement may decide that the only way to demonstrate their opposition and their power will be violence. We consider this to be a very real danger.

Now with your permission I will move on to the third section which is described as "The Nature of our Calling" in which we have tried to set forth for our Christians the particular things that we believe the situation demands of them in terms of Christian action of one kind or another. The first two paragraphs, in fact, are fairly straightforward and I would not propose particularly to comment on them beyond emphasising that obviously the whole situation presents a tremendous challenge to the churches' ministry of reconciliation. Within our varying demonimations I believe we are all pushing as hard as we can to develop this concept of racial co-operation, of non racialism within the life and worship of our churches.

The paragraph B "The Opposition to Misuse of Power," we believe was quoted rather widely in the British Press somewhat out of context, rather suggesting that we were a bunch of anarchists rushing around with bombs in our pockets. I am sure it is hardly necessary for me to emphasise that that is not so. But we have felt it necessary to make it perfectly clear that as an association of the churches we can never abdicate from our ultimate stewardship under God and Christian conscience in favour of any Government or political group.

Finally, the only other section that could conceivably be of direct interest to this Commission, section C, "The Attitude to Constitutional Development," we would make clear that we do not consider it to be the churches' task to pronounce on the technical aspects of the present constitution or of any constitution except in so far as it may deprive our citizens of the exercise of their God-given rights as individuals.

We would like in this connection only to make three points. In the first place it is our conviction that the existence and development of Federation in its present form has increased political tensions and racial feeling. In the second, it is our conviction that the ideals of partnership enshrined in the Federal ideal have not been implemented at a pace or to a degree adequate to create a right relationship between European and Africans, or to provide an adequate answer to the accusations of racial discrimination which are levelled against the federal system by many sources within and without the country. Discrimination is so widespread in so many fields that we would expect the members of the Commission already to have accepted it as a fact; though, of course, we are prepared to cite specific examples if the Commission would so desire.

The third point is we are convinced that due to a number of factors, of which the continuation of racial discrimination against the African is one and the spread of African nationalistic feeling is another, stimulated of course by the grant of independence to many African states at the present time, the large majority of our African Christians in Northern Rhodesia are opposed to Federation as at present constituted. It is with this general background Mr. Chairman, that we have based our conviction in terms of the resolution contained in the foreword to our paper that, until such time as there is consent of the majority of the people of the Federation to it, there should be no increase in the powers of the Federal Government towards complete autonomy within the Commonwealth.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you. I think we might put some questions to you on what you have said.

MR. MENZIES: Do the representatives present here of the churches find that there is a breaking down of racial discrimination within their own congregation? In other words, are your congregations multi-racial? When I was in Salisbury four years ago, I worshipped at the Presbyterian Church there fairly regularly. I do not think I saw an African in the congregation. I knew that there were in the Anglican community certain mixed congregations, Presbyterians had their own African churches in the suburbs, but I got the impression that the churches, notwithstanding the profession of idealism in this matter were not really practising it. What are the churches doing? I would like an answer from each one present. What are you doing to break down within your own community any sense of racialism?

CHAIRMAN: Would you first of all introduce the representatives, Mr. Nightingale? A. (MR. NIGHTINGALE): Mr. Mclewe is representative of the laity of the Copperbelt. He works at the Anglican centre there. He is shortly going to Bosi as member of the World Councils there, the Bishop's Diocese covers the whole of the territory. Mr. Gauntlett has long experience in rural work on behalf of Christian education and enquiry into situations. Mr. Mwale is a prominent member of the Anglican church; he has been put on the committee because he has very long experience of rural conditions in the Southern Province. Mr. Musgrove is a Missionary of the Methodist Church who has urban work in Lusaka and has good opportunities of knowing the mind of African leaders. Father Sillett is in an urban congregation in the Copperbelt. I am retired but I was for a while General Superintendent of the Methodist Church in this country.

MR. MENZIES: I would like to know how far each of the churches you represent practises multi-racialism within the

communion of your congregation? I do not mean the church as a whole, but in the various congregations and within the government of the church. Do you admit Africans into the courts of the church? What part, if any, are they taking in the governance of the church. If you could just deal each of you with that I would be interested to know. A. (THE BISHOP): If I may speak for the Anglican Church first of all. As far as worship goes, it is quite clear that people of any race are welcome to any service. In fact in the country districts we have a number of congregations which are entirely non-racial in so far as there are always a mixed number of Europeans and Africans present. Of course, in many of the rural districts there are no Europeans except Missionaries or government officials. They naturally worship with the African congregation. In the towns, for reasons of geography and for reasons of language, there are different churches. It would be extremely inconvenient in a town like this, which is spread out to the same size as Liverpool, if everyone had to come and worship in one building. Therefore for convenience and the natural wish of those who speak a different language or live in different parts they worship in different buildings. But we do all we can to encourage those of different race who either speak the other language easily or live near to it to come to the nearest church. In All Saints Church there are two African members of that church, which is English speaking, who are regular members of the choir. At St. Peter's Church services are in the vernacular; there are always a number of Europeans, but naturally it varies from time to time as to how many there are. But there is no church where it does not happen, and there are many churches where there are regular African worshippers in English speaking congregations. In fact, we never speak about a European congregation, we speak about English-speaking congregations.

That, I think, covers the main line of what our ordinary practice is. In addition to that, we make a practice of welcoming African priests to minister to English-speaking congregations, and *vice versa*. Father Sillett can tell you what he has done regularly in that way.

(FATHER SILLETT): Here we frequently have African deacons and sidesmen at all services, and that is not by any means exceptional but has happened all through the diocese. There are, of course, individual Europeans who may not welcome it; there may be individuals who do not positively welcome an African if they see him in the congregation. We cannot help that. The church is open and anybody can come in. As far as officials, sidesmen, priests, are concerned, they are genuinely there to welcome anybody to the English-speaking church, and *vice versa*, to give a special welcome to English-speaking Europeans who go to the service.

I shall be pleased to answer further questions, but I think that will cover that aspect of it. As far as the Government of the Church goes, there is no difference between anyone in the Synod of the diocese. All the priests, European and African, are automatically members of the synod and we have representatives of all congregations, whether European or African, who fulfil various qualifications, which means in fact we have a number of European and African laymen present. They vote equally and there is no discrimination of any sort. They can be elected to any office in the synod. One of our main things in the year is the Synod Service which takes place on the cathedral site just opposite, and there the service is entirely inter-racial, European and African priests ministering to a congregation which is entirely mingled together. In each congregation there is a church council and we do all we can to make the two church councils meet more—there may be different churches—and I think it is of immense importance that they do meet and discuss common projects. If there is a church to be built, they can meet and discuss how they can help each other over it, and there are certain towns where the executive council and representatives of the English-speaking and African congregations meet together quite regularly.

Q. Your conscience is clear in the matter. A. Undoubtedly.

Q. I was wondering whether all the others could make such a good case out; the church, in other words, is practising what it preaches? A. (MR. GAUNTLETT): I would say our section of the church, which is organised rather differently from the Anglican church, that our experience is much the same. One has to accept that the congregation of any church

represents a cross-section of the population and therefore contains people with views ranging from ultra-conservatism to ultra-liberalism, but as far as the policy is concerned there is an increasing effort being made to place greater responsibility on African members of the Salvation Army. Only recently an African was appointed in charge of an entire district in Southern Rhodesia. Moreover, steps are being taken to train them for that responsibility either here or in Britain. The same applies that in the main the congregations are predominantly African or European, but it is made clear that any African is welcome to any service in an English-speaking area. Similarly in the African-speaking church any European is welcome, but there is this geographical difficulty. I can add that increasingly more and more Africans are being appointed to positions of responsibility, not only in regard to districts. Only recently a very experienced African was appointed with particular responsibility for evangelical work throughout the Federation, in charge of a section of our headquarters in Salisbury. A. (MR. NIGHTINGALE): The position in the Methodist Church is very similar to what the Bishop has sketched. A couple of years ago, or rather less than that, it was true to say that we very rarely had a service in the principle English-speaking church in the town in which there were not at least a couple of Africans present. We also have occasions when we have an African Minister occupying the pulpit, and there is a close liaison between the English-speaking work and the work in the vernacular. At one time we had representatives on each other's church councils. Now it is found more convenient to have a Liaison Committee uniting the work of the two. As far as organisation is concerned there is complete parity and we really have, I think a pretty clear conscience on that sort of thing. At Synod we share dormitories and washing accommodation and eat together and all that sort of thing. Last January an African had been appointed to the position of General Superintendent of the Methodist Church in Northern Rhodesia.

Q. We will take the other three denominations together. Is there a general confirmation of that attitude? A. (MR. MCLEWE): I could speak in similar terms as a representative of the United Church of Central Africa which is organised out of the work of the London Missionary Society and the Church of Scotland, Northern Rhodesian section, and the United Church of Canada which has come to work with us. Three years ago I am sure this question would have been very embarrassing, but I have to tell you that the churches have seen this as a very important backlog to their progress and that they would never be able to speak on social problems unless they put their house in order. There has been a movement in the Church of Central Africa, particularly in Northern Rhodesia, for clearing our house. I belong to the United Church, and although I am a layman I hold one of the highest positions in the church, I look after the money. I look after £10,000 every year, and African ministers come and ask me for money. I would certainly invite anyone, any Member of the Commission, to be present next Sunday at one of the European churches in the town at Kitwe, where you will find at least twelve people of the African race sitting there. This has been because outside Kitwe there is a foundation centre for Christian work and we bring out people from all parts of the Continent and we found ourselves in a position where we had to make preparation for other things. These people could not speak Bemba; they come all the way from Ndola into European congregations in Kitwe. Two years ago we appointed an African Minister to the highest position in our church as President of our Synod and there are similar positions. I think I would not deny the fact that there are little misgivings in the life of the church particularly because of this pattern. I think Colonial administration is blamed for it, because the church is full of the pattern of Colonial administration which exhibited divisions and I think we have inherited that, though the church has since moved away from it.

MR. McCLELAND: In the search which the churches are making to find ways and means to bring the people closer together they must at some stage or the other have considered the field of education. Do they advocate that there should be multi-racial schools and if they do accept that principle to what degree is it being brought into effect in any schools which come within the control of the churches? A. (MR. NIGHTINGALE): I think the only schools that are under the control of constituent members of the Christian Church

are Mission Schools in rural areas where, of course, there are no European children to educate.

Q. On the general principle? A. My own view is that Federation started the right way by integration at University level. I think the next step which ought to come fairly soon is integration in the higher secondary forms and let it work its way down. This is a personal view.

Q. The time is not yet ripe for that particular step to be taken? A. I should say, expressing a personal view, that joint classes between Munal and Rennie Secondary Schools would be a very good move. How far it would go down with the parents of the European children I would not like to say, but there was an occasion a little while ago when Munal had the staff it needed and Rennie schools were extremely short of specialist staff, and it seemed rather a good opportunity to try it out; that is a personal view.

MR. CHIRWA: Do the members of the Christian Council believe that there should be a general policy in the country? Assuming that there might be a change in education so that perhaps education became territorial, the whole of it, would you think that it would be proper to start multi-racial schools without any further delay? A. (MR. MUSGROVE): I think it is high time, indeed past time, that we should seek an intergration at secondary level at least. The practical problems admittedly are greater at the primary level—language—and so on. But there is no reason whatever why there should not be this joining together at secondary level, and I think it is all the more important because we are so anxious that the present attitude of Europeans to Africans shall not be perpetuated into the next generation. It is my personal feeling that some of the strongest anti-racial attitudes are to be found in the youngsters in the European secondary schools and I think that we have to strike hard at this very point because it is these youngsters who are going to form the next generation.

Q. If that was started do you anticipate any difficulties or reaction from the European community? A. Yes.

A. (FATHER SILLETT): I would like to comment by saying I support what my colleague has said. It is a matter of interest I have a report here of a meeting of one of the African senior councils in Luanshya. It said that the Chairman ended by saying at the last meeting 136 children sat for a standard VI examination. Of those 128 also sat for secondary selection examination of which 15 had been accepted in various secondary schools. 15 out of 128 where on the other hand in terms of European secondary education the mere possession of a white skin automatically guaranteed entrance into a secondary school. It would seem to me that, quite apart from any other considerations, that is the kind of action that urges—I speak personally—the return of European education to territorial responsibility. Then you have got one budget and you can develop one co-ordinated programme in fairness to all of the children who in one way or another are entitled to education and secondary education irrespective of the colour of their skins.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: Do you think that you could have co-education at the moment? By co-education I mean schools for both sexes attending at the same time. Do you think you could have a multi-racial co-educational school? A. (MR. MUSGROVE): I would suggest that at the present time the first step was for multi-racial secondary schools for boys and multi-racial secondary schools for girls. I think particularly on the African side that there might be resistance for a totally different reason to co-education for boys and girls.

Q. Your secondary school here is a co-educational school? A. (MR. NIGHTINGALE): No, there are no co-educational schools.

CHAIRMAN: May I ask you this? Supposing there are two alternative ways, either to staff a new school which would be multi-racial from the beginning, from Form I, or to take an existing school and make Form I multi-racial, while Form II, III, IV and V remain European or African? A. I would say the second alternative although I would say you should start at the top.

Q. It would be done practically? A. The parents might withdraw their children.

Q. If you start at the bottom it might put the young child in a difficult position? A. Yes. I think the argument against a special school which started out as a non-racial

school is that you would get European children who least need instruction in that regard. A. (THE BISHOP): There is that difficulty about a church school or voluntary school doing it. It is very difficult to get European parents to give their children for the experiment unless they are children who are anyhow being brought up in that way and would not particularly benefit from it. Also our schools are in rural areas, so we are not in a position to do it. I do think the greatest value would be something done by the Government in a place like Lusaka where we already have the Munali School and the Rennie Schools. Starting from the top and working down.

MR. GONDWE: I would like to ask a simple question. It is a very excellent thing to aim for, this multi-racial education, but one would like to know whether you reverend gentlemen, with your tremendous influence over most of your Christians, ever discuss this question with European parents, let alone the African parents, and if so what are their views? A. I think I did answer that question. It is extremely difficult to get many of the European parents to send their children voluntarily to a church school which may be multi-racial. They may themselves think it is a good thing, but it requires great courage voluntarily to send your child if you are not sure it is going to be successful. There are some undoubtedly who would be eager to do it, but they are a small minority. I think it is important that it should be done by the Government, through the schools, with the support of the church leaders in that matter, provided it is done in a reasonable way with proper preparation to give the people every opportunity they can.

Q. You are yourself convinced that if such a step were to be taken, common loyalty would be achieved by the various communities in Northern Rhodesia? A. I think it would be an experiment which we ought to take, but I do not think that we can really guarantee its success. We can promise our support.

Q. I personally think that there would be some success, because it was not long ago in 1952 when a commission was sent out here to inquire into the setting up of the University College and that commission wanted to find out whether only one University College should be set up or two. The majority of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia were in favour of two and we the Africans, especially those in Nyasaland, did ask the commission to recommend one University College, basing it on the ground that at the time Federation was being talked about, and that was an excellent opportunity for our young people to come together. Having been educated together, they would go into the world respecting each other and they would have to have common loyalty. Nobody is sorry about the University College, it is an excellent example of how much co-operation can achieve. A. (THE BISHOP): That is why I think it is important we should make the experiment.

DR. SHEPHERD: Might I ask the deputation, do you think if you made this experiment that the Government would welcome it and foster it? A. (MR. MCLEWE): If I might hazard an answer to that question, I think that is the stumbling block to the whole project of multi-racial education in Central Africa. Because of the racial break-up, it is a very expensive thing, and you do not take into consideration the different wage structures of parents. On that point, it would be difficult for African parents to support a private multi-racial school and it is for this reason that we expect that if a move were to be made that it should be made by the Government, because they can lay hands on things. Unless certain things are clear in our society we have to face the realities of the issue. Very few African parents can support a private multi-racial education, and therefore if the Government would assure us that they would support it financially the churches would be prepared to undertake the experiment immediately.

Q. That is not answering my question, which perhaps you cannot do. What I want to point out is that I know a school in the Union where for fifty years they have had multi-racial education. And not only boys, but both boys and girls; and it was the Government who stepped in and stopped it. That is why I ask whether you think the Government would support it. I may say that in that school some of the most prominent men in South Africa were educated and have told me personally that nothing was more valuable in their life than this close connexion with African people. Many of them became distinguished in the public service. And they said it was of immense value to them for the time they had been so close

to the African people in school. But it was Government led by a Scotsman who ended it. A. (MR. NIGHTINGALE): I think Dr. Shepherd's question is a little difficult to answer because of the implication of the word Government, if you mean such a venture would have the support . . . ? Q. Education department, I mean. A. Of course the European education is now Federal, but you have to distinguish, and this is rather hard in these days, what you mean by support. Do you mean the support of the Secretariat, or the support of the party which holds the majority in the present legislature?

CHAIRMAN: Support of the Council of Ministers? A. Yes. A. (MR. GAUNTLET): I would like to say on the question of the desirability of the secondary school education being multi-racial I would support what others have said. A remark made to me to-day by the headmistress of a large girls' school in Lusaka is relevant to it: as opposed to five or six years ago the children who are anti-African, as she said, are exceptional, whereas previously it was the other way round. If that is done at a lower level, and apparently experience suggests that when you go into the higher levels of secondary education there is a growing feeling of racialism, then surely it is necessary to make the break there and retain that unbigoted and unbiased attitude of children, which is increasing, rather than let them come under the influence of adults at a secondary school level. As far as Government is concerned, and its support of any venture like this, I do not think any of us could hazard that answer because none of us know the minds of Government. But I think it is probably fair to say that the fact that the University was multi-racial was largely due to financial pressure, and possibly political pressure outside the Federation, than a conviction in the heart of Government. It has, though in most people's minds been an outstanding success and therefore could hearten us in making an experiment and one hopes that similar pressures might be brought to bear to bring it in secondary school level.

MR. CHIRWA: I think we have had enough information about multi-racial schools. May I make another question? You have stated that a lot would depend upon what may be done during the next nine months, and that if perhaps during the next nine months the African will not see anything tangible, then African nationalism might decide to be violent. Am I right in that statement? A. (FATHER SILLETT): That was my statement.

Q. What do you suggest yourself could be done in order to avoid that taking place? A. I think this is one of the issues on which obviously we would have to speak as individuals rather than a delegation. I would be glad to give my own opinion if the Commission would like to have it.

It would seem to me that one of the things that has got to be done is to give the African people, I speak now of Northern Rhodesia, a fairly immediate hope that they will be able to exert more political power in relation to their numbers than they are at present within the constitutional framework. It would seem to me that the only way you can do that is by lowering the franchise; I do not see any other way. In the second place, it would seem to me that an all-out attempt from Government to secure the elimination of discrimination in various fields would also have to be made. I am sorry if this sounds idealistic and impracticable, but this is the way I see it. I think these are the minima, in fact. It would seem to me also that the possibility of self-government, Territorial self-government, related to this broadened franchise, and therefore recognition of the increasing political power of the African people, would have to be made constitutionally possible, shall we say, within a maximum of five years.

It would seem to me that the possibility of secession from the Federal system at such time that Territorial self-government was obtained, would also have to be written in in some way or another. These are the kind of things that in one way or another would seem to me still to have to be developed within the next year.

Q. May I still follow that question. You have emphasised in your statement the opposition of Africans to the existence of Federation. Do you think if Federation continues in its present form, without any change whatsoever, there would be any hope of it being accepted by the African people? A. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, I omitted one point though it is perhaps implicit, namely the return to the Territorial Government of many of the powers that are at present exercised by

the present Federal Government, in particular, European education, health and probably defence and immigration. So that is what I would say in answer to that question.

MR. WOODROW-CROSS : I wish to ask the Bishop, if I may, again about integration in schools—multi-racial schools—whether he would not think in view of its already being done in one school I know, a church school, and also of the difficulty of an African having the wages to support a son at school, whether it would not be better to start that experiment in private schools with the support of Government in the way of bursaries or scholarships in a fairly large way—a church school—as an experiment, rather than at a Government school. Whether he thinks that would be feasible and a good way of making a start? A. I have already said I do not think so. I am sorry it is not: I would welcome it if it was so. I do not myself think you would get a sufficient number of European parents prepared to send their children to that school by way of experiment. I think they are more likely to expect something from the Government. There would be another way to do it, admit a few African boys to an existing European school. That of course would be a very gradual thing; that certainly could be done and in the institution of a new preparatory school for the English medium, which we have in mind, we have deliberately left it open. There is no racial matter at all. In our view—a few African boys might be able to go into the school, but I should have thought that was a very much longer term policy. I think it would have to be done very slowly that way—eventually getting a few African boys to come along.

SIR LIONEL HEALD : Will you help us in this way? You have expressed certain views with regard to the functions affecting Africans, particularly in such matters as education. In due course we hope that the readers of the report will be able to have access to the evidence you have given and in that event surely they would like to know what weight they should attach to it. However difficult it may be to answer the question, can you give us some idea as to how many people you are speaking of when speaking of African Christians? A. (MR. NIGHTINGALE) : I think perhaps Mr. Musgrove is best qualified to answer questions as to African feeling on this subject. We might be able to let you have the information later.

Q. You will understand, I am sure, what I mean. It is very difficult for us. A. What section of the community is Christian?

Q. Yes. When you are speaking for instance of the large majority of African Christians being opposed to Federation we cannot go unfortunately and see all of them, but you do, and it would be useful to know what sort of number of people there are. I do not suppose many people in England have the slightest idea. A. I think the point Father Sillett was making was that opposition to the Federation was equally strong and unanimous within the African Christian community as it was in the community at large.

Q. Certainly. But unless we know what size the community was someone will say: how do you know how many of them there are? A. (THE BISHOP) : First, as regards the numbers it is extremely difficult because anybody who has been examined at the school, if questioned says he belongs to that denomination, even though not a practising member of the church. Since nearly all the schools are old mission schools, if you ask for the nominal membership you get a huge number.

Q. You will understand what we want. We want to get the backing for your statement and we might find people who say: "How do you know?" A. In the reference books the African membership of the Anglican Church is something like 30,000 but you could double that. The number of people who go to Church every Sunday, I am afraid, is nothing like so much. I would like to say, if I may in addition to what Fr. Sillett said about this opposition, he did specifically say he was on the Copperbelt and he was speaking with reference to the Copperbelt. I know other people here come from the country, and have spent time going round town and country. I would like in that particular position to emphasise that the degree of opposition does vary considerably between town and country and different parts of the country. Some members of the Commission have discovered that some provinces are more politically conscious than other provinces. I would like to emphasise that.

I should myself say that there are large areas of the country districts where people have very little political consciousness and are very little concerned for the things we are discussing. But insofar as they are concerned, I think they would look to the nationalists' view as one they would support, but in the normal course of events they would go weeks without thinking of it. If they were aroused I think they would, most of them, turn to the leaders rather than anything else.

MR. CHIRWA . In other words, you mean if the African nationalists were to follow a policy of violence, the majority of the people of this country—Africans—would follow? A. I do not think it is fair to ask me that. I would be prepared to discuss that over a cup of tea, but not give evidence on that point.

MR. HABANYAMA : In our travels during the last two weeks we have in the rural areas in particular had a lot of criticisms of the present Ministry of Health. As I know, some changes have gone on in the hospitals, in the clinics, the dispensaries, and there are criticisms of the transport of patients, reduced funds or delays in supplies of drugs. I would like to know the experience which the churches are having regarding health services in the rural areas during this period. A. (MR. GAUNTLETT) : Perhaps I can explain it like this. There has undoubtedly been a difference between the old territorial system and the federal system. As far as reduced funds are concerned I would question that. My own experience is that rather more funds have been made available. There is not a great deal in it. It varies according to the type of unit, but I think it is fair to say that the method of subsidy of mission hospitals is more logical than it used to be under the territorial system. As far as the supply of drugs is concerned, I would say that is a fair criticism of the federal system, because over-centralisation in Salisbury has led to an enormous amount of paper work, and a great deal of bureaucracy does hold up supplies and decisions on many quite important matters. That is definitely a disadvantage. As far as the very controversial ambulance service is concerned, I would not like to express an opinion, but I think it is likely that it is quite irrelevant to the issue of federation. In other words, it could easily have been a decision made by the territorial government or by the federal government. I do not think we can necessarily relate that to the federal government.

In summary, I would say my own experience—and I speak as medical secretary on the Christian Council and I get a fairly good view of mission hospitals throughout Northern Rhodesia—is that although there are many defects in the system and there always will be, there has been a greater measure of support under the Federal Government; not very markedly, but there has been a greater measure. So far as administration has inefficiencies we hope to see the end of these.

LORD CRATHORNE : You have still got your doctors? A. Yes, I do not think they are influenced at all.

MR. ROBINSON : I would like to ask the Council whether they feel there has been any general improvement in race relations during the last five, six or seven years, bearing in mind the comment that was made to this question three years ago? A. (MR. MUSGROVE) : My impression in Lusaka, and as Christian Council's secretary travelling to some extent, is the reverse, but if there is an opportunity I had hoped to speak personally to this whole question of race relations. A. (THE BISHOP) : I think it is very difficult to say what is meant by good race relations. If it is meant that more Europeans are mixing with more Africans, and more Europeans are welcoming Africans into their homes or into the Church, or in co-operating I would have said myself it is very much better now than it was 10 years ago. I came eight years ago to the country. If it is meant that more hard words are said by the Europeans against the Africans, then I would say it is worse, but I think those two things can go on quite consistently at the same time, because there is a minority of people seeking to come forward in the mingling of the races.

MR. KATILUNGU : I was wondering when the statement was made that the Federation in its present form would not be in fact very successful, whether the opinion which had always been expressed by members of the Church Council here in regard to African feelings against the Federation can be demonstrated as the same opinion as is held by the European members of the same denominations? (MR.



MENZIES: Do you really represent them?—is that it? **A. (FATHER SILLETT):** If I may t., and answer that briefly. Where we have spoken in this book in opposition to Federation, you will see we have referred specifically to African opposition. My own personal opinion regarding European attitudes is that we are in a very queer state in terms of European opinion at the moment. An awful lot—I speak of the Copperbelt—of soul-searching is going on in all strata of the European community. Not a lot is being done still, but at least now a lot of Europeans are beginning to think of the realities of the situation. It demonstrates that these classes have a much greater pre-occupation with the educational standards of their children than was the case a few years ago when the general idea was that son John had a white skin and he would therefore get a job on the mine. Those days are over, and Europeans are beginning to realise it. Equally, you will have had evidence to the effect that there is a considerable number of Europeans who for varying reasons would prefer a return to the old days of territorial government. Whether those reasons are morally or ethically right is another matter, but speaking in terms of my own European congregation to-day, I would say that there are a considerable number who would accept any system, any political arrangement which would ensure for them the continuance of their livelihood and a reasonably secure future for their children. I cannot be any more specific than that.

Q. So that, if there is any suggestion of any racial conflict as such, such as we have heard from other people—hatred between Europeans and Africans—it could only be attributed to those extremists from both sides who are responsible for political statements which create that kind of feeling? **A.** The point I was making was if somebody tells us there is racial hatred, we interpret it as hatred that can only be attributed to those extremist politicians, both European and African, who are responsible for some of the statements which create these ill-feelings amongst the people.

CHAIRMAN: When you say “racial hatred” is it racial hatred between the two extremes? **A.** I think at least part of the answer to that question is contained in the pamphlet in terms of this dialectic between the two ideologies. The fact that a large number of Europeans have a certain myth about the African, and the African about the European, rationalises their present insecurities in various ways. The politicians, who themselves are victims of the myth to some extent, are conscious of the fact that it exists and tend to adopt those attitudes and make their announcements which will explode the myth and maintain their association with their people. If they challenge the myth they are usually rejected. There are some very obvious examples of that in our political life over the last year or so.

A. (THE BISHOP): I would like to say there is a vast amount of real goodwill between the races in this country. Only last Sunday at Mufulira, where we had a Church service at which both Europeans and Africans were present in considerable numbers, a new priest was talking with astonishment. He had come out from home expecting the place to be a remote camp and found people mingling, with surplices, etc. There is that side of the picture. There is that going on, and thank God it is.

A. (MR. MWALA): About this word “hatred” I think the word “hatred” is much too strong. We should find some other word. From my experience I do not believe that there is any hatred at all in the truth of the word. I do not believe that our people do hate the European: I do not. I cannot speak for the European, but as far as my people are concerned, they do not hate them. The tension at present is created by a political demand, and as long as this demand is fulfilled somehow, there should be no tension whatever. The Africans know too well that although there is the demand for political rights, at the same time they need the services of the European—technical services, their knowledge and all that. I believe they realize that without technical help provided by the European we cannot go on on our own; that is a fact—we cannot. The European has got the technical knowledge. He has all the knowledge that is possible to run the machinery in central government, so that our demands really are confined, as I say, to politics—nothing less and nothing more.

In this pamphlet here in Section III—“The Nature of our Calling”—paragraph 3, there is a bit which speaks about vision, that is to say, a vision which was revealed by the

first missionary to the wondering eyes of the African, but the vision soon faded.

What I would like to emphasise here is that, looking at history as it is, our people did accept the European. In fact they even respected them in those days. Everything European was accepted. In pioneering days the missionaries had a lot of influence over the African, because they provided all the things. The government in those days was not big enough and strong enough to provide supplies and things of that sort. so to provide these the government had to use the missionary channel. There is no record of tension of any sort in our country at all. It was accepted, but as time went on—as this vision says here—the African began to disrespect the European for some unknown reason, and that respect which they had for the European soon faded away. Now we have reached a stage where we speak about hatred, but it is not hatred. They feel there is something missing between the European and the African. Throughout our history we have come to the conclusion that the only thing which is missing now is political rights and therefore we should try and fight for them. That is what our young people are agitating for. In fact they are not agitators: they are freedom-fighters. That is the right word for all the Africans.

Lastly I should also like to emphasise there is no hatred of any sort. Our people do not hate the Europeans, and I think the Europeans say the same. The Europeans I know have only certain fears. It is for them to express what those fears are and for the government to try and give safeguards to the minority who are in fear, and also to assure the African that it is all right—you may take a part in the running of the country.

You see I did not intend to say anything at all, but I have been roused by the word “fear” to try and wipe it out.

Q. It is fear on both sides rather than hatred, and when political rights are attained, then the respect you say has faded may return to mutual respect? **A.** Exactly—a mutual respect. **A. (MR. GAUNTLETT):** I would like to support that statement, Mr. Chairman. I can only speak mainly from rural experience. I would say there is very little evidence of any hatred either way. There is certainly very much evidence of intense fear—and most of the fear is fear of the unknown. The European does not know how much African advancement is going to affect him and his family and their security. The African does not know, because he is not told, or he is not told in terms he can understand. On this question of opposition to federation, my own personal experience in rural areas is that if you ask any African why he is opposed to it, he does not know. He is just afraid of the intention. It is something he does not understand. It is something new, therefore he is afraid of it. Therefore, as one experienced African said to me recently, it is rather like our forefathers when the Europeans first came. He greeted the European with respect and the European presented him with gifts and handed him a piece of paper and asked him to put his thumb on it—and he subsequently found he had sold the land rights to the European. Is he doing the same now by accepting Federation? I think that is probably in one form or another behind many of the fears of the African.

MR. KATILUNGU: That is rural area experience? **A.** Yes.

MR. NIGHTINGALE: I think perhaps the Commission would be interested in Mr. Musgrove's contribution on that point because he is in very close contact on a political board in an urban area. **A. (MR. MUSGROVE):** I ask the President if I may speak separately, because there are a number of things I would like to say. I have no confidence at all that any of the members of the delegation will support it, so I have on this point to dissociate myself from them as a Christian Council delegation. I have had the interesting experience of having worked in India during the “quit India” period: having worked in Ghana during the “self-government now” period; and I am beginning to be a stormy petrel because this is the third country where I have witnessed the development of the spirit which we loosely call nationalism.

During the last seven years I have been in charge of an African church in Lusaka containing a high proportion of educated Africans and many civil servants. During this time I have been fairly closely in touch with the African community in the suburbs here. I have seen an endless stream during the last couple of years of visitors to the Christian

Council. We have never been so popular as we are now. This has forced me because of their questions to try and sort out in my own mind what are the underlying issues in the situation as we see it here in a town like Lusaka.

I have noticed over this period firstly a very definite improvement in the position of many Africans—materially, socially and even politically—but much remains to be done and I am no more satisfied than are most Africans with the position. Nevertheless the fact of the improvement of events in many respects is there and cannot be denied. On the other hand, I have witnessed during the same period a gradual change in racial relationships. The change has been in two directions. There has been a noticeable improvement in the attitude of Europeans in some quarters, and there has been a considerable increase in the number of groups of Europeans and Africans who are meeting together for various purposes. That is extremely good. But at the same time there has been in my experience a marked hardening of the attitudes of many Africans in the suburbs here towards Europeans as such, though not necessarily towards particular Europeans. Taken together these two factors—an improvement on the one hand of the position of the Africans and at the same time a worsening in some aspects of race relations—seems to fall for comment because it is not what many people would have forecast and continue to forecast would happen.

I would suggest five reasons why this has happened: they are all fairly obvious.

- (1) The rate of African material, social and political progress has been far too slow to satisfy African hopes and aspirations, and has led to much frustration and discontent. I know that from personal experience.
- (2) Many Africans believe that the progress which has been made has been largely the result of African pressure upon the European community and not so much due to spontaneous gestures of European goodwill. They feel it is something they have had to win, rather than something which has been offered. I am not saying whether I think these things are true or not: this is what I gather.
- (3) The resultant suspicion that the European perhaps does not want to implement partnership, because he does not believe in it, has been exacerbated no doubt by the regrettable statements made by some European politicians, and the frankly disgraceful attitude of many Europeans towards Africans in their daily contacts. This has come to the point where many Africans are coming to take it for granted that Europeans by and large are not really genuine when they speak of partnership.

The two remaining factors are somewhat separate issues. The first, obviously, is the fact of Federation. There is the widespread hostility of the African towards the fact of Federation, which is obvious to everyone who has more than a casual contact with the African community. It seems to me that this hostility approaches the pathological. It is largely emotive and not rational, but it is vital that it should be neither under-estimated nor dismissed as irrelevant. The very fact that it is largely emotive is its strength, because it is therefore almost impervious to reasoned argument, but it is not necessarily a sign of African backwardness that this should be so. I think we have to remember that the mass of voters in advanced Western states also think emotively rather than rationally and this is demonstrated by the fact that most of our Western politicians appeal to the heart rather than to the head of the electorate. In practice here we have to reckon with the fact of that hostility and not be over-concerned with the rationality of it.

In practice I have found two basic reasons offered in opposition to the Federation. Firstly, the imposition of Federation—a matter vitally affecting the people's future. It is stated that Africans were not consulted or, insofar as they were consulted, their views were ignored. The second reason given is that there is a deep-seated fear, not without some justification, of the results of a close political association with Southern Rhodesia—this I have heard from Africans of all classes—a fear of this association with Southern Rhodesia, where European attitudes and policies are regarded as being highly illiberal and reactionary. The dominating position accorded to Southern Rhodesia in the Federal legislature, reflecting as it does the fact of the larger settler population in

that territory, is regarded as nothing less than a menace to the future of Africans in the Northern Territories. It seems to me that if you take these four factors together, they are largely responsible for the negative aspect of the change in the general African attitude to the European. They have resulted in a gradual loss of faith in the European, in his motives, in his good intentions, an increase of distrust, an increase of suspicion and fear; and despite many cases where there are very real friendships between European and African, I know personally of cases where this has led to veiled and even quite open animosity between Africans and Europeans. These things I have seen.

The final factor is the one I think responsible for the positive element of change in the African attitude towards the European. It is the effect of the impact upon the African mind of recent events elsewhere in Africa. If, as many Africans believe, partnership in practice seems to be sometimes at its best a rather poor joke, and at its worst might be called a blatant example of European hypocrisy, what is the alternative—where is he to look—where do we go from here? It seems to me that he looks across to Southern Rhodesia, to the Union, and he shudders. He then turns and looks north to the Congo, Tanganyika, Uganda, the Sudan, Nigeria, and, of course, Ghana. If these countries can gain ultimate national independence under indigenous majority governments, why not Northern Rhodesia? It is surely a geographical accident that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland lie on the no man's land between Lugard's Africa, where, by and large, self-determination is being recognised, and Africa south of the Zambezi where, by and large, it is not. It must be quite noticeable that every national instinct causes Africans in this territory to look to the north, not to the south, and to resist instinctively being yoked, against their will by imposed political fetters with a territory which forms part of what is in their view the white man's Africa.

From conversations which I have had with some African political leaders I do not believe they are against any form of eventual free association with other territories, especially territories to the north, but they are against this particular and imposed association with a territory to the south. It is perhaps tragic when at the very time I think more real efforts are being made than ever before to convince Africans of the virtues of partnership and Federation, so many Africans feeling disillusioned with their experience in the last few years, are looking elsewhere for new hope and inspiration. They will not cease now to look elsewhere for a pattern for the future.

The Federation, it seems to me, cannot ultimately survive without the freely given consent of these African peoples. So far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned that consent has not been given, and here I can only pass a personal judgment, I do not think it will be given. I think the time has passed now when it might have been. Ten, even perhaps five years ago it might have been possible, but I doubt it now. The African has seen another way forward; it is a very attractive way forward; and I do not think you will now turn him from it. For those who sincerely believed in partnership and Federation, this has been a classic example of too little and much too late.

In my judgment we may well face a new reality that is amongst us in this territory. I do not think we can expect anything but increasing tension and disharmony in this territory unless it is made clear that Her Majesty's Government accepts the principle of an African majority government within the reasonably foreseeable future; such government to have the right, perhaps by referendum, to withdraw from the Federation if it so desires, and to seek new associations with other African territories if it so desires, which I think a real possibility. It may be said that in this case the Federation will break up itself anyway, because Southern Rhodesia will not be willing to consider continuing under such terms, but I cannot speak for them.

We may deplore this change in the situation. We may seek to delay it; we may seek to compromise; I trust we shall not seek to coerce. We may if we choose describe our African peoples as mis-guided and short-sighted—increasingly perhaps racialist and nationalist—but we have in the end to deal with our people here as we find them and not as we might wish them to be. So far as partnership is concerned it must be realised that partnership between peoples of different races living in the same territory does not necessarily

780

depend on a nice balance in the legislature. Despite popular fears, the idea that under eventual majority African government in this territory there will be neither places for Europeans nor security is a complete and utter myth. There will of course be no place for a certain type of European. He will exclude himself, but I am quite sure that for Europeans who are capable of adapting themselves to the changed situation and who are people of goodwill, there will not only be a need, but a place and prospects. Under those circumstances I can assure Mr. Mwala that there will be a welcome for him in this Territory and possibly, as in countries like India and Ghana, a better prospect than now of a real and fruitful working together partnership.

Those, Sir, are my views. I do not know whether other members of the deputation will agree with them, but that is the fruit of my experience here in Lusaka over the last seven years.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for coming and giving us your views. We read in your papers that there were signs that the period of fragmentation of the African political community is coming to an end. I assume I can take it too that all the churches are coming together.

Memorandum

SIR JOHN MOFFAT, M.L.C.

The evidence following is what I believe the African case against Federation to be. There are many African leaders who could put their own case with greater force because they suffer the social disabilities which I merely deplore. My reason for putting this case to the Commission is that I represented African interests in both the Territorial and Federal legislatures and there are some aspects of the case which I am qualified to present. Evidence is confined to Northern Rhodesian Africans except where the context indicates otherwise.

1. The conference in London which drafted the Federal Constitution was boycotted by the African delegations from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The European delegations assured the United Kingdom Government that

- (i) African leaders who opposed Federation were ambitious politicians with no popular following.
- (ii) Africans in general either approved of Federation or were completely indifferent to it.
- (iii) There were no means of finding out what Africans thought.
- (iv) All opposition would disappear when the economic benefits of Federation became apparent.

None of these statements was true (see Appendix 1).

2. These four reassurances permitted the United Kingdom Government to impose Federation with some appearance of justification. During the publicity campaign which followed, no effort was made to disguise the intention of many Europeans to use Federation as a means of securing their own dominant position. In Southern Rhodesia a referendum followed—confined almost wholly to Europeans and the decision lay wholly in their hands. In the Protectorates where the views of the people had been clearly and forcefully expressed, no such right was conceded. African fears were multiplied. The record of the past six years has confirmed those fears (see Appendix 2).

In deference to African opposition the London conference established the principle that all matters affecting the day to day life of the African must remain Territorial. This complicated the drafting of the Constitution. Provision was accordingly made for a further conference not less than seven years later to revise the constitution. The assumption was that African opposition would by then have disappeared. The United Kingdom delegation believed this would be so. Whether or not the European delegations from the three Territories believed it also, only they can say. If they did they demonstrated that ignorance of African opinion which has persisted to this day. It is important to bear in mind that the main purpose of this conference is to get the measure of agreement which was impossible at the original one. The European leaders who gave this assurance have had overwhelming power in the Federal Parliament to reassure African opinion had they desired to do so. It is now essential that any association between the three Territories which that conference may recommend must have the approval of reason-

able men of all races and that at some stage the people themselves must be given the right to accept or reject the proposals. (See Appendix 3).

4. If it is accepted that any constitution recommended at the coming conference must win popular approval, then it must also be realised that no Federal constitution resembling the present one has a chance of succeeding. The crucial fact for the Commission and the conference is the violence of African opposition to Federation in both Protectorates. An organisation on the lines of the East Africa High Commission might succeed. With the exception of the African members of Legislative Council and the Federal Assembly who owe their election to European voters of the Federal Party I have heard no African in public or in private speak of Federation in terms other than of outright condemnation.

5. Linked to this opposition to Federation—now so violent that it contemplates violence—is the rapid advance of African nationalism. The troubles in Southern Rhodesia last year were probably no more than nationalist sentiment which covers the entire continent and Africans of that Colony regard Federation with favour because they hope that association with the Protectorates will result in more liberal policies. African nationalism is a potent force which can be used for good or ill. But because to Africans here Federation is a device to deprive them of their rightful inheritance, the local brand of Nationalism is assuming rapidly an extreme form. But the fact that some leaders can exploit these fears for their own purposes does not alter the fact that the fears are genuine. They were justified when Federation was imposed and the past six years have confirmed them. (See Appendix 4).

6. The Commission and the Conference must keep in mind these facts which have developed greatly since the last London conference:

- (i) Protectorate Africans are solid in their opposition to Federation and this opposition is based on six years' experience.
- (ii) The opposition has grown steadily until it has reached such a pitch that probably only the stringent emergency legislation last year prevented violent explosion.
- (iii) African nationalism which barely existed six years ago is now a most potent force. Because of this, if the coming conference disregards African opposition as the previous one did the consequences will be very different.
- (iv) Developments throughout Africa during the past six years form a pattern which we dare not disregard. For Northern Rhodesia the constitutional developments during 1960 in Tanganyika and the Congo are of particular significance because our common border with them runs for hundreds of miles.
- (v) Developments here and in Nyasaland show clearly that if Federation is maintained in its present form we are heading straight for trouble. The experience of 1959 with emergency legislation, and restriction of African leaders here; with a state of emergency in Southern Rhodesia where Africans are still detained; with a state of emergency and near-revolution in Nyasaland give clear warning of the course on which our feet are set.

7. It is essential at this stage to acknowledge that in due course in each of the three Territories and in whatever association is formed between them the Government must inevitably be African controlled. This must be so because our system presumes that the will of the majority must prevail and Africans are the overwhelming majority. It follows that the central problem is no longer how to maintain European control but what to do during this difficult period of transition so that when the swing in power occurs it will be of no political or social significance. If policy can go further and get Africans to link their very natural desire for power to their ability to exercise it with moderation and restraint; then we shall have achieved the absolute maximum under existing circumstances.

8. Events are moving far too fast in Africa for gradual adjustments or evolutionary processes. A liberal policy for Europeans here is not an intellectual exercise but a condition of survival. European voters are incapable of making

voluntarily adjustments in their racial outlook in time to save themselves. With few exceptions the elected members of legislatures cannot force the pace because they fear the voters' displeasure and, because of their own ignorance and prejudice, they would not if they could. European public opinion is adjusting itself painfully to rapidly changing circumstance but it remains five years behind the times. This commission and the conference which follows have the heavy duty to save this part of Africa from bitter race strife—a far heavier task than was ever contemplated for them.

9. The key to the whole matter is the franchise law. The qualifications must be revised so that in each of the three Territories the next election will be fought with White and Black voters practically equal in every constituency. This would make every elected member depend on support from both races. Election to any central legislature would be on the electoral law of each Territory. If this is done, the three Territorial and one central legislature will have five years with moderates in control in which to establish a non-racial society. If this is done, the inevitable African majority in the next election could be of no significance. If we fail that African majority would, no doubt, be prejudiced in favour of Blacks as our government during the past six years has been prejudiced in favour of Whites. Only a decision such as this can awaken Europeans to the facts of existence in the middle of Africa. We can insure five years of peace in which to work out our own salvation. The United Kingdom Government can provide for such a Franchise law in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and it must make clear its intention of doing so by next year at the latest. The Southern Rhodesia Government should be asked to do likewise. If they cannot do so they may sacrifice our last chance of peaceful development of a raceless society. To many people this would be too high a price to pay for continued association with them.

10. To give a feeling of security during the period of transition we should have a Bill of Rights. We should write into the constitution of each Territory and of the central government definition of the rights of the individual citizen. This would reassure Africans now and Europeans later. Our most trustworthy citizens should be nominated to a body charged with safeguarding the Constitution. These men must be free of political pressure and when a vacancy occurs the members themselves should nominate the most suitable candidate.

11. This paper has concentrated on African fears because under present circumstances it is their fears which would break the present Federation. But European fears for their future are genuine too, and in the long term they have greater justification. The tragedy of our situation is that European leaders offer no solution other than making concession to Africans as slowly as they dare to delay the fate they cannot avoid. A supreme act of faith is needed now to give Europeans a chance of survival in Central Africa—but it is one which the European electorate and the present leaders are not equipped to take unaided. Only the United Kingdom Government can do this. If such action *can* be taken *and* some form of association between the three states can be preserved, we shall be fortunate. But if the choice lies between adopting this policy or maintaining Federation, then Federation must go.

In case some members of the Commission want greater detail, four Appendices follow.

Appendix 1—The Four Mis-statements

1. Africans in Southern Rhodesia accept Federation as a good thing. They hope that the more advanced ideas of the protectorates will hasten their own political development. But to Africans here Federation is an unqualified evil. This country had always been referred to as "the black North" and its policy of "paramountcy of African interests" was unquestioned for many years. The development of the Copper Mines and the sudden increase of European population of an entirely different type brought the first signs of race tension. European political leaders started to press for an increased say in Government and then for complete control of it. The doctrine of the paramountcy of African interests was abandoned and "partnership" substituted. African opinion became increasingly fearful of European political ambitions and increasingly disillusioned with the Colonial Office as their protector. They noted that European threats got results and

became convinced that that was the way the game should be played.

2. There followed the secret meeting at the Victoria Falls between European representatives of Northern and Southern Rhodesia—the "Amalgamation" discussions. African leaders were convinced that because Southern Rhodesia needed the copper revenue and Northern Rhodesia's Europeans needed the Southern Rhodesian outlook to African advancement instead of the Colonial Office one, a secret deal was being made. It was not an unreasonable assumption to make.

3. When the Labour Government arranged the Victoria Falls Conference to discuss closer association the African reaction was that this was the latest in a series of surrenders to White demands. When the Federation Conference was held in London the events which led up to it made it inevitable that Africans would boycott it. They did so not because they were ambitious politicians but because the recently formed African political associations told them to do so. This was the finest misstatement by the European delegations: the Africans refused to take part in the conference because they were instructed not to do so.

4. The second mis-statement—that Africans generally either approved of Federation or were indifferent to it was demonstrably false—but no chance was given to demonstrate it. It was overlooked that Africans from the Protectorate had worked in Southern Rhodesia by the hundred thousand. It is true that these men knew nothing of the constitutional implications of Federation (few Europeans know much about them even now) but these Africans knew by experience what life was like for the African in Southern Rhodesia and they were determined that laws such as the Land Apportionment Act must not be imported. In the Southern Rhodesian referendum the European electorate was required only to indicate if it wanted Federation or not. The voters were not required to produce evidence to satisfy opponents that they had sound reasons for voting as they did. So also with African opposition—the material point is that they want it abolished and whether or not their reasons are, in the judgment of supporters of Federation adequate is immaterial. If their reasons for opposition were inadequate, it should have been so much easier to have persuaded them to change their minds in the six years.

But African opposition is soundly based on two facts: Europeans have tried and continue to try to get control of this Government and, regardless of African objections, they forced through an association with Southern Rhodesia to entrench their political power.

5. The third mis-statement was that there was no means of finding out what African opinion was. Those who made these assertions overlooked the fact that if this one is true, the first two must be false. There are thousands of village headmen who traditionally speak for the villagers. There are hundreds of Chiefs who speak for their people. There are Paramount Chiefs and Tribal Councils which speak for the tribe. There were District Councils containing the leading citizens of the District. These selected their best men for Provincial Councils and these in turn picked the members of the African Representative Council. Finally there are the African members of Legislative Council elected largely by their fellow Africans. All these, as well as individuals, are available to say what Africans think.

6. The fourth mis-statement—that African opposition would disappear when the material benefits of Federation became apparent was based on a complete misunderstanding of the African objection. It is typified by a recent statement that what Africans want is bread and not votes. Africans fear above all things the race theories of South Africa and if they come to believe that revolution, bloodshed, economic ruin are the price they have to pay to avoid European domination, they will pay that price. They know very well that fully half of the European population here came from South Africa and brought their race theories with them. With the exception of two or three hotels there is not a European owned café, restaurant, hotel dining room or cinema which will permit an African to have a cup of tea in peace and secure in the knowledge that he will not be insulted or ejected. These people are treated as second class citizens in their own protectorate and they tend to blame Federation for all their ills. This is unfair and an obvious exaggeration but has a basis of truth. Until there is a complete revolution in the European



outlook African opposition will increase and the threat of violence will become more menacing. The one-sided outlook is illustrated by the recent statement by the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister that if the two Northern Governments fell into the hands of African Nationalists, the Colony must have the right to leave the Federation. This was considered to be statesmanship. But the African reply—that the protectorates on this basis must be free to secede now because the Southern Rhodesian and Federal Governments are in the hands of European Nationalists—is considered to be racialism in its extreme form.

Appendix 2—African Fears of Federation

As explained in Appendix 1 the imposition of Federation was, to Africans, merely the final act in a series. Had Federal leaders done what any reasonable man would have expected them to do and that was to meet African leaders, find out what they feared and undertaken to remove those fears, these fears might have withered away. This opportunity was neglected. It may be no exaggeration to say that this Commission in the couple of weeks it tours Northern Rhodesia will speak to more Africans than the Federal Prime Minister had done throughout his public life.

Throughout the Federation there is increasing race rivalry and mounting tension. In such circumstances it is inevitable that members of Legislatures elected on a voters roll will tend to reflect the fears and prejudices of the voters. When voters are almost all of one race it is reasonable to assume that the fears and demands of that race will receive closer attention than those of races which are powerless to affect the election results. The recent Federation election is a case in point. Election speeches were confined solely to the fears and requirements of the European voters. For every one European who demanded Dominion Status as a means of insuring his own security there were forty Africans who were fiercely opposed to this as implying their permanent subjugation. The Federal Party won an overwhelming victory in the Federal elections because it promised dominion status in 1960 in spite of the fact that its leaders were well aware they would not get it.

This constant demand for Dominion status is the major cause of race tension; it is the one development Africans fear above all others. They are convinced that it flows from the South African idea that in a well ordered society Europeans do as they like and Africans do as they are told. African fears of Federation are caused by:—

- (i) The control of the Federal Government by men who have been under close scrutiny by Africans for many years and whose attitude to African advancement is clearly understood.
- (ii) The process by which the original doctrine of paramountcy of African interests has eroded away to a point at which the Territorial Government is controlled—in part—by a political party elected wholly on the European vote and tied to the Federal Government controlled by the same Party.
- (iii) Africans see Federation as the latest stage in a battle which has been going on for years and one in which each fight has resulted in European victory.
- (iv) The Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments are elected by voters rolls so heavily loaded in favour of Europeans that no African has ever been elected to the Southern Rhodesian Legislature and no African has won a seat in the Federal House except one which *had* to elect an African. These people cannot be expected to accept a situation in which they are powerless to affect the results of an election to a parliament which has power to do them harm. They could not accept it even if the government of the day paid due regard to their wishes because the next government could be a hostile one and they could do little or nothing to prevent its election.
- (v) The claim for Dominion Status is taken as proof of European opposition to African advancement. Their argument runs thus:—
 - (a) The Imperial Government always exercises its influence in our favour; it fails us occasionally but it does try to safeguard our interests while we lack the power to do so ourselves.
 - (b) One political party won an overwhelming victory in the last Federal election by proclaiming that it would abolish this influence. Its leader even threatened to “go it alone” under certain circumstances and his followers have referred to “Boston tea parties”. This means to Europeans generally are bitterly opposed to this overseas influence.
 - (c) As this power has never been exercised except to protect us it means that it is this protection that they find so objectionable that they are prepared to sever the British connection to be quit of it.
 - (d) This means that they want to be free to treat us in a way the present British power prevents them doing.
 - (e) They want European supremacy established here.
- (vi) The demand by the same political party for Responsible Government for Northern Rhodesia and the spectacular victory which this slogan won for them is taken as further proof that European demands to be free to consolidate their position without overseas interference. The repeated demand to be free of the “shackles of the Colonial Office” and the recurring demand to abolish protected status makes Africans draw the same conclusions as in (v) above—that Europeans want quit of the Colonial Office because they want to reverse its policy.

The six reasons given above are basic to African opposition to Federation. There are genuine fears, even if they are somewhat exaggerated—as most fears usually are. No expressions of goodwill, of good intentions, of a policy of partnership or of economic benefit can affect these issues. The African realistically assumes that the European would consolidate his position if he could, and expects him to try. While marked race differences exist it is inevitable that the two races will be engaged in a struggle for power and if the struggle is permitted to develop it is the African who will win it in due season. The wisest course for us as Europeans is to accept the inevitable end because it is inevitable and to concentrate on creating conditions here in which race differences become steadily less significant until, when the swing over in power takes place it will have no significance. One of the many paradoxes of our politics here is that it is the European who insists on race differences and colour bar while his very survival depends on colour prejudices disappearing in the shortest possible time.

In addition to the six reasons given above, Africans consider that the Federal Government has done as little as it dared to remove race differences during the past six years. Insofar as the ordinary African citizen is concerned the only improvement is the ending of racial segregation in Post Offices. The appointment of an African Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Government and an African Information Officer to the London office is of no significance to anyone except the two gentlemen concerned. Africans would have preferred to see some firm action in the state-owned Railways. In matters of detail, African criticism is concentrated upon:—

- (a) Discrimination in employment in the Railways.
- (b) The new Federal franchise which provided that all the additional African seats in the enlarged Assembly would be elected on a voters roll overwhelmingly European.
- (c) The consequent alteration in the balance of the African Affairs Board. In the first parliament not more than two members out of six could be members of the Government Party. Now it has four out of six which means that government party members control the decisions of the Board.
- (d) In spite of the declaration in the constitution that the Federal Public Service would be non-racial, all non-European professionally qualified Civil Servants (except Doctors) start on a lower scale than their European counterpart of equal qualification. They are admitted to the European grade only when a Board has certified that they show qualities of leadership, etc. This means that only a fraction of professionally qualified men draw the salaries to which their training entitles them.
- (e) The African cost of living has been increased out of all proportion by application of high customs duties on cheap goods for the African trade—cheap enamel ware from Hongkong, cotton cloth and cheap piece goods. A comparison between the increase in customs

in these articles with the corresponding rates for European crockery and expensive clothing would be illuminating.

- (f) The decline in the Health services and increases in postal charges cause much adverse comment. A visit to the Lusaka African Hospital would illustrate this point.

Many of the increases such as (e) and (f) can be justified on grounds such as protecting local industries. They do not greatly concern the Africans other than to supply answers to the suggestion that they would experience material benefits from Federation. The only changes the ordinary African notes do not impress him favourably. But in this situation so charged with emotion, the economic argument weighs little. Africans will oppose Federation in every shape or form unless they are convinced that it can do nothing to halt their advance to self-government as some thirty other States in Africa are doing.

Appendix 3—Agreement on Constitution Essential

It is reasonable enough to make every effort to maintain some kind of association between the three States but the present situation in which Federation is held together only because we have the power to do this, cannot continue. Any association agreed upon must be acceptable to reasonable men of all races and at some stage it must be referred to the people of each State to accept or reject as they deem fit. In accepting this criterion it must be realised that no association which remotely resembles the present Federation can then be contemplated. The basic error of forcing an unwelcome association on an unwilling people has resulted in hostility and fear which, with passing years have acquired an emotional content so potent that any scheme with the word "federation" attached would be rejected without further thought. The best we can hope for is to retain some form of association by agreement in the hope that we may be able to build on this foundation by agreement later. To continue to demand too much will result in the dissolution of Federation in violence.

It is this emotional aspect of the question which complicates the matter beyond measure. The fears of the past six years might be overcome in reasonable African delegates at the conference but reference to the African peoples immediately after the conference would inevitably mean rejection. Possibly a "cooling off" period might be possible. But reference to the people must be made at some stage and the risk that they would reject a good scheme is the price we must pay for past errors. It is, I think significant that those who constantly declare that Africans are not opposed to Federation who resist most strongly the suggestion that their views should be obtained.

Appendix 4—African Nationalism

This phenomenon is appearing throughout the continent. If it can be helped and directed it can be a potent force for change and development by giving the African peoples a sense of purpose and of direction. If it becomes militant it can cause chaos with suffering for everyone irrespective of race and economic collapse. The direction it takes will depend largely on its leaders. It should be easy to convince them that all the legitimate ambitions of African national sentiment are freely conceded and that progress by friendly agreement can be not only easier and faster but infinitely more pleasant for us all. One of the tragedies of the present situation is that present tensions and the obvious injustices Africans suffer tend to put belligerent nationalists at the head of popular movements, and it is with the leaders that we have to deal. It is not generally realised, however, that far from these leaders pushing their followers into violence; many of them are running harder than they desire merely to keep ahead of the mob. Most of the natural leaders of African thought do not lead now because conditions do not favour moderate men. A man with the moderation of Mr. Julius Nyerere can assume his rightful place only when conditions are favourable for him to do so. The present fear of Federation must be removed and a political climate must be created here which will permit African leaders to be moderate and to act moderately. The African peoples of this protectorate are essentially a peaceful and a tolerant people. A wise policy could insure that they continue to be so. But success can come only if we face facts as they are and not as we would have them be.

Oral Evidence

SIR JOHN MOFFAT

Member of Legislative Council, Lusaka

CHAIRMAN: Sir John, we are very grateful to you for coming along. We have all seen your memorandum and I gather the conclusion stated there, if I may use the expression, is that it is impossible to sell Federation now as Federation, and it would be better to look along the line of something like the East Africa High Commission for a solution. A. No, Sir, that is not quite true. I think the fundamental fact is that Federation, as a political association, has no future but that it might be possible to maintain an association which is essentially non-political. I have stressed the economic rather than the political side, because it is the political factor which weighs so heavily with African people.

Q. Yes, would you develop what you think ought to be done? A. This memorandum is a little confused as it was prepared during a busy session. I would like, if I may, to try to put my views first and it might clarify the position. The memorandum is what I believe the African case to be, and I have submitted it to many African leaders with the request they draw attention to any portions of it with which they disagree. I have not had any adverse comment from them. In brief, what I would like to do—there is no time to argue the whole business here—is to put briefly what I think the essential problem is, and to suggest how that should be tackled. Perhaps I might also give my suggestion of the right thing to do.

I would like to make it plain before I start that I myself would like to see an association continue between these three territories, because in the long run it would be to the very great benefit of each. It is, however, my belief that this Federation in its present form will not have a long run. I believe it builds up within itself pressures which are going to lead to explosion, and I also believe that the explosion point is not very far distant.

The essential problem of this whole business is, of course, African opposition to Federation—I mean the opposition of protected Africans in the two protectorates, because the Southern Rhodesian ones do not object to it in the same way—but the protected Africans do represent something not far short of 3¼ millions of the population.

I would suggest this opposition represents an aspect—and the major aspect now—of a struggle for power between white and black in Central Africa. It was a struggle which started in Northern Rhodesia before Federation came on the scene. It was, I think, the cause of the trouble in Nyasaland and I think it will continue, at any rate, for a number of years even if Federation was abolished tomorrow.

These fears of the African are genuine. Added to that there is the psychological factor that Federation was brought in against their wishes and now, in some respect, there is almost a pathological factor. I believe that protected Africans were right when they opposed Federation seven years ago. I also believe that the history of the past six years has proved that they were right. But that is just my opinion, and I would suggest to you that in point of fact it is immaterial whether I am correct or not in assessing the weight of African opposition, because if we are to argue that their opposition carries no weight because it is ill-informed then it is not only African opinion that is ill-informed. Sir, if African views are ill-informed on this matter of Federation, it would be material if our object was to try to persuade them to change their views, because if their views were ill-founded it would be so much easier for us to persuade them to alter their views; but while they hold those views they are entitled to them, in the same way as any one else is entitled to his views.

To me, the material point is that in these two protectorates the African fear and hate of Federation has now reached such a pitch that I am certain that if they are once convinced that the only way they can get out would be to fight their way out, they will do so.

I am also convinced that if we tried to retain Federation in its present form because we, as Europeans here, have the power to do so at present, it will end in the Europeans having neither Federation nor power. And in that process, irrespective of race, all of us are going to be in for an exceedingly unhappy time.

109

I would suggest to you that the central problem we have to face is the fears of the African opposition in the Federation and the two protectorates. In suggesting this it has long been obvious throughout Africa that the will of the majority has got to prevail, and the majority have to be in control of the government. It has, I think, been less obvious—though it is no less true—that we Europeans here, in order to ensure our survival, have to commit a supreme act of faith in that we have now to reverse our entire approach to this problem which has been up to now to try to retain power in European hands for just as long as it is possible for us to do so. I suggest that now we must try with enthusiasm—training and helping African leaders to qualify themselves for the responsibilities which are going to be put on them quite soon.

Had this been done even five years ago I think our future here would now be secure. I am not too sure whether now it may not be too late, but I myself believe we can still work out our own salvation here: but in five years' time it would be so much more difficult.

What I am suggesting is that we Europeans here have to accept the facts of life for a small European white minority in the middle of a black continent. It would be nice if we could do that for moral or liberal or religious reasons: but we will not do it for any of those reasons. I think it is possible that we shall do it for the more material reason that it is the only way we can ensure our survival here. If we can accept the inevitable consequence of events, not because we happen to like it but because it is inevitable, then I think we can set the stage in which it is possible for the moderate African leader in Northern Rhodesia—who does not appear at all now—to appear and take his rightful place in the scheme of things.

The present situation is tailor-made for the emergence of the more truculent young man with whom it is exceedingly difficult for us to deal. You see, here in Northern Rhodesia we have got both the Jomo Kenyatta type of individual who emerged in Kenya and the Julius Nyerere type of individual who emerged in Tanganyika. I would suggest it depends entirely on ourselves which type we are dealing with as an African leader in, say, five years' time.

If I may put it this way, that is the line of approach on which I think that central problem might be tackled. If that is accepted then we have to get away from the tendency, which is such a marked feature in Northern Rhodesia, of trying to ascribe African nationalism and aspirations to a small group of African politicians because it is not so. There is a genuine African national movement in all three of the Territories, and that is an extraordinarily powerful movement.

It is just no use our pretending that it is not there and the only way we can cope with it, I do suggest, if we cannot direct it or lead it, is to create the circumstances into which these aspirations can flow into calmer channels. But we are certainly not going to stop it by putting a bunch of African agitators in jail.

If we were to accept the analysis that I have put to you then I do suggest the only way that is possible for us to preserve an association between the three states is to lay down now an essential condition and that is that any recommendation that is made by you and accepted by the Conference must at some stage be submitted to the people of these three states for ratification and for them to be free to accept or reject it as they desire. Not only is this the only right solution to this problem of African opposition but I would assure you it is the only course which is going to permit us to have any association within a reasonable period of time.

I want to make it quite plain if that is accepted, then we have to acknowledge right away that the potential field of agreement is now pathetically small. The reason is, as you will have found out in the evidence you have taken, that we will not be starting from zero, we will be starting from an accumulated minus value which we have acquired during the past six years. So bitter is the feeling that that is the reason why I said in answer to your initial question that I myself am afraid that no association which implied a political association could succeed. But the degree of success that one is likely to get, if this analysis is accepted, is going to depend wholly on what happens between now and the time of the Conference because if it is possible to reassure the protected peoples in regard to their own future in their own country, you may be creating an entirely different atmosphere in which

they will be able to consider the question of an association between the three of them.

So I would like to suggest to you that the degree of success that one can get either from your own recommendations or from a conference depends on what constitutional changes can take place in these countries before a final decision is required to be made.

I would suggest that as far as Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are concerned the minimum requirement is that there should be a categorical assurance that the right of the majority to rule is accepted. Further, that immediate changes should be made in our constitutional arrangements and in our franchise law which will not, as the present one is, be designed to try to balance so many white seats in the legislature against so many black ones, but rather to ensure that the moderate African leader will get into the Legislature in fairly considerable numbers so we can train him for his responsibilities during a five-year period. It is necessary to be quite specific and to say the date on which the rule by the majority would come about. They are not going to accept any of these pie in the sky assurances that they will get things when they are fit for them. We have passed that stage now. I suggest the same thing has got to be done for Nyasaland.

If this is done, then I do feel it is reasonable for the Europeans in the Protectorates to require a study of their legitimate interests that must be protected. I have very amateur ideas as to how this might be done. How it could be done I do not know but I would like to say that I have moved among these African Nationalist people for a long while now. I have yet to find one African who would deny the right of the European and the Asian minorities to try to secure their rights as against securing their privileges.

If this can be done in the two Protectorates then I suggest that Southern Rhodesia might be invited to follow the same kind of programme. Whether they can or not will, I think, to a great extent determine whether any continuing association is possible with them at this stage.

In an elected parliament in which the members are elected by a voters' roll which is almost exclusively European, it is quite impossible for that parliament to make the adjustments it has got to make, quickly enough in the rapidly changing situation in this part of Africa. They just simply cannot do it. We have heard a great deal here about the shackles of the Colonial Office and the dead hand of the Imperial Government and so on. I happen to consider that this is one of the most priceless assets we possess, this power of the Imperial Government, because if it is exercised it can speed the necessary processes of adjustment.

I spoke earlier about the need for a supreme act of faith by the Europeans if they were to ensure their own survival. I must say now quite frankly that our Europeans here lack both the knowledge and the intelligence to take that act in time. Rapid action has got to be taken by Her Majesty's Government at home and that is why I consider this Commission and the Conference which is following it to be of such crucial importance because if you see to it that we do move fast enough then I think we can ensure our own survival here because we happen to be fortunate in having quite incredibly co-operative African people and the degree of goodwill which our own administration possesses and has exercised in Northern Rhodesia for many years now is quite astonishingly great. The African people are unbelievably co-operative with the Government of this country. I was Administrative Officer here for twenty-four years.

I feel that if the Imperial Government and if the Commission appreciate the situation here and do what should be done, we are going to thank you for it as soon as we realise that it was for our benefit. But I am quite certain that without that push we are going to continue adjusting our views five years too late.

It is the normal habit of politicians to say that this is the most important year and so on but I quite genuinely believe it is possible that this is our last chance and I do hope that you are going to help us to take it.

Q. May I ask you just one question to get it absolutely clear? You said at the outset the Federation in its present form cannot have a long life and an explosion might not be far distant. I quite understand that. In the latter part of your evidence you were really saying that no form of

Federation is a practicable answer to the problem as it is but you do think that there are changes which might be considered while still retaining Federation which might avoid the explosion which you fear? A. I think the degree of, shall we say, centralised control it would be possible to achieve by agreement, is going to depend wholly on the degree in which these protected people feel secure in their own Government here.

Q. What I meant was this. I am merely putting this as a hypothesis but supposing the result of our discussions was that we thought a Federation should remain but that very important elements among the Federal functions which now are dealt with Federally and centrally should go back to the Territorial Governments and be dealt with as it were, on the spot. I am thinking of obvious things, education, health, and so forth; do you think that Federation thus changed will have a chance of survival without explosion? A. No, Sir. I think we have got to get it quite plain what the essential concept is. Normally in a Federation the conflict is between constituent states and the central government. That is not the problem here. The problem here is between white and black in all three states and merely shuffling functions between the Federation and the Territorial Governments is not going to affect the fundamental issue. The fundamental difficulty here is African feeling of uncertainty in their association, in their political association, and the only way you can get any agreement is by removing that.

Q. A great many of us have heard, as we have gone about, a good deal about the loyalty of the African in these Territories to the Crown and their anxiety to retain, some of them at any rate, the link with the Colonial Office. Supposing the alteration of the Federal structure was one which did, in fact, practically restore the system of government to which they were accustomed in all things which affect their daily life, might they not think that their security was given back? A. I do not quite get your meaning; what do you mean by restore?

Q. We are necessarily concerned with the functions of government and there are some functions which affect the daily life of the Africans more than others and some of them have been expressing their view that they were quite happy when they were being governed under the Colonial Office through the Northern Rhodesian Government before the advent of Federation. What I was wondering was if you go so far as to say this: that even if those functions which had affected their daily life were once more in the hands of the Northern Territories' Governments with the protection of the Crown behind it, would you still say the mere retention of things like foreign affairs, defence and internal communications, would not alter the situation because the Federation would remain and would be the cause of the explosion? A. I can clear up one point possibly. To people up here the name Federation has a psychological effect and in some cases almost pathological. I think if you offered them independence and called it Federation they would probably say "No." It has reached that stage. They associate things with words and this is a bitterly resented word now. But if you were retaining the essentials of Federation and not calling it that it would still be objectionable. The fundamental factor is that these people will only accept an association absolutely incapable of doing them harm and hindering their advancement towards full self-government.

Q. Does that mean even taking the functions I took, the obvious ones, which in any Federal structure would be central, they would not accept it because there would still be some power in the Federal Government? A. It depends. If you were considering an association on the lines of East African High Commission, an association demonstrably created to exercise the functions of parliament which are better exercised on a federal rather than a territorial basis, I am quite sure that, other things being set right, it would be possible to get an agreement on those functions as long as the political factor of hindering advancement towards self-government could not intrude; that is the crucial factor.

Q. I was only questioning whether that could not be done without emasculating Federation to the extent that there was nothing left in the Federal Government. As I understand it, although there is a legislative power in the East African High Commission, it is only really exercisable with the consent of the territories which make up the High Commission. I think that is right, is it not? A. It is extraordinarily

difficult to answer your question because the answer is not based wholly on logic. You have got this immense potent emotional factor which has now intruded and it is quite impossible for anybody to be able to tell you what might or might not be accepted. The only line you can go on to my mind is to try to get rid of this emotional factor, get rid of the fear factor altogether if you can and then it is possible to let these people consider the association on its economic and other benefits. At present to talk about the economic benefits of any particular thing is just merely infuriating to these people because they do not consider this economic aspect. The political factor in all these matters in the broad view is not anything like as important as education and various other functions but the devil of the political factor is that when it is wrong it intrudes into every other sphere. If you can get it right then you can forget about it and consider these other matters on their merits but while that political factor is dominating this it is impossible to get any logical appreciation of any approaches.

MR. MENZIES: Sir John, I would like to ask you if you would view with apprehension the immediate assumption of power in the Federation of an African majority in the four legislatures? A. I would indeed, yes.

Q. How far would you go with the extension of the franchise? A. That is rather a large question.

Q. Can you split it up, as long as you give me the answer? A. I will give you the answer, Sir. Can I start by saying that this qualification for franchise seems to me to have a certain amount of humbug attached to it when it is given as a definition of the essential requirements of a civilised man. To me the qualification of the franchise is designed for a specific purpose and that is to maintain a balance which you desire in your legislature and it seems to me axiomatic that when people are fixing a franchise qualification for them to ask if we set it at this level what will the result be. They fix the level at what they want the franchise to produce, at least that is my opinion. If one accepts that as one's approach to the franchise then I consider the essential requirement of a franchise now is to try to get a legislature consisting of members who are moderate, who are dependent to a considerable degree on the goodwill of all the racial groups. If you agree that that is what is required then I would set a franchise level now quite deliberately with the intention of trying to get as soon as is practicable an equality of European and African representation in each constituency with a view to trying to get the extremist out of the legislature and the moderate person in. If you do that then you have got to recognise that you are giving yourself a five-year period in which to get rid of the factors which make it a fearsome thing for the Europeans to contemplate a wholly African controlled legislature. They have their five years, it is the most they can expect. I do not know if I have answered your question.

Q. Yes. Have you not in any way considered the machinery? You are inside the machine yourself. Have you thought out any plan of franchise extension which would secure that end? A. I am inside the machine. This surely is a matter of statistics and analysis. You have got to get the graphs showing the rise in African earning capacity and you have to get your education graph showing the rise in the number of educated Africans with qualification.

Q. Under your proposal you would want only a very small area to secure a majority on either side, would you not? You might easily slip into an African majority in all four legislatures unless you accentuated racial distinction and declared that a certain number of Africans and a certain number of Europeans, should compose the legislature? A. It is quite impossible to evolve any cast iron system which is going to serve that particular purpose. All you can do is to think of the best one you can imagine and if somebody thinks of a better one, you will follow that one. But the essential purpose in Northern Rhodesia to my mind is to settle your qualifications quite deliberately to try to make it impossible for any candidate to get in in any constituency on a straight racialism basis and try to make it imperative that anyone who gets in is going to be acceptable in some measure to both races and try to get the moderates in in that way. If you do that you are doing it in the knowledge that when that parliament is finished the African population would have an absolute majority. That is inevitable; there are thirty-nine of them, I think, to every one of us. You

ccc

will have given us a period of tranquillity and you are giving us a legislature which would be aware of the fact that it has a time limit in which to set things right.

Q. But even with that concession you would say that the present federal system will not hold, the antipathy to Federation is so strong? A. Yes.

MR. HADLOW: You said party in constituencies; you presumably meant party in the legislature? A. I would like to try to get a legislature elected if it were possible in which you had people elected by both white and black and it did not matter what colour you were but there is this essential qualification: in view of what you are aiming at it is absolutely vital to get genuine African leaders into that legislature to get practical experience of legislative work during the five years.

Q. You have said that Federation is now an evil word? A. To the bulk of the people, yes.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: I am sure you would agree, indeed it is obvious I think to all of us, that some estimate of the African attitude towards Federation is essential in approaching this problem. One must make up one's mind what really is the attitude of the Africans towards that? A. Yes.

Q. You have made some very definite statements in regard to it. May I refer you to Appendix I, please, as an example? I am not going to argue about these things but one wants to have the greatest amount of help from you. In paragraph 5—"There was no means of finding out what African opinion was." I understand that you do not agree with that view at all? A. No.

Q. How far can you help us about this? You refer here to the village headman, the Chiefs, Paramount Chiefs, Tribal Councils, and District Councils and so forth. With regard to that we can ask and we have asked people if we can have information on that. Then you go on to the African Representative Council. Can you tell us something about that? I think most of us, certainly I am, are very ignorant about it. A. It has been abolished now but the system we had was to have District Councils in each district. The pick of the individuals there were selected by each District Council to a Provincial Council and they met on a provincial basis and the pick of the Provincial Councils were selected by vote to go to the African Representative Council and then the African members of the legislature were selected by the African Representative Council from within its own membership on the basis that right from the lowest level these people had selected themselves all the way up and that you had the cream of African opinion in the Representative Council. African elected members were elected by the African Representative Council. But when this new franchise system was brought in the African Representative Council disappeared because that function was no longer carried out.

Q. What you say is that all these councils, as well as individuals, are available to say what they think but that the African Representative Council is not available any more? A. I was referring really to their attitude or views that had been taken before.

Q. Is there some document in which these views of the African Representative Council on this subject were clearly and definitely set out? A. Yes.

Q. Could you tell us what that was? A. The minutes of a series of resolutions which were proposed by the African Representative Council over a period of years on Federation, and the verbatim reports of these debates are available.

Q. In your opinion did those give a strong evidence of the views of Africans as a whole on the subject of Federation? A. It gave the unanimous views of the African Representative Council.

MR. MOLSON: I think I understand more or less what you are saying about Federation and the way that in its present form it cannot be maintained. Obviously the first thing will be for this Commission to make recommendations with regard to that and then naturally the decision will be taken at the Conference. What I am not clear about and what I understand you to attach great importance to are the preliminary changes which you think will be necessary in the legislature of the two Protectorates and do I understand that you feel that any proposals that are put forward should be submitted for ratification to those legislatures? A. No.

Q. I would just remind you that the Prime Minister has said that before the Protectorates were deemed to have agreed to going into a Dominion or anything of that kind the views of the inhabitants would have to be ascertained and he went on to say that the legislatures as at present constituted would not, in the opinion of the British Government, be sufficiently representative for that purpose. Would you just tell us again what you feel would be necessary in order to be assured of the support of the populations of the two Protectorates to any proposals which this Commission might make? A. You are not referring to Dominion status, you are referring to the Commission's proposal?

Q. I am leaving Dominion status out. I am talking about what modifications might be proposed which would attempt to keep the fiscal unit together for purposes such as communications and post office while at the same time giving the maximum political freedom and self-government to the three territories. Do I understand that in order to avoid any danger of imposing a constitution on a second occasion as happened so unfortunately in 1953, you feel that some special consultation with the electorate would be needed? A. I was following what I believe to be a fixed time-table. I understood that the Conference was being held in October; that the Commission was going to make its report before then, and that the Conference was going to make recommendations some time after October. That is the only information I have; I am not in the Government and I do not know what is happening. Acting on that assumption it was quite obvious that the responsible type of government which one would imagine it would be possible for one to say is speaking on behalf of the protected people, would not be there. Therefore, I was assuming that in this case if the Conference makes its decision in October or shortly after October it will be necessary to refer to the peoples themselves, but it is not possible to have a series of conferences over a period. In the meanwhile you can alter the basis of the territorial Government to make it truly representative when the decision of that Government might be acceptable to them, but I was acting on the assumption that it would be quite impossible to change the whole system of Government before this decision had to be made.

Q. If it were not impossible at any rate it would be extremely difficult? A. Very.

Q. I did want to know exactly what you feel in order to make certain that any proposals that were put forward were reasonably acceptable. Do you think that something in the nature of a referendum or anything of that kind is a practicable proposition for the two Protectorates? A. I think it is quite practicable for the Provincial Administration here to find out what the African reaction as a whole is to any proposal. I do not mean by ballot boxes in every village. There are the traditional means and there are the traditional spokesmen of the people who can speak on behalf of their people without rousing the slightest suspicion in regard to the verdict they give.

Q. Would you think of reviving ad hoc for this particular purpose the Provincial Councils and African Representative Councils which were in existence only twelve months ago, were they not? A. I had not realised that the Provincial Councils had gone, they may have.

MR. CHIRWA: They have. A. I knew that the African Representative Council had gone but I was hoping the Provincial Councils were still there.

MR. MOLSON: Would there be a democratic way of eliciting African opinion on our proposals? A. These councils would be one of the principal ways but it would be necessary to refer to the Chiefs and the Tribal Councils as well but with the two together you could get it.

Q. You could get a general popular expression of opinion which the British Government is entitled to say is an expression of an opinion of the people? A. Yes.

MR. TAYLOR: It would be possible to get an expression of African opinion on a relatively straight and simple issue as, for example, we have been going around the country—"Do you like Federation or do you not like Federation?"—but going beyond that point into the niceties of constitutional changes it is quite likely, I should imagine, that the recommendations of this Commission might be quite difficult for some people to understand. Do you really believe that you can go beyond that stage of a simple Yes or No to

a simple question in explaining, for example, that this might look like Federation but it is not really Federation after all, it is something different? How does one extract from African opinion the niceties of such distinction? A. Sir, you never hold any referendum at all if you expect the people who are going to express an opinion to extract the niceties of a complex situation. In this business of African ignorance of the implications of Federation—you have been taking evidence for quite a while now—I am sure it is becoming obvious to you that there are niceties of it which are not appreciated by the European population either. It is not necessary that they should. These individuals, when they assess whether they want something or not, assess it on a personal basis: is this going to do us harm or is it going to be for our benefit is the basis on which any people assess a question of this kind. It is quite true that the African villager or even the Chief or a lot of the people are going to be quite incapable of appreciating the various factors in any recommendation that you make but the leaders who, if I may say so, are more aware of political issues than the European leaders, are going to study what you say and they are going to appreciate it to a very considerable degree and they are going to do a certain amount of propaganda work and I think the mass of the people will follow what their acknowledged leaders advise and may I suggest that is precisely what the Europeans will do too.

MR. ROBINSON: I would like to ask whether you are aware of the fact that there is a considerable amount of intimidation of tribal authorities by political leaders, do you agree? A. A certain amount, yes.

Q. Do you think that the possibility exists that the tribal council or representative council opinion which might be expressed on any matter would be really the opinion of certain political parties because of the existence of this intimidation? Our own experience has shown cases where tribal authorities have been fearful of appearing before us and speaking in case the politicians accuse them of supporting Federation. Do you think that this particular instrument of the tribal authorities and the African Representative Council about which my colleague, Mr. Molson, asked you, would be a suitable medium, do you think that medium might be influenced by intimidation? A. In some cases it could be, in some cases not. It depends on the strength of character of the individual but may I say this: I think we have made the most profound errors during the past six years and that as a result we are in a mess. That is regrettable and we have got to face the consequences of our own mistakes during these past six years. But you have got to try to win African support. The only way you can is by getting their acknowledged leaders and native authorities to accept something and the fact that some native authorities can be intimidated by some politicians is a regrettable fact but there is very little we can do about it. It is just too bad but I do not think that you can go on from that and draw the conclusion that therefore the native authorities are not to be consulted because if you draw that conclusion we are going to pay again very heavily for having disregarded their view. It is a risk but it is a risk that we have to take because of the present situation in which we find ourselves.

MR. KATILUNGU: Would you then say that the present demonstration by some of the native authorities in coming forward to give evidence before this Commission is showing their responsibility regardless of the boycott which has been staged by the politicians? A. That is true, of course, but there is a further point in this. You cannot argue these things purely from a logical point of view because of the emotional content which is there. There are African leaders and there are native authorities who most cordially dislike both the persons and the policies of some of these nationalist leaders but they accept them now because they say these are the people who are fighting our battles and these are the people who get results and although we do not like the way they act we are not going to sit on them unduly. I do suggest instead of arguing this, the essential thing for us to do is to try and put a wrong situation right and it is in putting it right that we can then get these people to assess matters on their merit rather than on an emotional outlook. There is no other way of doing it.

MR. McCLELAND: You have made it quite clear that you are putting the African point of view. There is, of course, a European point of view too. You have suggested

as well that the Europeans should be prepared to commit an act of faith. You have also said you do not think they will do so and you have stated it is indeed up to Her Majesty's Government to prod them or compel them into this act. Bearing in mind that there is this European point of view would you agree that there is a possibility of very strong opposition from the Europeans which might, in fact, be quite as strong as the opposition which we can expect from the Africans if conditions continue as they are? Have you considered how that opposition is to be controlled or whether, in fact, it will accept the conditions which are applied? A. Of course there will be opposition from the Europeans, that is absolutely inevitable, and I entirely agree with you. One's reply to that question depends entirely on one's assessment of the probable course of events. One can agree to move at the pace at which the European population here is capable voluntarily of adjusting its outlook and while we are doing that you are entrenching the violent nationalistic African in his position. You are making an ultimate trial of strength inevitable and you are making, when that trial of strength comes, nobody, not even the Europeans here, have the slightest misapprehension as to what the result is going to be. Surely the choice before us, and I am speaking as a European now, is not to try to fight against the inevitable sequences but to try to ensure that between now and then we progress in such a manner that when we get to the time, the change over in power is of no consequence. That is the best we can hope for. I am not suggesting that it is a very good idea from the point of view of the Europeans; I am suggesting that they will not get anything better.

DR. SHEPHERD: In about two-thirds of your paper it is to the effect the African delegation from this part of Africa did not go to London to the conference and misrepresentations were made. Would you agree it was unfortunate that the African delegation did not take part in that conference? A. Can I correct one point? They went—they went to London—but they refused to take part.

Q. Would you agree that was unfortunate? A. At the time I thought it was: I was there. I was one of the African representatives at the Federal conference. I tried very hard to persuade them they should have taken part. Now I do not agree—I think they were wise not to.

Q. Do you not think this boycotting of opportunities of stating their views is a sign of political immaturity? A. I think it is a sign that they are frightened of being blamed if the outcome of the conference is something which the African peoples do not like.

Q. That means they are afraid of their people? A. Of course. All politicians are afraid of their people.

Q. Would you agree that one of the defects of African leadership today is that so many African leaders are walking in front of their people and not leading them, but always looking over their shoulders, not seeing what way they are moving? A. I think my questioner is under a misapprehension here, Sir. The African members of the Legislative Council were prepared to come in and to advise their people to give evidence to the Monckton Commission, but only on condition that the membership was one which they did not consider was loaded against them. In the speeches they made, they wanted equal African and European representation. They agreed to welcome this Commission and to give evidence before it under certain conditions, and those conditions were not met so I think it a little unfair to assume withholding their evidence is due wholly to the fact they were afraid. They were prepared to come in.

Q. I was not thinking of this Commission. I was thinking of the London Conference and you have admitted they were afraid of their people. Is that not one of the weaknesses of African leadership today? A. When you have an entire people opposed to a particular cause, is it not quite right for their leaders to stay out of that conference?

Q. I do not think so. A. I do, because it was not a question of negotiation: it was a matter of establishing an organisation which the Europeans made quite plain, most of them, was being established for a specific purpose, which was not one on which they could compromise. May I put it that this thing did not arise out of the blue? There was a long preparatory sequence of meetings and discussions in which the contentions were made abundantly clear and it ended in what was called the amalgamation conference at the Victoria

200

Falls in which Sir Stewart Gore-Brown persuaded the Conference to agree the African members of Legislature should attend. They went as far as Livingstone, were then given a return ticket and sent back. They were not admitted. It is part of a struggle for power.

MR. ROBINSON: Did you support the establishment of Federation? A. No.

Q. You have opposed it? A. Right the way through. I opposed it in the debate we had here.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: In the outside rural districts you say the African authorities still look to the Boma for advice and leadership in political matters as they did in the past? A. Before Federation there was no question. In respect of provincial administration it has been not quite so marked in recent years, but during the past six months it has started to go up.

Q. Supposing this Commission was fortunate enough to arrive at a solution which it considered was genuinely to the benefit of the Africans and to all the peoples in this part of the world, but we felt the solution should not be put into effect until there was a large measure of agreement on the part of the African and that very specific instructions were given to all the Bomas to do their best to put this across and convince the Africans that this was to their ultimate benefit, and it was explained to them there was no risk of Her Majesty's protection being removed in any way from the territorial sphere. Do you think, by the Boma going round and trying to convince the chiefs of the native authorities you may be able to overcome the emotional opposition and get a certain measure of agreement from the Africans themselves? A. I would think if you can give the Africans an assurance of their security in their own territories they would regard an association between the three in a different light from the one in which they regard it now. How far you could go in getting agreement depends almost wholly on how far you go in giving them security in their own country.

Q. The point I wish to make is, instead of putting a scheme to the Africans and saying "What is your view—do you think it is right or wrong?" which, as I understand it, was your broad appreciation of the manner in which the concept of Federation was put to the Africans by the Administration, but rather, if we are satisfied and Her Majesty's Government is satisfied the scheme would benefit everyone, to instruct the Boma to try to put it across and explain to the African its implications and explain to them how it is to their benefit and advantage—explain the safeguards which do exist. If that were done preparatory to giving the vote as it were, do you think it possible to get them to agree to it and put the scheme into effect? Do you think that is possible? A. The influence of the Boma on the thinking of the African is great, but not as great now as the thinking of the African leaders, and if you are going to put forward a scheme which could be acceptable to the moderate African leadership and the Boma I think your propaganda work will succeed, but if you do not get it accepted by the leaders of African opinion, I do not think you will.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: You have used the word "association." Assuming there is a change in the legislatures of both northern Territories and assuming your programme is carried out and you then get African majorities, what do you visualise by this association of the three Territories? A. I used the word "association" quite deliberately because as I said earlier if you use the word "Federation" you are immediately introducing an emotional factor. That is the only reason I have used the word "association," but I have gone further and said in my judgment there is nothing we can do now which can allow a political association to be accepted and therefore the best you can hope for in my belief is to establish as powerful an economic union as you can in the hope that by the time you have given these people a consciousness of their own security here you may be able to build a foundation to an extent you dare not contemplate at the moment.

Q. This powerful economic association, would you give it strong executive powers? A. One is dealing with rather nebulous matters here, because there are so many imponderables you have to weigh in your assessment. I myself would like to see as strong an association as possible, as it is possible to get by agreement. I set no limit to the strength

of the association that I most would like to see, but you have to accept that there is a very definite limit on the basis of agreement which seems to me fundamental.

MR. CHIRWA: On that point it might assist the Commission if you were more specific. What do you mean by economic association? A. I was imagining the functions of government which would obviously be better carried out on an overall basis—things like railways and trunk roads, civil aviation and various other functions. That is what I was imagining, but once you have agreed that an association is desirable then you have to consider the merits of each individual function as to whether it is better chopped up into sections or dealt with on an overall basis.

MR. GONDWE: Do you not think that would require a political set-up because you would need to have a secretariat for that sort of organisation? You say you are not envisaging a political arrangement, but that there should be an economic arrangement, but as I see it, do you not think there will still be a need for a political arrangement whereby you have got to have a secretariat set up to deal with these matters? A. I can only say the kind of thing that I would like and then get somebody who knows about how these things function to put it into effect. I have seen a very little of the working of the East African High Commission. That is not a political association to my mind. It might be in Mr. Gondwe's view, but to my mind it is not a harmful association in any sense to which the African people could take exception.

Q. As I see it, I think that sort of thing would have to have legislative powers, to enable it to legislate on the subjects which will have to be administered. Is that not a political set-up? A. Giving a body powers to legislate on the siting of trunk roads, for example, is not a thing that I think even the most timorous nationalist can be very much afraid of.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: Customs, trade, you would have to have that—that would be for the benefit of the whole? A. I think it would be, but what I am hoping to achieve is an agreement. You can keep an association in being as long as you can keep it through the prospects of our coming together after getting rid of the irritants which exist, but if you try to hold too much now and it blows up on you, it seems to me you have destroyed any hope of our getting together, and I hope we do.

SIR DONALD MACGILLIVRAY: I think you said a potential field of agreement was at present pathetically low, but much depended on what happened between now and the decision of the conference, and if between now and then there could be a substantial measure of political advancement in the northern territories, the field of political agreement would be somewhat higher. You were speaking from the point of view of this side of the Zambezi. Speaking from the point of view of south of the Zambezi, would you say the potential field of agreement would be higher if those developments had taken place in the north? A. That, of course, is for them to reply to. I think probably not, but I am not very experienced in the conditions there. I should think probably not, but here we are faced with, I think, the imminent prospects of a most sad state of affairs developing, and to me the paramount thing to do is to prevent it exploding, and that is important, beyond any federal association that we have at the moment, and that is my approach to it. If we had to do absolutely essential things here to preserve the peace of Northern Rhodesia, and those essential things could not be accepted by Southern Rhodesia, that would be regrettable, but it should not prevent our getting on with what we have got to do here.

MR. ROBINSON: Do you think after five years that the Africans will be able to run a legislature in Northern Rhodesia based on the party political system? Do you think that Africans have an understanding of the concept of an Opposition? A. No, and I do not think any African in Northern Rhodesia is so stupid as to think he could.

Q. Do you think that it is not impossible you might have some form of political dictatorship after the expiry of five years? A. Could I put it this way, that the African demand at present for self-government is due to the fear of what may happen if he does not get it. He is terrified of the South African political philosophy, and he knows very well a very high proportion of the Northern Rhodesian Europeans come from the Union and have brought their outlook with

them. He is afraid of the present set-up which would put them in power with his having no power in the Legislative Council to stop them from getting into power. He is demanding that his right to govern himself should be maintained, but once that right is acknowledged all the political leaders I have spoken to quite frankly admit that at present they are incapable of carrying out certain functions—Minister of Law, Finance, and so on. They make no bones about it. It will be essential for them to have Europeans' skill. In this particular regard in Tanganyika they have just appointed a European Minister of Finance and a very good one he is too. They are not prepared to make that kind of admission until their future is easier.

Q. I do not think you quite understood my question. You tell me the African at this stage does not understand the concept of a party system involving opposition. I asked you whether after an expiry of the five years you have mentioned, whether or not, if that is the case, the majority party or group who came into power at that stage could possibly seek to perpetuate its power by some process of dictatorship?

A. The question of understanding the function of an opposition, that was my questioner's statement, not mine. I did not say that. I myself believe that the British democratic system is quite unsuited to conditions here and if we can modify it most materially I think we should do so. I agree the tendency would be, judging from the experience elsewhere, for a political party to entrench itself in power by trying to get rid of the opposition. I agree that is so, but I do not quite follow the assumption that, by continuing Federation, the African in Northern Rhodesia is not going to get all out.

Q. I am discussing Northern Rhodesia. What I really sought to enquire about you have answered, namely, you do not believe the British Parliamentary form or system is necessarily transferable to here. Am I right in assuming that a transfer of power to an African majority after a certain period of time does not necessarily go hand in hand with the establishment of the Westminster form of parliamentary government here? A. That is so, but I would add that that is so whether you have Federation or do not have it.

MR. ROBINSON: I was concerned with Northern Rhodesia.

CHAIRMAN: We have kept you a long time. We are most grateful to you for telling your views most frankly. It will be most useful to us when we are considering our conclusions later on.

Memorandum

DOMINION PARTY

Pamphlet issued by the Dominion Party and referred to in oral evidence:

CENTRAL AFRICAN ALLIANCE

1. The Dominion Party believes that recent events, culminating in the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, and the failure of Sir Roy Welensky and his U.F.P. Government in their negotiations with the British Government, require that a completely new and practical approach be made to the future political system of these Territories.

2. The Dominion Party believes that the attitude of the British Government is such that any attempt to maintain the Federation, as at present constituted, will either end in failure or will only succeed at the ultimate sacrifice of Western Civilisation in this part of Africa and at the expense of European interests and influence. The result will, the Party is convinced, be disastrous both for the European and for the African.

3. The changed circumstances due to the attitude of the British Government and the failure of the Federal Government to produce any orderly plan for the future, make it imperative that the Dominion Party should present the country with a plan for adoption at the 1960 Conference. The Dominion Party believes that we cannot drift any nearer to this vital Conference without the peoples and Governments of these territories having the practical guidance which the United Federal Party has failed to supply. The Dominion Party is well aware that to issue its plans at this moment is to invite plagiarism by its opponents, but it regards this as of no importance as compared to the interests of the country.

Cold Facts

4. The cold facts as we now see them are as follows:—

- (a) The British Government is determined that in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, African political progress shall continue at a pace which will mean equality of representation for African and European within a comparatively short period and domination by the African majority in the ultimate. The approach of the British Government is frankly along racial lines, whatever lip service they may pay to other ideas.
- (b) Encouraged by the British Government, the Africans in those areas of the Federation where European interests are small, have rejected the vague and undefined policy of "partnership" in favour of African Nationalism. They have rejected the idea of the Federation as it stands today.
- (c) African states are eventually going to develop in Central Africa, whether they are inside or outside the Federation.
- (d) There can be no question but that some areas of the Federation are overwhelmingly African in character whilst other areas have an entirely different character and are under strong European influence, economic, cultural and political, and contain major European interests.
- (e) In those areas where the Europeans have major interests they are determined, even though they express liberal views, to remain in control and secure their own survival. They believe that this is also in the interests of the African in those areas who have attained a degree of material progress unmatched by the people in the African areas. Without security for the European, progress in these areas will cease.

5. The Dominion Party finds it impossible to ignore these hard facts and is satisfied that any solution which attempts to ignore them is doomed to failure. It is also satisfied that at the present time, and for a long time to come, the term "non-racial" must be regarded as chimerical where the politics of Central Africa are concerned. That a non-racial approach may be the ultimate ideal it does not deny, but any attempt to impose it at present will, it has now been amply demonstrated, lead to bitterness and disillusionment. Paradoxically, we believe that the non-racial ideal can only develop in a climate created by the immediate satisfaction of some degree of racial aspirations.

Is there a solution?

6. We believe that any solution to the political problem of Central Africa must be one which is reasonably acceptable to the British Government, to the European electorate and to large sections of the African population. The Dominion Party thinks that a solution acceptable to all parties is possible. We are under no illusions that the solution offered will satisfy everybody, but it will lead to a much greater degree of harmony than will be possible if the present system is perpetuated.

7. The Dominion Party's aim has always been to reduce the number of Governors, Governments and Parliaments. The Plan put forward limits them to one Governor-General, one Government and one Parliament within the Dominion.

A Definite Plan

1. This Plan has been put forward in a sincere attempt to solve the pressing political problems of Central Africa, as it is felt that failure to do so will leave no alternative but the dismemberment of the Federation.

2. It is considered that Nyasaland is an area where African interests are predominant and that ultimately it must become an African State, and that until it reaches full maturity it must remain a Protectorate under the British Government. Similarly, Barotseland is an area where African interests are predominant and it is accepted that it must remain a Protectorate under the British Government.

3. Southern Rhodesia and those areas of Northern Rhodesia which are areas of major European interests and influence, should be united into one state.

4. An area (to be defined) in the N.E. of Northern Rhodesia constitutes a special problem of development. It should be designated the Northern Territory and receive special treatment as part of the Dominion of Rhodesia.



The Central African Alliance

1. There shall come into being the Central African Alliance which will be the Dominion of Rhodesia (including the Northern Territory) and the Protectorates of Barotseland and Nyasaland under the British Government.

2. There shall be entered into a Treaty between Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom (on behalf of the Protectorates) and the Government of the Dominion of Rhodesia. This will be called the Central African Alliance Treaty.

3. The Treaty will provide for the appointment by the British Government of a High Commissioner for Central Africa who will be responsible to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs for the Governments of the Protectorates and for the relationships between those governments and the Government of the Dominion of Rhodesia.

4. Under the Treaty, the Dominion of Rhodesia will recognise that, for a period of time, it has certain responsibilities and obligations, which shall include :—

(a) The Dominion of Rhodesia will affirm its intention of maintaining friendly relations with the Protectorates within the Central African Alliance ;

(b) The Central African Alliance will constitute a Customs Union and the Dominion of Rhodesia shall be empowered, after due consultation with the High Commissioner, to conclude Trade Agreements, to impose tariffs import and other trade control on behalf of the Alliance. It will also be responsible for the administration of all Customs Services ;

The revenue derived from such Customs shall be distributed in accordance with a clause in the Treaty which shall provide for a periodic review of this distribution to be carried out by a Commission ;

(c) The Dominion of Rhodesia will accept full responsibility with the British Government for the defence of the Territories within the Central African Alliance ;

(d) The Dominion of Rhodesia will accept responsibility for the administration of Posts and Telegraphs, Civil Aviation and Railways. The costs of these services shall be apportioned by the Commission referred to in (b) above and will be recoverable by the Dominion of Rhodesia ;

(e) The Dominion of Rhodesia will make available to the other territories in the Central African Alliance such technical, expert and scientific assistance as they may from time to time require and such assistance shall be paid for by the territories concerned ;

Economic Aid

(f) Bearing in mind the relatively greater development and stronger economic position of the Dominion of Rhodesia and the desire of the Dominion to see the other territories of the Alliance reach full development, both economic and political within the British Commonwealth, the Dominion will, from its revenues, make a grant in aid towards the development of the other territories ;

(g) The Dominion Government will further undertake to render to the other territories such services as may be required in a declared state of emergency, the cost of such services being recoverable from the British Government.

5. Under the Treaty the Northern Territory will be part of the Dominion of Rhodesia but an undertaking will be given that at the expiration of a period of time to be agreed, the Dominion Government will consult with the inhabitants of the area through the recognised tribal and other channels as to whether they wish to remain part of the Dominion, whether they wish to remain a Protectorate of the Dominion, or whether they wish to become a Protectorate under the British Government and cease to be part of the Dominion.

6. The British Government will, under the Treaty, undertake to keep the Dominion Government informed of Constitutional changes contemplated in the other territories, and to exchange views on such changes. It will further undertake not to enter into any international obligations affecting the Alliance without agreement with the Dominion Government.

Dominion Status

7. It shall be clear under the Treaty that the Dominion of Rhodesia is an Independent State within the British Commonwealth and that nothing contained in the Treaty shall be deemed to indicate otherwise, the Treaty having been freely entered into by the Dominion and the British Government.

8. There shall be provision for the signatories to review the Treaty from time to time.

The Dominion of Rhodesia

1. The Dominion of Rhodesia will have a Governor-General and bicameral Legislature consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate.

2. The House of Representatives will be elected on the Common Roll, the qualifications for which will be decided, but not be less than the upper brackets of the Federal Franchise.

3. The Senate will be elected on the Common Roll and by Special Rolls. In the Senate representation will be provided for all communities—European, African, Coloured and Asiatic. As with other Upper Houses the powers of the Senate will be limited, particularly in respect of Money Bills. It will however have special powers which will provide safeguards in respect of Native Lands, discriminatory and presently reserved legislation.

Issued from Central Office,
Chamber of Mines Buildings,
47, Gordon Avenue,
Salisbury.

P.O. Box 242, Salisbury.

Oral Evidence

DOMINION PARTY

Mr. Van Eeden

Mr. Thatcher

Dr. Smith

Mr. Van Eeden spoke first.

On behalf of the Dominion Party as a whole we have submitted a memorandum to the Commission already quite a long time ago but of course the main Party evidence will be given in Salisbury next month. We would like to give oral evidence this morning. It has some connection with the original memorandum, but we did not think it necessary to produce a separate memorandum, so our evidence will be oral. I would like to say something a little more about myself in the beginning, because it may be of some use to the Commission. I was born in this country. My father came up here nearly 60 years ago. He did not come to work a copper mine or a gold mine, he came as a missionary. Having been born in this country, I am a Northern Rhodesian. I do not say that only people born here are Northern Rhodesians, but it gives one a certain amount of title and right, I think, to regard it as one's birthplace. Because I was born here I speak one African language quite fluently ; in fact the first language I could ever speak was Chinyanja. That is the language mostly spoken in north-east Rhodesia and most parts of Nyasaland. That being so, I have some sort of idea of the outlook of the African. I do not claim to be an expert on it—I do not think any European ever is—but when you know the language and have grown up amongst the Africans—and I grew up with them because there were few Europeans in those days and the people I grew up with were African piccannins. Therefore I claim to know something about it, without however claiming to be an expert.

Before I come to any proposition which we might wish to put to the Commission, I would like to say one or two things of a rather general nature with regard to the outlook of the African, and also with regard to the evidence which he is probably submitting to the Commission.

My information is that a lot of African evidence has already been submitted to the Commission. Naturally I have not heard it, but knowing Africans, what they normally say and what is in their minds, I can imagine most of it probably was against Federation and to the effect that Federation should be abandoned, for a variety of reasons.

In Northern Rhodesia, whenever an African is prepared to say in public what his attitude is towards Federation he

says he is "agin it". I want to say something about African evidence in general, if I may. When one listens to African evidence there are certain allowances which have to be made. The first allowance is on this question of intimidation. There is no doubt at all that there has been in the last few years, particularly in Northern Rhodesia, quite a lot of intimidation. In other words only Africans with a certain outlook are allowed by the African politician to put their views. Anybody with a different viewpoint is somehow or other organised out of giving evidence or putting his view publicly.

The African National Congress in its various forms, and African political leaders, for a variety of reasons, are opposed to Federation and have tended to intimidate Africans who are not of that point of view. I know from personal experience that Africans with whom I come into contact think, or many of them, that Federation is not altogether a bad thing. Many of them think the European has done a lot of good in this country for the African, and they would not like to see him go. Many of them still think there is sufficient justice in the European in the country and that it is for him perhaps to provide the best type of government. But those people are not given much opportunity to express that type of view, due to this intimidation which has been going on.

So when listening to Africans that is an allowance which undoubtedly requires to be made.

Then there is another allowance to be made, and I intend to speak with the utmost frankness, although in some quarters these remarks will not make me very popular. I feel that the Colonial Civil Servants, to a large extent, have helped to condition the African against Federation. There are, of course, many exceptions to be made here. There are those Colonial public servants who have decided to become Federal public servants. That is usually a sign that they intend to become Rhodesians and settle in the country and acquire a stake of some kind. I exclude those from the generalisation, and also several civil servants who have indicated that if given some sort of chance they would like to settle here and they do not want to push off after their term of office is over. Unfortunately there are also many Colonial servants in Northern Rhodesia who have no time for Federation. I am speaking of people who know quite a considerable amount. Federation did mean undoubtedly that a lot of power which originally rested in the Civil Service hands here in Lusaka was transferred to the Federal Government; and it was a fact that many of these people did not like the transfer of power because it resulted in some reduction in their standing and their functions. They have never liked it. I have never come across a public servant in Northern Rhodesia, excepting those I have already excluded, who has ever had a good word for Federation. In many ways these people have conditioned the African against it. I do not mean they have gone around blatantly instructing the Africans to take a certain line, but they have helped to create a certain climate of feeling against the Federation.

I do not think you will find a single one in the hierarchy here in Lusaka who will say a good word for Federation. They are against it. I feel that is another allowance to be made when listening to viewpoints expressed, if the Commission is to be given any sort of true interpretation of the value or the sincerity of the evidence given.

Associated with this question of the attitude of Colonial servants is also the question of the things which are said in this country to visitors from Britain, particularly visiting M.P.s. We have a rather strange set-up in Lusaka which is, of course, predominantly Colonial Office. When Members of Parliament from Britain come to pay a flying visit to get some idea of what should be done and what is public opinion, and so on, they do not always seem to see the right people. On very few occasions are they brought into contact with people who have been here a long time and have a real stake in the country. They always seem to be talking to civil servants. In my political capacity, I attend quite a number of functions which are given from time to time in Lusaka by the powers that be, and I am always struck by the fact that so few local established residents are seen at these functions. They are always packed with the local Colonial Office hierarchy. When this Mr. X, M.P. or Y. M.P. from Britain comes along he is hardly given a chance to talk to local people, and the view that these people eventually take back with them to Britain is also conditioned by this fact. The information they get comes from a source which I respectfully suggest, to say

the least of it, is biased. It does not reflect the true and proper view of Northern Rhodesia, as felt by people who really have a stake in this country.

I would like to say, on behalf of myself and my colleagues here, that there are lots of things we do not like in Federation. It is not the ideal system. We think changes, and perhaps radical changes, are necessary; I would like to make it clear that we are very much opposed to complete break-up or even to a simple reversion to the position which existed in 1953 before Federation. Although the Dominion Party has criticised the Federation on many occasions and from many points of view, it does uphold the principle of a continuance of this set-up in some shape or form—preferably in the form which we have suggested in the past.

We think that, quite apart from the effect on the Europeans, Federation has done a lot for the Africans. There is no doubt that since 1953 when Federation took place, that much bigger political concessions have been given to the Africans in Northern Rhodesia than ever before. I remember when a Labour Government was in power for six years here, frankly they did absolutely nothing about the colour-bar. They talked about it, but did practically nothing. We had a period of Conservative Government just before the Federation. That was pretty brief, but there is no doubt that the concessions which have been made in this part of the world, both politically and as regards the colour-bar, have been introduced by the Federal Government.

I say that in spite of the fact that politically I do not support the Federal Government, but they should get their just due in this regard. They have introduced or supported measures which have extended the franchise and which have given the African bigger political rights. They have gone, as regards the colour-bar, as far as one could reasonably expect them to go; in fact many of their political opponents think they have gone too far. But materially I think the Africans have benefitted from the Federation, particularly during the early years when there was considerable prosperity in this part of the world.

At the moment, due to a feeling of insecurity, particularly here, we are not going through a prosperous time. During the last year or two a lot of Europeans have left the country, a fact which is not sufficiently reflected by the official figures—not that they are cooked in any way, but a lot of people are leaving without saying so. When they get to the border, they have it in their minds to leave the country, but they say they are on their way to the Union or to the United Kingdom. They are not certain whether they will be able to find suitable employment where they are going, so they tell the authorities they are just going off on a holiday. Nevertheless a lot of them manage to find suitable employment. Those people are not covered by the official figures. That is another allowance that needs to be made as regards these bulletins of immigration and emigration that are published. I know from personal observation that a lot of people are leaving Northern Rhodesia. In fact the figure (European population) of 80,000, which was round about the mark a year ago, 70,000, at a guess, I think would be nearer the mark.

The position is worse from a financial point of view than it has ever been. That is leaving out the copper industry. The price of copper has recovered up to a point. During the great depression in the early 1930's when things were almost at a standstill, I think things were almost better than they are now. You cannot sell an inch of land. If any land has changed hands in these last twelve months at anything like a reasonable figure, I do not know anything of it.

I own property in this country, and for the last twelve months nothing has moved—everybody is either packing up or waiting to see whether a settlement is going to be reached by the end of the year. People are averse to investing money in this country, I mean from the point of view of the ordinary businessman or farmer—people are not prepared to invest to any extent at the present time because they regard the situation as being most insecure.

They are not prepared to risk their money before they get some sort of idea of the direction in which things are moving towards the end of this year, or perhaps at some later stage.

The European in this country is feeling very deeply on this question of what is termed here as a sell-out. They say that the European is going to be sold down the river, as they consider has been done to a large extent in Kenya. My

personal view is that if a situation is going to be created in Northern Rhodesia, the result of which is going to be that I have to leave my farm and seek a new future elsewhere, I shall certainly be extremely bitter about it. I shall personally provide the biggest ructions I can in those circumstances. That will apply to most Europeans in this country. They have got to the stage when they feel that if this selling out process is continued any further they are prepared to fight. We are not terribly strong up here, but things are getting to the stage when the Europeans are prepared to fight. That is my own personal opinion.

As I see it—I am not deeply versed in these matters—but I would like to say something about the sell out in relation to the whole Southern African picture. I know there is a school of thought in Britain and elsewhere which appears to think that the best policy Britain can follow in Africa is one of appeasement and abdication, and that in order to influence the uncommitted nations of Africa which have not yet decided whether they will go east or west, some placatory policy has to be followed, and in the process it does not matter very much what happens to the European—he is an expendable commodity. I would say in all humility, because I am no expert, what will happen as an ultimate result of that attitude is that if Britain continues the policy of selling out in Africa, which has already reached an advanced stage in Kenya, I think the effect throughout Southern Africa is going to be very considerable indeed. There are three and a half million Europeans in Southern Africa, from Cape Town to here. Of these, one and a half million are people of British descent; the others are Afrikaans. It is from the Afrikaans element that I am myself descended. I want to speak about those of British descent: they have at all times staunchly supported Britain, and many Afrikaans also have staunchly supported Britain, but naturally the one and a half million of British stock in Southern Africa have been the staunchest in their support. If this selling out policy continues there is going to be an end to all the friends that Britain has in Africa. It is going to end up with nothing at all.

These moves towards the African States are going to get Britain nowhere. I believe these African states are going to support the highest bidder at any particular time. I am being perfectly frank: I believe if the United States offered a certain proposition which was financially attractive, at that particular stage the African States will tend to support the West because of the financial inducement. If on the following day the Soviet Union came along with a more attractive proposal, they would move to the East.

If British policy in Africa is based on the belief that by selling out the Europeans in Africa they are going to gain strategic advantages with the Black States in Africa, I personally, from my knowledge of this part of the world, am convinced they will end up with no European support at all in Africa and they will not have gained any new friends.

Quite apart from these questions of high strategy and world politics, all this business of Federation is just a pawr on the International board of politics. I feel there is a strong moral side attached to the whole business. We have to remember that the European, with all his shortcomings, has carried western civilisation into this continent. He has battled against primitive conditions and savagery. He has cleaned up a large part of the continent: he has put his energy, his sense of justice, into it and has created—particularly in Northern Rhodesia—a fairly just system; whereas previously nothing of that sort prevailed.

In Northern Rhodesia, particularly, one has a great multiplicity of Bantu tribes. I would not like to enumerate them all, but I am sure you will be able to find out the number of tribes, Sir. They never have been particularly friendly with one another. In fact when the European came here sixty or seventy years ago the position was that the stronger tribe tended to chase the weaker ones all over the map of Northern Rhodesia. I had an argument not long ago about the Bantu system which existed prior to the arrival of the European. This individual claimed it was of a stable nature: I said that from my information it could not have been of a very stable nature, because there was always this constant movement of one tribe pursuing another. I feel, and so do a lot of other people, that where you have so many tribes and so many outlooks—and a tribe like the Bemba undoubtedly has militant aspirations—if a situation is created here where the European is in some fashion or other either forced or chooses to get

out, I am certain that, far from getting a stable African government these people are going to be at one another's throats at a very early stage indeed. There is going to be a lot of trouble between the tribes, and the ordinary African is going to be the one who suffers most.

A European can go elsewhere. I certainly can, and Sir, I believe that my friends here also can do so if they wish; but the African has to stick out the position, and I have no doubt at all that here, at any rate—I do not wish to put this forward as a generalisation dragging in all other states in Africa—but I am convinced that in my own mind that, at any rate in Northern Rhodesia where you have a tribal pattern of this kind, that there will be no stability, no just rule, no real prosperity unless the European continues to have a reasonable say in the government of the country.

Going back to this question of political concessions I mentioned earlier that during the past five or six years considerable concessions have been made. It is an extraordinary thing that while I entirely agree that the African must gradually acquire a greater say in the running of the country it must happen, but it is a question of whether it happens quickly and you get chaos, or whether you spin it out as gradually as possible in the hope that by the time there is a definite transfer the Africans will have acquired a greater sense of responsibility and more practice at this kind of thing, so that you will not get quite the same chaotic result as when it comes quickly. I think it is all a question of how long you spin it out, in the interests of all concerned. I am not arguing about the principle; I am merely arguing about the time and method of doing it.

Having generalised a little, I would like to get down to something like brass tacks, if I may. I was associated to some extent with the original concept of Federation. I went to the London Conference as Sir Roy Welensky's adviser. I am not quite sure what I advised him at the time, but I am quite sure that in any event he never took the advice. However, my feeling is that one of the big mistakes that was made in 1953 was the inclusion of Nyasaland in the federal concept. I do not want it to be taken from that that we are trying to press for the immediate secession or exclusion of Nyasaland. I will expand on that in due time. However, that was a very big mistake. You see, originally Nyasaland did not enter the picture at all. For many years prior to Federation there was strong feeling coming from both sides in the two Rhodesias—people like Sir Roy Welensky and Lord Malvern, and their followings, thought it was desirable to get some sort of link. In fact many people thought that the fact there were two Rhodesias instead of one was just an error of colonization in the first place.

It was also felt that the two Rhodesias had a great deal in common, and that to at least some extent they shared a common bond and a common outlook. There was a natural bond of interest across the Zambesi, and it was right that in due time these territories should be linked together. Nobody at this stage ever suggested that Nyasaland should be brought into it. Lord Malvern can speak for himself, but I do not think he wished to include Nyasaland, and the same goes for Sir Roy Welensky. I am now talking, you will understand, of some years before 1953.

The original idea was amalgamation of the two Rhodesias. That did not get very far. The two African policies were not sufficiently aligned to permit of a complete integration of the territories at that stage, so the Federation idea grew up as the best way out of a difficulty—Federation between the two Rhodesias.

At a fairly late stage, at the instance of the United Kingdom Government and nobody else, Nyasaland was brought in—indeed it was practically forced in—and I say so advisedly. I do not think the Rhodesias were particularly keen, and I do not think Nyasaland was particularly keen, because just after Federation I spent some time in Nyasaland, and apart from the feeling in Nyasaland, the African feeling—which has always been pretty anti—even the Europeans there did not seem to think that Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were compatible. They represented two extremes and were not really the sort of horses you could possibly put together in a team. They did not look like good runners together.

Anyway, the United Kingdom Government, for reasons best known to itself, financial and possibly strategic, decided Nyasaland must come in. In fact, towards the later stage of the London Conference, quite an issue was made and it was

said that if Nyasaland was not included the deal was off. I still think Lord Malvern could have, and should have, resisted it; but he preferred not to and Nyasaland came in.

The burden on the British taxpayer at that time was three and a quarter million pounds. That is not counting welfare and development Funds. This was in terms of revenue and expenditure. For financial reasons, if no other, the United Kingdom Government was disposed to land us with that particular baby. It was also argued that for strategic reasons it was a wise thing to do. That was a grave mistake. Once one combines certain territories anywhere in the world, and certainly in Africa, you have to combine like with like. Nobody is ever going to tell me that combining Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is combining like with like; it is not.

In Southern Rhodesia a certain outlook has developed over the years which is known as the Rhodesian outlook or way of life. It is an attitude which I think has grown up simply because of a certain system of dealing with the racial problem. It is a system which some people, and particularly those from overseas who do not perhaps appreciate the essence of the system, criticise, but it has worked extremely well and it has, frankly, produced very good Africans, better Africans than the Colonial system has ever produced in Northern Rhodesia. I do not like offending anybody, but I feel I must speak frankly. I think a great deal of the Southern Rhodesian system, which has produced a feeling of mutual respect between the white man and the black man, a system of gradualness, where nothing has been forced or rushed.

Then in Nyasaland where you certainly do not have the Rhodesian attitude, it is different. There are probably people here who could speak on this with greater authority than I, but there is no doubt that the Nyasaland African would rather be out of Federation or at least not very closely linked politically with the Rhodesias.

It is quite impossible, in my opinion, to reconcile the entirely different attitude here, which is overwhelmingly Bantu, pretty well untrammelled Bantu nationalism—it cannot be reconciled with the Rhodesias. No amount of talk is going to get round that.

People in Federal Government talk on those lines—we must keep this thing going and keep it together. I think myself one has to get down to realities. I am not advocating the secession of Nyasaland. I am trying to point out the essential differences in a country like Nyasaland, with very few Europeans and a very large African population, where a certain attitude of mind has developed, rightly or wrongly, and that development is quite different from the Southern Rhodesian attitude of mind.

You have somehow or other to devise a political system for the one, and a different political system for the other. I do not see how the same administrative pattern or the same sort of constitution can be applied to both with any success over any lengthy period.

I do not think bringing Nyasaland in was a good idea, but now that it is in and because of the possible financial and other repercussions, one has to make the attempt to keep her in, but in such a shape and under such a constitution as will give some outlet to this Nyasaland point of view, without in fact selling out the Rhodesian birthright.

Of course Northern Rhodesia is betwixt and between. Some people say Northern Rhodesia is a protectorate as well as Nyasaland. People seem to attach an enormous amount of importance these days to "protectorate". When I grew up in this country nobody here ever heard the word "protectorate". Northern Rhodesia was a colony on its way to becoming a territory in the course of time. During the first decade with the extent of political pressure, the word "protectorate" came very much to the fore. Apparently a "protectorate" is quite different from a colony. What can be done in a colony is not something that can be done in a protectorate, and vice versa. You can do certain things in Southern Rhodesia, because it is a colony. That is fair enough; but here it is morally wrong, because this is a protectorate.

I imagine that what is right here is not right there, and vice versa. The question of what a country calls itself does not really derogate from a particular policy. How can one say that because Southern Rhodesia is a colony that the Rhodesian outlook must be given full consideration in

Northern Rhodesia, because people choose to call it something else? There the European does not matter, and he can be sold out. That is what I feel about it.

I think that far too much significance has been attached to this "protectorate". People were invited to come into this country, Europeans. My father came here nearly 60 years ago as a Missionary but he was also a farmer and in the process of being in the country he acquired a farm which I still own outside Lusaka, freehold property. He was asked to come here, to take up land by the B.S.A. Company and there was none of this protectorate business under the B.S.A. Company. They were colonising this part of the world. They invited him to come in, they gave him freehold title, they went to a tremendous amount of trouble to get him settled, they gave him cattle and after five years you had to return the equivalent of the original cattle, the natural increase and additional progeny you could keep yourself. I am quoting these details to show that under the B.S.A. Company rules the European under the instance of Cecil Rhodes, was to a large extent encouraged to come to this part of the world. It was looked on as an area suitable for European settlement, an area where the Europeans could, in fact, build up a future on some basis of co-operation with the local population. There was no talk about protectorates in those days at all. Now to-day, of course, it seems to have assumed this great significance but we accepted that. If my father had been told "you are just here on sufferance for a brief tenure," after he had retired as a Missionary I think he and I would have gone back to whence he came. But we were given every reason to believe, particularly with this freehold title which I still have, that this was a part of the world where the European was being encouraged to settle and Britain would not abandon him, would not hand him over to people who were not very long removed from a stage of primitive savagery. That was the attitude we had. If we did not have that attitude we would not have settled. Nobody would have settled, except people in the Copper Mines. We thought we were here for good. Now, of course, we are beginning to doubt very much what we are here for and quite what the terms of the sell-out are going to be.

Q. I am sure you will be coming to tell of the suggestions you have for us to act on because you will assume we have naturally studied some of these opinions. A. Quite, Sir. It all really adds up in one way or another.

If one goes from this premise which I tried to develop earlier on that you really, in the case of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, are trying to combine like with unlike, you are not trying to combine like with like, it is a very simple step, of course, to say that do not try and apply the same constitution as is the case now, the same Federal Constitution or the same central constitution to all the parts of the Federation. Treat the different parts differently.

I want to come now to this question of Dominion status or independence for the Federation. That is, of course, a matter on which Southern Rhodesia at any rate feels very strongly and I would say that the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia also feel pretty strongly. They feel that Rhodesia has advanced sufficiently to justify financially and politically that there should be the forward step politically, that in fact there should be further withdrawal on the part of Britain as far as reserve powers and that type of thing is concerned. At the same time, Sir, from a practical point of view it seems pretty impossible for the entire Federation as at present constituted, particularly with a view to the attitude in Nyasaland, to get dominion status for the whole Federation in a form that can conceivably satisfy both Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, both being the two extremes. So one feels inclined to suggest that the question of a forward step politically should be confined to one part of the Federation, that the other part of the Federation should continue for the time being anyway on something like the present basis or in the shape of a Colonial Territory. We feel that Southern Rhodesia and what you might call the developed part of Northern Rhodesia is ready for a forward step. We think that we have reached a stage where we can run the show politically, financially, technically. We feel that the other parts of the Federation have not quite reached that stage yet. We certainly do not think that in Nyasaland and Barotseland and these sort of parts, whatever their ultimate destiny may be, we do not think they are ready for an advanced constitution. It is easy enough just to say to certain people in Nyasaland

we are just handing over and here we go. How many people are there in Nyasaland, Africans, who are capable of administering the country? I suggest there are very few. I do not feel they have reached the stage where you can hand a government over to them. There must be a gradual evolution into self-government naturally, and provision should be made for that in some new constitution.

But I do feel for the time being a territory like Nyasaland, a territory like Barotseland, they should continue to be colonial territories with provision, as I say, for development in the direction of self-rule without any immediate handover. So I feel, Sir, that the answer appears to lie, and I do not want to be too specific or too detailed about it, I am dealing mainly with the principle of this, the answer does appear to lie on the line of differentiating between one part of the Federation and the other. I am not advocating white and black states, white and black partition, when you have people of a certain racial group in a certain territory, people of another racial type in another territory. Here, of course, you would still have your whites and blacks in either territory. I am not talking in terms of any fiscal segregation or anything like that at all. I am talking in terms of political systems. I do not think one system could apply to the different needs and requirements of the different parts of the Federation. We already have in Barotseland a case in point. There, of course, for a very long time they have been in a rather special position. There is a local African government, in fact there is a cabinet there under the direction of the Paramount Chief and as you no doubt know, Sir, the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council when they pass a law it cannot apply to Barotseland without the local consent. So there is a germ there of a type of government which appears to be suitable, at least to certain Africans. Obviously one cannot just push Barotseland under a dominion constitution. You have to find a niche for her. She has to remain a colonial territory of some kind or a protectorate. I do not like the word protectorate, it is beginning to gain significance which I find a little unhappy. But one feels that you have to deal with part of the Federation where you have a lot of Europeans in a way that they will get a more advanced constitution, there will be a considerable degree of independence, naturally with certain safeguards for everybody concerned.

It has been suggested, I have no doubt we share the view, that there might be a Senate in which it was attempted to hold the scales from the racial point of view. Perhaps a Senate to declare certain laws *ultra vires* rather than on the lines of the African Affairs Board. Of course, the African Affairs Board is just there to protect the interests of the Africans. We would prefer to see a body which would protect the interests of all.

If the interests of any racial group are endangered by any particular law instrument then this body would be empowered to declare such a law as illegal or something to that effect. That might be one of the answers. I am now talking about the Rhodesian part of the Federation. But it does seem to us at any rate as really trying to achieve the impossible, either to continue the Federation pretty well as it is because you have got the European attitude in Southern Rhodesia and in this part of Northern Rhodesia and because you have this severe African attitude in Nyasaland. It is going to be impossible to continue unless you find two outlets for both in a sense. You give the Europeans a constitution which they find not too unsuitable to their needs with proper safeguards for the Africans and you give the Africans, particularly the ones in Nyasaland, also something a bit more adapted to their needs rather than trying to apply the same thing. I think that would be better than the secession of Nyasaland. I think it was originally wrong to force her in but she is in now and if you push her out the result might be a general break-up of some kind which I do not think would be desirable from any point of view, because I think financial chaos of quite a considerable nature would be the result of any general break-up of the Federation. So it seems some compromise ought to be reached of some kind which would keep Nyasaland within the Federation but would nevertheless give them a constitution, while not being specific, because nothing will satisfy them anyway, but it would at least give them something which is perhaps slightly more acceptable than anything they have at the present time.

What we suggest is compromise between the people who say break up the Federation and the people who say: "Well

let us carry on with the Federation as it is but just give us dominion status." We think that both these viewpoints are quite untenable. Whenever you start breaking up a thing you usually get very bad consequences. I think there would be a tremendous recession of any political confidence in this part of Africa. It is already there and I think it would be much worse if there was a general break-up of any kind. I think that you might get quite a chaotic situation as a result. People would suffer, I think that would be the result of a general break-up. I think that should be avoided at all costs.

On the other hand, the demand that has been put by the governing party that the Federation should stay more or less as it is, all we want is dominion status, I think that is frankly out of this world. I do not see how anybody can contemplate anything of that sort. How can you satisfy under dominion status the conflicting aspirations of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I think that is out of the question. That is why we suggest a compromise of a kind whereby the more European part of the Federation is given a more advanced constitution and something else applied to the more African part.

I also feel once the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia and those in Northern Rhodesia feel they are a little bit more secure than they are at the moment they would be more kindly disposed to the Africans. They would be more disposed, in fact, to make political concessions as and when wanted. When you have a set-up like this almost every day there is evidence that something is going to be done which makes the European position more insecure, you get a build up of resistance, of antagonism towards the Africans. I feel my position is most unsafe and it has a bad effect on race relations. When you give the Europeans a certain amount of security as is given in Southern Rhodesia the results on race relations are often very good. Nobody can deny that the granting of self-government to Southern Rhodesia in 1923 did a lot of good to relations, race relations there have been better than anywhere else in Africa, much better than anywhere that has been in fact under the sway of the Colonial Office. When you do permit an act of that kind and you do repose some sort of trust in the local Europeans one usually finds he does not let you down. But if you go out of your way to sell him deeper and deeper down the river he gets antagonistic and it has a very bad effect on race relations. I think that is all I have to say.

Q. Thank you very much. Before anyone wants to put a few questions to you I wonder if Dr. Smith would like to add anything? A. (DR. SMITH): It will be difficult for me to add anything, it will be a matter of repetition. I think it will be better if we answered questions.

Q. Are you in the same position, Mr. Thatcher? A. (MR. THATCHER): Yes.

Q. One of the things I would like to ask is this: You said earlier on in your address that radical changes might be necessary. Are those the changes which you have been describing about Nyasaland or are there other radical changes? A. (MR. VAN EEDEN): Yes. Perhaps radical is not quite the word. What some people regard as radical I do not regard as radical.

Q. Are there changes you want to suggest? A. There is a general feeling all over the place that we have too many governments, too many parliaments. We cannot afford it. It leads to confusion and duplication. It is really more than this little country can bear. If one accepted something like our proposal, of course, you could have just one Rhodesian parliament and Government in the one part of the Federation with nothing else: nothing else would be really necessary. Then Nyasaland and the Northern part of Northern Rhodesia would be Colonial Territory under one Government and one legislature and Barotseland would, of course, continue pretty well as it is now with some affiliation to Rhodesia. I do not think it could do without it, it needs it financially. I think the result would be that we would lose at least half of our government, parliament and legislature which I think would be a very considerable forward step. That is one aspect. We think it would make things much simpler administratively and financially.

CHAIRMAN: That is really what I wanted to get.

LORD CRATHORNE: Sir, May I ask Dr. Smith one question because I have read your views with great interest. What Mr. Van Eeden was stating was in favour of the Central

African Alliance plan? A. (DR. SMITH): Yes. A. (MR. VAN EEDEN): We have copies here of the plan.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: I just want to try and understand the constitutional significance of your suggestion, Mr. Van Eeden. Do you suggest that the Railway strip of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia should be amalgamated under a unitary form of government and that so far as the balance of the Federation is concerned there should be a much looser form of Federation than there is at the moment, is that broadly your suggestion? A. Yes, Sir. I think present financial ties should continue, or something like the present financial ties.

Q. Does your plan envisage a Northern Rhodesian Railway strip and Southern Rhodesia amalgamating under a unitary system of government at the start? A. I say ultimately. Perhaps that is not immediately practicable but that is the ultimate idea.

Q. Barotseland and North-East Rhodesia and Nyasaland are independent political units under the Colonial Office and have a much looser form of Federation between those three states, the northern state, the western state and the central state? A. Politically looser because Nyasaland would receive greater autonomy than she enjoys at the moment, there should be some reduction in Nyasaland representation in the Central Legislature, it should be politically loosened, I think.

MR. McCLELAND: I have a few questions for Mr. Van Eeden. What percentage of European population in Northern Rhodesia do you think will be making their homes in the country? A. It depends so much of course, on the confidence they have in the future. Let me start with the position three years ago when there was quite a lot of confidence in the country. At that stage we had, shall we say, seventy-five thousand Europeans. Of course, a lot are miners on the Copperbelt. At that stage a high proportion of these copperbelt miners were thinking of settling on the land. A lot of the farmers around Lusaka now are original miners. They were quite prepared, having done their period on the copperbelt and having accumulated substantial savings over a period, to come and buy a piece of land round Lusaka. That was the general attitude. Then the position started getting bad from the European point of view and I would say that there are very few now prepared to do that unless there is some statement which they can interpret as offering something for the future. So when one considers the attitude of the European towards making this his home or getting out one must not forget the extent to which that attitude is conditioned, is affected. I never contemplated that I would ever think of leaving Northern Rhodesia but I am thinking about it now. If something does not happen in the next three or four years which is not too bad I would consider that and that is something which I never even wildly contemplated. But I think a high proportion would stay if they thought it was worth it. If they do not, of course, most of them will go or they will fight as the case may be.

Q. Thank you. The second question, in your plan do you envisage at some stage that the government of the country or the Federation will in fact be predominantly African? A. Yes, I think that is inevitable in the long run. I do not argue that the answer is yes, up here, eventually yes.

Q. You have no idea what the long run is? A. No. Personally I think it is wrong to say in ten years' time the African must get that or in fifteen years' time he must get that, I think it depends on his advancement. I think as long as we can keep ourselves firmly attached to the basis of merit and ability we cannot go far wrong. When an African has got the ability for a certain job, let him have the job. When he has the ability and experience for a certain political position let him have that job. What we do not like is this pressure which is in fact forcing immature Africans into advanced positions just because certain people think it is good for world politics or world opinion demands it. The merit basis we accept all along the line and if the African comes to power, in the fullness of time, whether it is ten or twenty years or whatever it is, on the merit basis I am quite happy. These chaps have proved themselves and they have gained the necessary experience, they are all ready. They probably still need an amount of help and guidance. That we do not dispute. It is this wild rush to transfer power as a result of pressure, not merit.

Q. (PROFESSOR JACK): Do I take it you have in mind a new fiscal settlement by which some of the revenue, say

income tax would be allocated to Nyasaland or Barotseland and any other Territory. A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Do you have in mind that the control of customs duty should be in the hands of the new Federation? A. Yes. First of all regarding the copper in Northern Rhodesia, of course that would obviously have to be shared out in some fashion or other, that could be put into any new constitution. Of course whatever it was called the Rhodesia Government would be entitled to a certain percentage share of the copper revenue and certain percentages would have to be allocated to other territories. That goes without saying. I would not like to suggest what the percentage should be. I think that should be by agreement. Once the principle of something like this had been adopted then I think everybody should get together and thrash out the exact details fiscally and administratively. It may well be that Nyasaland might say, "Look here, although we said last year that we would like to be as free as possible from Rhodesia, we are now beginning to think for practical reasons that it might be better if the Central Government continued with the post office, roads, railways, customs and various things like that." I think that all that should be settled by agreement in light of what people want. I think the urge on the part of Nyasaland is to get out and to be as free as the birds in the sky but once that shattering prospect really hits them and they start thinking again there are a lot of things which they cannot do, they say they cannot run themselves; provided they do not have a strong political tie-up with Rhodesia they would like to carry on certain services and do certain things for them—for a consideration I hope.

Q. SIR LIONEL HEALD: I think you made it quite clear that the basic principle of your scheme for the future is really the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias. A. Yes, Sir. That I think was the original idea. I think that should be the ultimate result.

Q. You have already said that you have to accept that the idea of Federation causes friction between Africans and Europeans. I do not want to put words into your mouth but would you not think that the idea of amalgamation would create very much more? A. Yes. I do not press the question of amalgamation at the moment. I hope it will be the ultimate result because it is so much simpler administratively but politically I would not press that there should be immediate amalgamation. It might be deemed desirable for political reasons and expedient reasons that it would be better not to go that far, to continue with a little Territorial set-up here and a Territorial parliament of Southern Rhodesia and an over-all Rhodesian Government. I do not like the idea but I would not like to thrust a complete amalgamation down people's throats at this stage.

Q. You did say emphatically that you thought some sort of a reasonable settlement is essential? A. Yes, Sir.

Q. I do not think there would be any difference of view on that from what you said that you recognized that the Africans and Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, both are apt to fear each other at the present time? A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And their interests are at the present time conflicting? A. That is so, Sir.

Q. You said that if Europeans in Northern Rhodesia did not get what they wanted they would create the biggest ructions they could. Do you not think the Africans might take the same view? A. I think that under our proposals, of course, the majority of the Africans would not be affected. Not being affected I do not see why they should cause any ructions provided they get a reasonable share from the copper. As far as the Africans indigenous to the Rhodesian part are concerned, I think they could be placated with some concession. I think if the Europeans have to deal with half a million Africans in Northern Rhodesia from the political point of view rather than three million we might be disposed to make a bigger concession and that might well placate the African. I do not think that anything, with great respect, that this Commission is going to recommend could satisfy everybody in any way and certainly will not satisfy the African, nothing ever does. It is a question of deciding what is right and what is best, what is defensible and will at least not provoke undue antagonism?

Q. But you must agree you must try to allay the fears on both sides? A. Indeed.

Q. You are saying you are not able to give us any positive suggestions for that? A. I said I was not. It did cross my mind that if a settlement of this kind was adopted I think it would give Southern Rhodesia much more security than she enjoys at the moment. I think Southern Rhodesia is very much afraid of being linked with two black governments in close political association. If a settlement was reached here which placed Southern Rhodesia in a stronger position than she might be induced—I do not know, I cannot speak for her—to make a concession to the African within the Rhodesia part which she would be undisposed to make now. Any concession that Southern Rhodesia makes under the existing set-up, I think, would expose her to a link-up with two black governments. Anything which is not going to have that result, anything on the lines we have been trying to explain which gives her more security might dispose her to be more conciliatory towards franchise and other matters. I think that is a possibility. But any prospect of Southern Rhodesia to be linked with two black governments, I think they will be dead against it.

Q. MR. GONDWE: I wanted to ask Mr. Van Eeden one or two questions. What percentage of Europeans in Nyasaland did you find were opposed to Federation at the time you visited it prior to Federation? A. It is impossible for me to answer that specifically. I did do a brief tour of Nyasaland about the time of Federation and of the Europeans to whom I spoke I found very few who were keen on Federation. A very few seemed to be very keen on the idea and my reaction was, "Why on earth have we bothered? We have gone to considerable lengths to do something for these people, they do not appreciate it. I do not know why we bother." That was my reaction.

Q. From my own experience in Nyasaland all along Europeans in Nyasaland have been in favour of Federation. I think Mr. Hadlow would bear me out and I happen to have attended a conference at Victoria Falls and you are right to say the Africans were dead against Federation in Nyasaland but for Europeans, they were all in favour of it, except for a few here and there. A. May I amplify this? Of course I was talking about seven years ago. During the last seven years Rhodesia has spent very large sums of money in Nyasaland which doubtless may have had the effect on the Europeans at any rate about whom Mr. Gondwe was talking but I was talking about seven years ago when they did not know which way the thing was going to work but the ones I spoke to were not very keen but I think they are keen now because they have known the financial benefits.

Q. It has been said that the Africans in Nyasaland are against Federation and that those in Northern Rhodesia are not very much against Federation but that some of these people who would say something for Federation are forced into saying they do not like Federation because they are intimidated. That may be so but one would like to qualify this that from what one has seen of Northern Rhodesia the Africans are just as determined to be against Federation as the Africans of Nyasaland. The position is the same. A. I do not think that the African in Northern Rhodesia is quite so militant about it. He has expressed himself against Federation to some extent for reasons which I explained earlier on, as to why he takes this attitude in many cases. I do not think he is militant about it. I think if a statement was made although he was not particularly satisfied with it, as I said earlier on, I do not think these people are ever satisfied with anything anyway, but if it seemed fairly reasonable I do not think you would get the sort of result that you have already had in Nyasaland. I do not think so at all.

Q. I think Mr. van Eeden is aware, of course, and he has said that Nyasaland Africans would like to secede from the Federation, that is a fact, he said that it was a mistake to include Nyasaland at the beginning in the Federal state, that is quite right. Now when I am asking this question it should not be construed as to mean, I would advocate inclusion of Nyasaland in the Federal state but I would like to ask Mr. van Eeden if Nyasaland was included in the Federal state by mistake? Why should he at this present moment say that in spite of that mistake she should still be retained in the Federal state? A. The answer is I think once one is part of this type of combination the results of secession or a general break-up are so chaotic that I think every attempt should be made to avoid that. If Nyasaland had never been brought into the Federation we would not have had quite so

many problems. Well, she is in. To leave her out or to entitle her to secede would encounter greater problems just because she is in. I think it would have a very bad effect financially on Nyasaland. I have no figures with me but in the Federal Assembly they have been spending enormous amounts of money in Nyasaland, it has come from Northern Rhodesia. Our pockets have certainly felt it to the tune of £3,000,000 over and above what she was entitled to. If she lost that I do not think she would be a going concern unless some foreign power were invited to make a contribution. I do not think it is feasible from Nyasaland's point of view to contemplate that. From my point of view once you get a break-away of one, then the others might follow suit, then the whole thing might pack up. That is the side I am not very keen on, I do not see from the point of view of Rhodesia or Nyasaland at this stage it would be wise to encourage a secession which might lead to general break-up.

MR. ELLMAN-BROWN: Do you visualise that as far as Barotseland is concerned you would have rather a High Commissioner type of control at this particular stage? As far as Nyasaland is concerned a constitution very similar to that which has now been brought in in Swaziland in the south, is that what you understand? A. Something like that.

Q. With close economic ties written into what is left of the Federation? A. Yes.

Q. What are you going to do about the Northern Province and the rest of Northern Rhodesia? A. We have suggested that that should elect, as it were, which way it went. It is a shaded part of the scheme—(indicating on plan) we thought that they should elect whether they came in with Rhodesia or whether they preferred to link up with Nyasaland. We do not hold very strong views in that direction but if it elected to go with Nyasaland then we thought there should be some guarantee regarding the European population in Fort Jameson and in certain parts of Nyasaland. There should be some guarantee from the British Government protecting their property from expropriation or anything like that. I think that Nyasaland is a different proposition to Barotseland. Barotseland is a poor and very improverished country. It just ticks over. It only ticks over really because the Northern Rhodesian Government have always been very liberal, they have spent a lot of money to keep the thing going there. It is not a country which is a political problem. I think they would only be too pleased to have some affiliation with the Rhodesias provided it was largely financial and they were not subjected to anything political for which they did not care. Perhaps something like the present system could be continued, a law did not apply unless they agreed. Barotseland is no problem. Somebody will have to subsidise it and the only people who could do that are the Rhodesians and there is no problem there at all.

MR. WOODROW CROSS: May I ask Mr. van Eeden if he favours a lowering of the franchise either federally or territorially? A. I think the franchise has already gone too far territorially. Once one starts on these things you can never retrace your steps but I am not going to suggest we should push it up again. That is probably not very feasible. It has already gone a long way. In some cases in Northern Rhodesia the enfranchisement is now on the basis of £10 a month. There are very large numbers of Africans in this territory who do earn £10 a month. There is no doubt about that at all. I would say on the basis of the territorial franchise very large numbers of Africans can acquire the franchise without any difficulty at all. People talk about 'one man, one vote.' I think we have gone too far. I should at least say we should not go any further.

Then there is the limitation that these specially easy votes do not carry a weight of more than one third of the ordinary votes. I think U.F.P. suggested one fifth, they were overruled and it was made one third. There is a bit of limitation there. But I pointed out earlier on that in the last year or eighteen months Europeans have been leaving this country. The European roll is going down and of course as it goes down the prospects of the Africans are gaining greatly and so are immediately enhanced. I was told recently on a fairly good authority as compared with the last election which was just over a year ago the Lusaka voters' roll, ordinary, which is predominantly European will be down 20%. I offer that figure as guess work but it was put to me that there are three federal seats in this area, they will be down 20%. At the moment in Northern Rhodesia the European vote is going

down. I gravely suspect the franchise handover. This trouble in Nyasaland which we had a year ago, these very grave disturbances took place almost immediately a very considerable franchise concession had been made to Nyasaland. The Federal Parliament had just passed a Bill some months before the riots in Nyasaland under which for the first time many thousands of Nyasaland Africans would get franchise, special franchise, it was not general but nevertheless for the first time they would have a say. I think if everybody enrolled who was eligible in Nyasaland something like 20,000 Africans would be enrolled. I saw the newspaper this morning, further riots in the Congo and as far as I know the Congo is about to be given African independence and all they have had since has been rioting. I really do not think the answer is handing votes out all over the place. I think that is quite fatal.

PROFESSOR CREIGHTON: I am rather puzzled by Mr. van Eeden's apparent assumption that his proposals would result in reduction in the numbers of governments and presumably in the cost of government. I wonder if he can clarify the proposal which he made. I gather he assumes a large Rhodesia and a large Nyasaland and a separate Barotseland. At the same time he believes that there should be some continuation of the Federation presumably with very greatly reduced federal powers. Therefore there must be institutions for the Federation. So, in fact, there will continue to be four governments? A. Not necessarily. I envisage a Rhodesian Government, an Independent Government I hope. Then Barotseland, of course, carries on as it is now. It has a little local government now. There would not be any change there, then you have Government in greater Nyasaland. The overall body that in fact had ministered the combination does not need to be a Government of course.

Q. On one point where you suggested in your statement the establishment of a Senate. Was the Senate for the entire association or was it only for Rhodesia? A. That again is one of these points which I suggest should be left for agreement. One feels that the principle is such an obstacle, the question of getting people to agree to the principle of what we suggest, once the principle is adopted, if it is adopted, then the question of the exact machinery, of course, should be left to agreement, the question of the degree of association between Rhodesia and greater Nyasaland I think is something which to a large extent would depend on greater Nyasaland, the question as to what extent they wished the Rhodesian Government to continue to run certain facilities. I think all that could be settled by agreement, with agreement of the local people. It is quite conceivable that the Rhodesian Government might to some extent exercise overall functions if greater Nyasaland agreed and said "You chaps can do certain things better than we can at this stage," so there would be a certain list of subjects where the Rhodesian Government, as it were, would exercise responsibility to greater Nyasaland. Perhaps that would be a possible arrangement.

Q. So that in fact your proposals rest in a very nebulous state. There are really no definite proposals respecting the character of the association? A. No, Sir, not really. I do not think our views are nebulous. It is just one is not so keen on discussing the detail until the principle is accepted. I am prepared to discourse on the details if the gentleman wishes.

PROFESSOR CREIGHTON: I was just wondering about the Senate, how was it to be constituted—a Rhodesian senate or a senate for the entire association?

MR. MENZIES: I must confess I am impressed with exactly the same views as my colleague from Canada. I cannot see how you can arrive at any other conclusion than that you really want effectively to destroy the Federation because Federation postulates the joining together of certain independent self-governing bodies and your proposal is a complete reconstitution of the whole scheme. It does not seem to me that you have in your thinking so far faced up to the real problem of retaining what you postulate is a federation, not destroying the Federation. I do not think you have conveyed it to my mind and my colleague from Canada is in the same dilemma, because you have got to work out your constitution. This you have got to work out in detail. That is, if you want to be a help to this Committee. I think you have got to submit some plan, some structure, that is intelligible and we can understand, but at present it is left completely up into the air to my thinking. A. I am sorry, Sir, I created that very

nebulous impression. What we really suggest I think in substance is this, that at the moment you have got the Federal Government. That Federal Government has certain responsibilities. It administers certain functions in the various territories with regard to defence, customs, income tax, roads and European education and that kind of thing. There is no reason why that need not continue in greater Nyasaland, at least at this particular stage, with something like the functions which the Federal Government now exercises in Nyasaland and will continue to do in the future, but whereas in Rhodesia they have full powers and full responsibility for whatever functions may be agreed, they have the full power to administer the full list of responsibilities. They have limited powers in Greater Nyasaland and Barotseland, perhaps very much on the lines of the present Federal list and concurrent list. I do not see any great difficulty about that, Sir. I have battled with this sort of idea for many years and my main concern at this stage is trying to persuade the people of the principle of the thing. Once that is agreed I do not see any difficulty in the machinery.

Q. I just wanted to get your view. I do not want to debate it with you in any way. What you are postulating is an association? A. An Alliance, Sir.

Q. What I want to get from you is how you reconcile the retention of a Federation with a loose association of the kind you are envisaging. A. It is all in here (pamphlet). What we are suggesting really is this, that we should leave Federation as it is with its present responsibilities or something like it in various countries of the Federation, but not change the position in Nyasaland or in Greater Nyasaland federally. Leave the Federal Government with something like its present list of responsibilities but in the Rhodesian part you have a forward step. You enhance the responsibilities or lengthen the list. The reason why I do not want to be so specific is Nyasaland might well say, "We think the Federal Government is having too much power at the moment in Nyasaland." We would like to see the list shortened a bit, then this might be connected with the question of how much money is spent on Federation as to how much power the Federal Government should have in Nyasaland. We have tried to be as specific as possible in here. I am scared to be specific in the details because people are fond of finding pegs to hang criticisms on.

Q. Would you describe how your Federal Parliament would be constituted? A. At the moment Nyasaland has, I think I am right in saying, eleven members in the Federal Parliament. If there is going to be a looser association and a grant of greater self-government to the African in Nyasaland then I think there should be a reduction in the Nyasaland representation in the Federal Assembly or the Dominion Assembly. These 11 members are there because of a certain financial association between Nyasaland and certain political associations. If that association changed by giving the greater say to the Africans in Nyasaland they would have it both ways.

They cannot have a greater say and still retain their say in the Rhodesian Parliament. There must be a reduction but the amount of the reduction must depend on the extent of the say granted to the African in Nyasaland or not. All I am saying in substance is, "Leave the Federation something as it is now but in the Rhodesian part give it greater responsibility or complete responsibility as the case may be." I do not know if I can make it any clearer than that.

MR. JUSTICE BEADLE: Would a constitutional set-up roughly on these lines meet with your ideas? You have a central state consisting of Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, which is a federation of Southern Rhodesia and the railway strip of Northern Rhodesia. That federation of the two Rhodesias will be given greater political power than the present Federation and the constitution will be somewhat similar to the present Federal constitution with greater powers. Then you have on the West a second state of Barotseland run very much as a protectorate entirely under the Colonial Office. Then you will have on the East a Greater Nyasaland which would include Nyasaland and North-eastern Rhodesia. That will be run by the Colonial Office but with some form of local government of the African—training the African to take over an independent African state. Those are your three states—Federation in the middle and on the two wings independent African states, but the three states will be associated together in a form of association similar to the East

African High Commission, and its object will be to ensure that the wealth of the Central Federation contributes from its sources adequately to the financial development of the two African entities on each side? A. That is exactly what we have in mind.

Q. Would something of that sort meet what you have in mind? A. Exactly, Sir, I can frankly suggest many variations of one kind and another, but having been twelve years in politics I am always scared of these specific points which people hang pegs on.

I wish to draw attention to paragraph 1 of the passage in this document about the Central Alliance. "There shall come into being the Central African Alliance, which will be the Dominion of Rhodesia, including the Northern Territory and the Protectorates of Barotseland and Nyasaland in the years to come."

Q. That is what you propose. This is the basis for discussion. A question someone will ask is how that is compatible with the continuance of Federation in its present form? A. That is why we call it an Alliance, but this is a basis for discussion.

SIR LIONEL HEALD: Would it be very rude of me to say you seem to know what a protectorate is in that paragraph although you told us you did not know what it was? A. The word seems to appeal so much to certain people and those are the people we try to impress at certain times.

LUSAKA

16th March, 1960

Memorandum

A. W. MARTIN

This memo is submitted on behalf of the following Companies:—

Ndola Investments
Northern Rhodesia Tyre Services
Standay Arms Co.
Standay Investments
Vee Investments

who have, during the past seven years invested more than £250,000 in Northern Rhodesia and the Federation. The Companies' Headquarters are at Queens House, Lusaka, and I am their Manager. 26 Europeans and 55 Africans are employed.

The Parent Company is a South African Investment House, which decided to increase its field of operations and investments by forming these Companies in the Federation, to coincide with the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

It cannot be overemphasised that it was the security facet provided by the establishment of the Federal Government, that prompted the formation of these Companies and the investment referred to earlier.

Our Companies have plans for further expansion and investment in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, but before any consideration is made to this end, it has been decided to await the outcome of the "1960 Conference." It is of vital importance that we must be satisfied that the Federal Government, as well as Territorial Governments of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, will remain in civilized and responsible hands.

Any devaluation of the franchise would have tragic results and would cause our Companies to review the present position and cancel any further development plans.

It is of paramount importance that a stable atmosphere is developed and that any constitutional amendments your Commission may recommend must have the effect of creating a Constitution under which any Government can offer security and confidence to investors, farmers, professional men and the general public.

The Monckton Commission has by now become a household word, condemned by some—praised by many, and the basis of far too many arguments in too many places. The Federation cannot stand the internal strife and witch-hunt much longer and certainly not again, in a few years' time.

Let your recommendations ensure that any alterations to our Constitution must be of a permanent nature. The surest way to frighten investors away is to permit this exercise to be repeated in a few years' time.

The Federation is a great country urgently in need of capital, industries, experience, etc., to develop the country and provide employment to the large number of Africans, many of whom are unemployed, and seem likely to remain unemployed unless security is offered to investors. African advancement without adequate means of absorbing this field, can only lead to discontent. Employment, full bellies, and money to spend on their families' needs is far more important today than the dubious advancement of "one man, one vote."

May I respectfully submit that the economic aspects of the Federation must take precedence over all other claims.

At present all the attention in the United Kingdom is focussed on a few paid agitators who certainly do not command the following they represent.

The mentality of Africa is as different from that of Europe as is its climate; it takes years to understand and a five minutes' visit does not even touch the surface of the country, and its problems.

Please advise the correct procedure and acknowledge receipt of this memo. I am prepared to give verbal evidence.

Livingstone.

Oral Evidence

A. W. MARTIN

The witness stated that because of lack of political security his group was thinking of investing in Australia money they would otherwise have invested in Northern Rhodesia. He had trained an African labour force and was of the opinion that Africans had a long way to go before becoming capable of responsibility. He was against lowering the franchise. In fact the qualifications should, in his view, be raised. Asked whether as regards investment in Australia he was thinking of the return on his money or only political security, the witness replied that he was concerned with political security. Otherwise his group would be prepared to invest in Northern Rhodesia. Asked whether he was in favour of some change in the political set-up, the witness replied that the only answer lay in Federation which should be given greater powers than it at present possessed, including responsibility for the police. The witness added that the health service was better now than it had been before Federation. If it were possible he would prefer amalgamation of the Territories. Asked how he would feel if the Federal Government was in the hands of an African majority, the witness replied that in that event he would be "sorry for the country."

LUSAKA

17th March, 1960

Memorandum

C. G. ROGERS

The leading political Party in the Federation and all Parties in the United Kingdom are committed to the policy of partnership. It is, however, a mathematical fact that pursuance of this policy will lead to African domination. The only debatable point is the time factor, and Colonial history tends to show that appeasement to public opinion, both at home and abroad, leads to the granting of independence before the indigenous people are capable of ruling themselves in the democratic way.

It is ironic that the Colonial peoples, guided by Socialists use the ideals of democracy to argue their case for independence and having gained independence, quickly dispense with these ideals in favour of a more totalitarian regime. The posturings of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the suppression of the official opposition and corruption in public life in Ghana are good examples.

The ignorance and gullibility of the local peasantry, inter-tribal strife, witchcraft and ritual cannibalism as witnessed from time to time throughout Africa and recently in the Congo and Barotseland, should make it clear that barbarism is never far from the surface. To grant independence to these people is not to give them freedom but to give dictatorial powers to the so-called African leaders. A study of the political speeches of these African leaders should show that life for a White minority under them would be intolerable.

However, all political Parties, both in the Federation and in the United Kingdom, are committed to grant political power to the Africans in the Federation. I believe that the only way to appease the political aspirations of African leaders and to uphold the European way of life in this part

of Africa, is to split the Federation. Nyasaland, Barotseland, and Luapula and the Eastern Provinces of Northern Rhodesia should be Black States under the Colonial Office until such time as they gain independence, and the remainder of Northern Rhodesia, which includes the Line of Rail, should amalgamate with Southern Rhodesia to form a White State.

This is not a new idea; it was, I believe, first proposed by Sir Stewart Gore-Brown and was the policy of the now defunct Constitution Party.

Although I realize that it is against official policy to dismember the Federation, there is no guarantee that Federation will remain. Once the Africans have gained political control of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia it will be impossible to prevent them from leaving the Federation, if that is their wish. There is also the possibility that Southern Rhodesia may secede rather than be dominated by the African majorities in the two Northern Territories.

Lusaka,
25th January, 1960.

Oral Evidence

C. G. ROGERS

Mr. Rogers was employed in the Mail Order Department of Tarry and Company. He had been in Northern Rhodesia nine years and previously four years in South Africa. He had served in the war in India and Burma.

The witness had stated in his memorandum that he believed that the solution lay in partition. The Africans were not ready for self-government yet. He doubted whether their temperament was suited for the democratic way of life. The United Federal Party and the United Kingdom Government seemed to be concerned with setting the African on the way to self-government. History had shown that this was always given too soon. It would only be a matter of time before the African got political control. This could make the position of the European intolerable. But at the same time there was the commitment to advancement. He himself did not believe in partnership, that is to say the idea of sharing the government. He, therefore, thought it best to give the Africans political freedom and at the same time to safeguard the Europeans; the only practical solution was partition. The European should retain the line of rail including the Copper Belt. They should not have any political control at all in the remaining areas. The north (i.e., the Europeans' part of Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia) should be in federation and not amalgamation.

In answer to questions Mr. Rogers made the following points:—

- (1) The Federation thus formed would have to make grants to the African territories. This would involve negotiation between the Federal Government and the Colonial Office. This would be for practical reasons, and he saw no difficulties. Both Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia would each have complete independence. He thought the difficulties of this arrangement would be far less than those of the present.
- (2) He knew of no movement of people or capital out of Tanganyika. But he was sure that partnership would lead to government by Africans. The African States might form their own federation or else be brought into the Federation of Southern Rhodesia and the European part of Northern Rhodesia.
- (3) He did not want political power to pass into African influence in Southern Rhodesia.
- (4) He did not know if Sir Stewart Gore-Brown advocated partition.

Memorandum

MRS. M. G. WOTHERSPOON

I should like to appear before the Monckton Commission when it sits in Lusaka as I should like to bring up the following points:—

- (1) The biological differences between the European and the African.
- (2) Cannibalism—when was it last practised in the United Kingdom and when in Africa.

(3) Marriage laws—European and African.

(4) Witchcraft.

I feel that taking the above points into consideration the African should be advanced but everything pertaining to this advancement should be alongside and separate from that of the European.

Kafue.

Supplementary Statement by Mrs. M. G. WOTHERSPOON

1. The marriage laws here in Central Africa are very strict for the European. Should a white man contract a second marriage whilst still legally married to the first wife, he is prosecuted for bigamy. Not so with the African—he is permitted to have several wives at the same time, purchasing them for money or in exchange for cattle. The law does not interfere in the domestic life of the African provided no violence against another person is committed. Though we are said to be governed by the same laws one law in fact exists for the African whilst quite another exists for the European.

2. Now that we are to be reconciled to a multi-racial society in which all men are equal may we assume that the marriage laws governing the European will be changed and the act of bigamy become legal? This would of course alter our social structure and would no doubt receive the approval of many and would at the same time increase our minority race at a more rapid pace. Or is the African to be deprived of his several wives and made to realise that he can no longer have the best of both worlds?

3. It would appear that European standards are in danger of being reduced to the level of the African for the average African would never agree to abolish many of his age-old customs, including the possession of more than one wife at a time.

4. Will the laws regarding the registration of births be altered? There would be urgent need for such alterations if all the children of the several wives are to be made legal and given the vote. If the laws are to remain unaltered, they would undoubtedly discriminate against the European and favour the African. Bigamy must, therefore, cease to be an offence against the law and society. If equality is to be the order of the day, then equality must exist one way or the other for all people in Central Africa. The European must be permitted the same opportunity of inflicting on society large numbers of children by his several wives. If existing laws are to continue unaltered, the African must inevitably continue to far out-number the European, and the cunning demand for the "one man one vote" system give him complete power to have the best for himself. If a black government is to decide the destiny of Central Africa, the white man must be permitted to have equal representation if his own race and culture is to survive.

5. We white people of the Federation are not entirely stupid or inhuman, and we recognise the right of the African to have some way in the governing of this—our joint—country when he is ready for it. With this object in view, everything humanly possible has been and is being done—and at the expense of the white man—to educate the African to the point where he can share in the burden of ruling and developing the country. But that time is not yet, for in the main they still lack the qualities of responsibility and integrity. They are still avaricious, grasping and power-seeking, and the irony of black dominance would be that their own people would suffer the more acutely for it. Believe it or not, the European protects the African from himself. No one denies the existence of enlightened and educated Africans who, within limits, have acquired a veneer of civilisation—but they are still very much in the minority, and many of them, unfortunately, use their newly acquired knowledge for the furtherance of their own ambitions. Gratitude and loyalty is a rare quality in the African as present-day trends illustrate. He is a born agitator and can be, and often is, the most provocative creature on earth. In granting independence to the black states of Africa Britain is unwittingly selling them out to the highest bidder—and she herself will not procure their loyalty and allegiance to the Commonwealth. She will have lost her "Empire" in Africa to Communism—and probably threaten her own survival in the West in generations to come, as a result of it.

6. Few would object to a black government—for it is not the colour of a man's skin that matters—provided that government were a mature and responsible one and had the interests of all its peoples at heart and governed in justice for all. That, the African will never do—whatever he may tell Britain to gain his ends—for he does not recognise the right of the Federal-born white citizen to call himself a native of Central Africa, let alone the right to the “settler” to remain in his new home. We whites of the Federation squirm at the criticism levelled at us by people in Britain, for we know the criticism to be unjust and untrue, particularly when the criticism takes the form we would hold contemptible if it were true of anyone else, and of which we know ourselves to be innocent.

7. What of the white man who has given his life and resources to Central Africa, and who has developed the country and the African to the point where the latter, unwisely, imagines he can take over? Is the white man to have no consideration for the part he played in rehabilitating black people over vast areas of land which had been abandoned for the dangers they represented to human life, for eradicating disease and hunger, tribal wars and, as far as possible, witchcraft? Is he to have no recognition for the part he has played in an attempt to bring religion and civilisation to a barbaric people—a Western Culture? If we have failed in the short time we have had to bring this about, then we must inevitably be regarded as the outcasts and savages of Britain unworthy of loyalty and allegiance from our own race, rather than the pioneers and builders of Empires we were once looked upon as being. It is strange how those who have had little or nothing to do with the achievements of others are the first to criticise and claim the right to act as arbitrators and give away that which does not belong to them. In righteous indignation they decide issues from thousands of miles away in problems they had not lived with and do not fully understand. Britain has always prided herself on her sense of justice and the administration of justice, yet in her attitude to the many and varied problems of Africa she is doing less than justice to her own kith and kin, who through the ages developed the same attributes and qualities of those still living in Britain, and what's more practice them.

8. There are many thousands of Africans who have sufficient intelligence to realise that they are far better off under the protection and care of the white man and who *do not want independence for they know what it spells* for them. Those are the people whose homes and families are threatened if they dare come forward and say so. The African is a “Master” in the art of intimidation, and unfortunately so many thousands are still bound up in fear of witchcraft and the knowledge that his fellow men would not hesitate to kill those who oppose him that he is effectively silenced. The characteristics of the black people vary from tribe to tribe. Some are very fine people who oppose and attack ruthlessly the law-breakers of their own tribe and who are quick and anxious to progress along the right lines—others are born trouble makers and are generally made up of detribalised members from all over the face of the Continent. Others are unbelievably stupid and opposed to progress whilst yet other tribes compete with one another for the power to dominate all. Let the responsible authorities in Britain who are making the decision in this issue consider with due care the future, not only of white civilisation in Central Africa, and possibly elsewhere, but the continued existence and survival of the black man himself. Not for one moment should the dangers which could arise from the stupidity and ignorance of the unenlightened masses be forgotten. It is a dangerous weapon against which would have to be balanced the loss of countless lives. Let Britain be truly aware of her responsibilities in this matter and let not the “Evil” of a future Africa be laid at her door. In the name of humanity let not the destiny of Africa become a political whip for power-seekers in Britain.

9. Much has happened in the years I have lived in this country to change my pre-conceived ideas on the subject of the so-called “oppressed” black man. I can have nothing but respect and admiration for the manner in which the European of Central Africa has handled an extremely difficult task made up of so many problems in which he gave a peasant people more in sixty years than Britain gave hers in thousands. Let me say here and now that the African

gets far more than he either merits or deserves and it is entirely due to the tolerance and forbearance of his “white partner” that many Africans now hold positions for which better qualified white men would be considered inexperienced and inadequate, yet carry the burden and make the decisions for their African “superiors.” The African, in the main, unfit as he is, is being given every opportunity to share in the burdens of state. I consider the European of the Federation has been more than just—a justice he would not receive if the tables were turned. Time, and only time, will prove the truth of these words in Kenya and other black states including Central Africa, if it becomes “black.”

10. I have no axe to grind—I am an observer and in ten years in Central Africa have observed much. I know for instance that though much has been done to stamp it out, witchcraft is still rife and actively practised. I have had several experiences of this on my own farm where I was too late to stop the devouring of a dead African infant by many of my labour force who regarded the brew as “strong medicine.”

11. I could, but for the risk of being thought tedious or untruthful, quote several such instances of these revolting practises, which I either know of or have personally witnessed.

12. New problems must inevitably arise of multi-racialism and equality of the races becomes an established fact. For man is, after all, merely a conditioned animal who lives according to instilled beliefs and concepts. He lives by example and environmental background.

13. If children of all races are to mix in schools, hospitals, sport and all other social aspects of life, the time will come when other more intimate aspects of social integration must be taken into consideration. It is already commonly known that many Africans aspire to the possession of a white wife. The time will come when he feels he may legitimately compete for the hand of a white woman. In itself there may be nothing wrong in that but for several important factors. The African is said, by authorities on the subject, to be biologically different from the white races. In fact some go so far as to say he is a different sub-species and give their findings to substantiate their claims. It is said that whilst Europeans have a rhesus factor of 15% the African rhesus is only between 1 and 2%. This established the fact that differences, quite apart from pigment and blood, do exist. For hair the African has wool or something very nearly approaching it. Anatomical differences, too, are said to exist, both in bone structure and the ivory-like substance which the African skull is said to be made of and the fact that he is more prone to specific diseases. As far as it has been possible to investigate it is said too that the volume of the African brain is less than that of the average white persons. Inherent in his fight for survival through the ages is his tendency to cunning rather than intelligence, for the African appears to be incapable of reasonable thought or logic.

14. Sex is the predominant factor in his life and homosexuality is said to be more prevalent among the black races than the white. Their ideas on the subject of modesty differ vastly from our own in that women openly and unashamedly feed their infants in public whilst the male would not hesitate to relieve himself against the nearest wall or tree. This I have been an embarrassed witness to quite frequently. A white person would promptly be prosecuted for indecent exposure. Not so the African—he literally appears to get away with murder. It is not an uncommon thing for an African to spit at any one in order to show the contempt in which he holds them. The African is inherently lazy and browses in the sun whilst his womenfolk bear their infants under the nearest tree and then continue to till the lands, as a matter of course. Some of them do not hesitate to make prostitutes of their wives or trump up charges against their more wary potential victims. Either way they get them to pay up. Murder among them is a common occurrence—it may be interesting to ask the judiciary for figures to prove this point.

15. Now if there were to be a fusion of black and white, as there inevitably will be on the fringes of our respective societies, a rapidly increasing coloured race will result. From a study of these people by authorities it is claimed that they unfortunately inherit the worst characteristics of the mixed union. Certainly it does not require a great deal of intelligence or powers of observation for the average person

to see the truth of this assertion. A "coloured" person can be charming in his humility and docility, and at the same time a dangerous animal if "crossed," for they immediately revert to the qualities of their "black blood." Some there are who have a certain integrity, truthfulness, and honesty, but many have not. Is the civilisation and culture the white man has brought to Africa to give way to barbarism once more?

16. How could an integrated multi-racial society be built up among a peoples so vastly different in culture and at such different stages of evolution? Can the shop-keepers really be blamed for refusing African women to try on articles of clothing knowing full well that the garments removed from the African woman preparatory to trying on a shop garment are covered with the urine and faeces of the baby she carries on her back? Can we be blamed for showing revulsion when an African woman cleans her nose, or the nose of her baby with her fingers and then proceeds to handle food-stuffs in the shops? And believe me many of them try on, and handle everything in sight!

17. Is the fate of a future Africa to be decided by such people and the political "agitators" of Britain and the sensational misrepresentation of so many British pressmen? Much that has been said and done cannot now be undone; but at least do not allow irresponsible people to worsen the situation. Federation, or rather the concept of it, is a good thing, and it must be allowed to become an established fact, and made to work in the interests of all its peoples and with just representation for every section in proportion to its contribution to development. I repeat that few intelligent people would object to a black government if it proved an honest, responsible and just government.

Oral evidence

MRS. M. G. WOTHERSPOON

Mrs. Wotherspoon made an oral statement, the substance of which is reproduced above.

She thought that the concept of Federation was good and that Federation must be made to work on the basis of social and economic segregation.

Memorandum

THE LAND SURVEYORS' SOCIETY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

I am directed by the Committee of the Land Surveyors' Society of Northern Rhodesia to request that the following memorandum be presented to the Advisory Commission on the Review of the Federation's Constitution under the chairmanship of Lord Monckton.

2. Introduction

The scope of this memorandum is confined to the subject of land tenure insofar as it affects the profession of cadastral surveying.

3. Existing Constitution

- (i) In the preamble to the Constitution of The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is recognised that the Territorial Governments should be responsible for the control of land.
- (ii) The Federal and Territorial Legislatures have powers to make laws concerning "geological, trigonometrical, topographical and cadastral surveys" and, if there is any inconsistency between the two, the Federal law prevails over the Territorial Law. Cadastral surveying in Northern Rhodesia is controlled by the Land Survey Ordinance (Chapter 88 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia) and not by any Federal law.
- (iii) The Federal Legislature has exclusive powers to make laws concerning "professional qualifications in respect of such professions as . . . the Governor General with the consent of the Governor of any Territory concerned may by order designate." The professional qualifications of cadastral surveyors in Northern Rhodesia are prescribed in Chapter 88 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia and not by any Federal law.

4. Cadastral Survey Legislation: Recommendations

- (i) We are of the opinion that cadastral surveying is not a subject which should be under the control of the Federal Legislature.

- (ii) The three constituent Territories of the Federation do not have a uniform system of land tenure and so long as the Territorial Legislatures remain in control of land matters, we consider that the profession of cadastral surveying, which is so closely allied to the question of land tenure, should also remain under the exclusive control of the Territorial Legislatures.
- (iii) We do not consider that any advantage that might arise by bringing the profession under Federal control would outweigh the very serious disadvantage of centralising control in Salisbury, the Federal capital. We feel that due to the geographical separation of Salisbury from this Territory we would not, as a responsible professional body, be able to exercise that degree of influence over our profession which we consider to be both right and desirable.
- (iv) Although we believe that there is merit in aiming for a unified system of cadastral surveying throughout the Federation, we consider that this end is best achieved by the closer association of Territorial Government departments and Territorial professional societies, rather than by imposition from the Federal Legislature.
- (v) It follows that we are opposed to the provisions of the present Federal Constitution which enable the Federal Legislature to make laws concerning cadastral surveying.

5. Professional Qualifications: Recommendations

- (i) We recommend that so long as the control of the professional activities of cadastral surveyors remains with the Territorial Governments, the question of the qualifications which are acceptable for admission to the profession should be determined by the Territorial Governments and not by the Federal Government.
- (ii) Again, we believe that there is merit in reaching uniformity on the subject of professional qualifications, but we consider that this should be achieved by mutual negotiation between the three Territories and not by Federal Legislation.
- (iii) We do not object to the existing provisions in the Federal Constitution concerning professional qualifications so long as it is beyond all possible doubt that the Federal Legislature will not act without the consent of the Territories concerned. We believe that this consent should not be given in the matter of qualifications for cadastral surveying.

6. Land Tenure: Recommendations

- (i) We are satisfied that all questions of land tenure should remain under the competence of the Territorial Governments.
- (ii) We are very anxious to see the gradual decline and eventual eradication of communal tenure of African lands, under Native Customary Law. We firmly believe that one of the most important advances required in the African sphere is the adoption of the proved system of individual land tenure which results in national stability and personal responsibility. In short, we believe that eventually there should be no differentiation between land tenure systems and cadastral survey practice in what are commonly referred to as Crown Lands and African Lands.
- (iii) Although we see evidence that the Territorial Governments are moving towards a unified system of land tenure, we are perturbed by the fact that, in achieving this desirable object there are very strong indications that the Governments are prepared to introduce sub-standard methods of cadastral survey practice which are not acceptable to us and which we consider to be ill advised. The Territorial Governments are faced with two problems:—
 - (a) the recovery of economic costs of cadastral surveying from individual land-holders;
 - (b) the expansion of the survey potential to cope with the great increase of work which will result when millions of Africans are settled on individual land-holdings.
- (iv) We believe that the Federal Government might well take a lead in this matter, thereby assisting them to

gain that degree of confidence from the African population which is so essential to the well-being of the Federal State. There is, of course, plenty of scope for such a lead outside the narrow limits of land surveying, but we consider that our own recommendations should be confined to the latter subject. These recommendations are:—

- (a) that the Federal Government should undertake an immediate and substantial expansion of its services in Trigonometrical and Topographical surveying so as to provide an adequate density of trigonometrical control necessary to the speedy execution of cadastral surveys and so as to provide adequate topographical maps which will be required for the proper planning of resettlement schemes; and
- (b) that the Federal Government should consider the provision of financial support to the Territorial Governments to subsidise, in part at least, the cost of cadastral surveys so that this cost is not borne entirely, as at present in the Crown land areas, by individual land-holders. In this respect we would mention that we do not favour preferential survey tariffs for one section of the community in the same way as we do not favour sub-standard survey practices for one section of the community and we want to see uniformity of fees and practice for the whole community in each Territory.
- (v) To put the matter beyond all possible doubt, we reiterate that we are in agreement with the provisions of the Federal Constitution that land matters should remain under the control of the Territorial Governments, but we consider that the Federal Government not only has its own part to play (e.g., by providing maps) but also has an opportunity of making its mark with the community (especially the African members) if it goes further than its direct responsibilities and makes some financial provision to enable the Territorial Governments to carry out their particular functions the more easily.

7. I am to add that a delegation of the Committee of the Land Surveyors' Society is prepared to give oral evidence in Lusaka within the scope of the above memorandum if the Advisory Commission so requires.

Lusaka
19th January, 1960.

Oral Evidence

THE LAND SURVEYORS' SOCIETY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

Represented by Mr. W. I. D. Sutherland and Mr. Klingenberg

They had produced a memorandum.

Mr. Sutherland stressed the importance of property surveys in the preparation of title deeds, and argued that all land interests should be registered. Proper title deeds should have plans attached to them, and in the case of leases for more than 14 years the plan should be a survey diagram prepared by a licensed land surveyor with proper qualifications. If this were done it would be possible for Government to guarantee the boundaries of land which had been surveyed in this manner. Property beacons as now used would no longer be necessary.

The witness said that the Land Surveyors' Society in Northern Rhodesia now represented about eight per cent of all the licensed surveyors in the Territory, and it was hoped that membership would become compulsory. The present memorandum represented the unanimous view of the Land Surveyors' Society.

In Northern Rhodesia there was legislation governing the profession. The Federal Government could also make laws relating to the profession, but had not yet done so. The Land Surveyors' Society did not want to see a new link with the Federal Government, and felt that they could not easily make representations to Salisbury.

In answer to questions, the witnesses made the following further points:—

1. There were about 35 to 40 licensed Surveyors actually in practice in Northern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia there were at least double this number.

2. On the division of functions, they were not worried about the geological surveys being Federal. They were concerned to some extent with trigonometrical surveys, since they based their work on such surveys. At present they were done by the Federal Government. This was satisfactory provided that the Government consulted with them and considered their needs. There existed a federal law governing Survey. Broadly, they were happy with the arrangement. The same applied to topographical mapping. Their trouble was cadastral survey practice.

3. The Survey qualifications in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia were approximately the same. One set of qualifications was identical. But there was another which was recognised in Northern Rhodesia, but not in Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia only accepted Surveyors qualified on the South African standards. They did not want that to obtain in Northern Rhodesia. Thus a licence to practice in Southern Rhodesia would normally carry in Northern Rhodesia, but the converse did not apply. There would be definite merit in having a unified system. The surveyor should be able to practice without discrimination in any part of the Federation. There were other merits in a unified system. They did not know why the Federal Government had not made laws to unify the system. The differences between English and Roman Dutch law were not particularly marked in respect of surveying.

4. As to the registration of land titles, they pointed out that 94% of the land was African and held under tribal customary law, without any registration of title or survey. Crown land however was more often than not surveyed. If it was a farm it would certainly be surveyed. 6% of the country was Crown land, embodying grants by the British South African Company in freehold which had been surveyed. Leaseholds were also surveyed if the lease were for more than fourteen years. The grantee always paid for the survey.

5. Referring to paragraph 6 (iii) of the memorandum, they were asked what was meant by "sub-standard methods." They pointed out that at present the survey of Crown lands was exacting and accurate. It might even be considered too accurate. But there were indications from Southern Rhodesia, and also for the future in Northern Rhodesia, that when titles were to be given in African areas the standards would be relaxed, and a less expensive technique would be employed derived from air photography.

6. Referred to paragraph 6 (ii) of the memorandum, they agreed that it was a political point. They were expressing some personal views. It was essential for any stable community to be well settled on the land. Many Africans lived on the Crown land areas. They should get the same kind of title as Europeans, and in fact were likely to get titles very soon. Townships had been set aside specifically for their use. This meant that they would get accustomed to individual tenure, and when they went back to their Reserves and saw the land under the communal system there would be dissatisfaction. The witnesses' own feeling was that there should be an identical system in the Crown lands and Reserves. Otherwise there was an acceptance of something which divided the Europeans from the African way of life. If African titles were introduced it was not right that they should have a sub-standard method of survey. Professionally, it was considered that anything likely to lead to dispute should not be proceeded with. The application of the full standards always reduced reference to the Courts. The witnesses thought there would be a general measure of support for this view. The African would see the advantage in individual land tenure in security, stability and independence.

With reference again to Survey in Native Areas in Northern Rhodesia, they understood that there was a pilot scheme under consideration.

The witnesses would give Africans with individual titles the power to sell their land. But they agreed that there might have to be a transitional period of leasehold.

The witnesses agreed that if the Africans were given title it would be extremely expensive to have the best method of survey. They thought that this should be met by means of a "State" subsidy, and that this would be justified as equalising the positions of the Europeans and the Africans, and thus be advantageous to the State. But they agreed that there would be no reason for a perfectionist attitude on standards if in fact the use of special standards in Survey did not lead

to the expected litigation. They admitted that they had a big professional interest in the matter. They also admitted that they could not cope in the country with a sudden rush for surveys. But they did not think that their attitude would hold up the required advancement because there would be no need for surveys for short-term leases of under 14 years as under the present system.

They considered that eventually the difference between Native Trust Land and Crown Land should not obtain. As a first step the consent of Native Authorities and Chiefs should be obtained. Native Authorities might be able to sell directly to individuals and take the profits.

They did not want the Southern Rhodesian Land Apportionment Act applied in Northern Rhodesia. They thought that the majority of their members would agree with this view, but not all.

Memorandum

THE OLD SETTLERS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

Presented by W. S. Smith

At a recent meeting of the Old Settlers of Northern Rhodesia I was delegated to meet the Monckton Commission and I give below some of my views which I hope to present to the Commission.

I was born in South Africa in 1891 and have spent my life in Africa. In 1918 my wife and I were called to work in the Rhodesias as Missionaries coming to Northern Rhodesia from Gwelo in 1927, during the 1931-33 depression we left the Mission work as there were insufficient funds in the Mission treasury to pay an adequate salary, so I followed my trade as a Builder, thus I have worked with Africans and for their welfare nearly all my life.

My two daughters and son were born on the Missions and they as well as my wife and I have always taken a keen interest in the welfare of the Africans socially as well as educationally. I speak the Sentebele language which is spoken by the Southern Rhodesia Africans and have learnt by this means many of their inner secret longings and desires and feel that they do not wish tribal strife which is bound to arise because in these territories there are so many different tribes. It has ever been the hope of my family and I to see the African's standard of living raised and their progress fostered. But I fear that the so called African *Leaders* are prompted by selfishness (as is usually the case, since all are human). Some of the questions asked by the Africans themselves reveal that they doubt the advisability of African Leadership, but they are afraid of saying so openly lest they suffer from the wrath of the leaders. They ask me :-

- (1) If the white man had not come to Rhodesia what state would we be in ?
- (2) If the white man had not opened the country by bringing in Railways and promoting Industries such as Farming and Mining what would we have had to give v employment and houses ?
- (3) If the white man had not helped us to learn the care for our young babies and growing children they would not be alive today because we lost many children through our ignorance and superstitions (which alas is very little improved).
- (4) A very pertinent question is this one : Should the British Government give complete control to the Africans what will the white man do will they stay or will they go ? If they stay will they invest their money to help us and the country ?
- (5) If the Africans control the Government who will be our leader, we are many tribes and we all desire to rule, but we have tribal difficulties and will always be fighting among ourselves for authority.

If the Bemba are in the majority and they would like one of their leaders to rule the Tonga tribe may say "No" we say, "Let one of our leaders rule," so there will be bloodshed, will the white man then come to our aid and help us win our wars or will we continue to fight among ourselves as we did before the coming of the European.

To illustrate the fear which drives the African I would say

that last month I paid my African his wages and a day after he asked me to lend him £2, I naturally asked him what he wanted it for as he had only been paid the day before, he replied that the Congress men had been round and they were asking for financial help to enable them to send men to Britain and when I asked him if he wanted to help them he said, "No, I am not a Congress boy but they say that if I did not give money then one day when Congress is in power they will make the non-supporter suffer."

I suggest that the so called Leaders who ride around in Posh Cars and spend money freely in pubs and wear dandy clothes have not tried to help the African in the Reserves away from the white man, they have not collected money from the workers in the towns to give schools and hospitals and even food to their fellows in the villages, they do nothing but talk big and think of their own comfort and blame the White man for the backwardness of those isolated people. Let them give consideration to the welfare of these stricken people and then we as Europeans will believe that they have the well-being of their own people at heart. It is left to the Missionaries to give their life in service and the British Government to spend millions for the betterment of these poor people.

The N.R. Settlers Association is non-political and not unduly concerned about the possibility of an all-black, or a multi-racial constitutional set-up as such. All it is concerned about is that Government should be in capable hands, one that we can trust not to allow racial bias to interfere with our human rights to carry on as we have done in the economical field. We know exactly what form of Government could only take place if universal adult suffrage, or tantamount, was to be applied here now, and the present so-called leaders were allowed to dominate.

The present boycott of your Commission is only one example of how these "leaders" reject any idea of a democratic multi-racial society. How could we possibly be expected to remain and live under such a regime.

We are convinced that there is no form of protection for the minority which would be respected by the "leaders" which have so far emerged.

Settlers in Northern Rhodesia have never looked upon the territories in Africa, such as Ghana, Nigeria or even the East African Territories as being developed and settled in the same way as Northern Rhodesia. If we had, we would never have, over the generations, consolidated our early achievements to the extent we have.

As, in those Territories, we would have "lived unto the day" and have made future plans for our children and grandchildren accordingly. If our children and grandchildren were to find life under such "leaders" unbearable where would they go ? This is their country, they know no other way of life.

Under the Colonial Office system we were never given to understand that a "shock" or overnight constitutional turn-about could possibly be envisaged.

We have heard the present self-made out of ignorance "leaders" make the most fantastic claims. Only two examples being :-

1. Equal Workmen's Compensation for all regardless of ability, wages, family, etc.
2. Nationalisation of our great Copper Mining Industry with all that would entail, in their present mood.

We know, as only we can who have lived here so long, that the decent logical-minded African is emerging given a chance, especially by these Demogorgons, and we welcome him in his rightful and representative place, but he does not want that on a bloody French Revolutionary pattern.

We pray that our case for survival will be heard, we reiterate that this is no plea for a perpetuity or continuation of white domination. Give us a Government in *civilised hands*, Multi-racial hands if you can find them ; hands that we and our children can trust.

Please inform me of the date and place of meeting.

Lusaka

23rd February, 1960.



Memorandum

A GROUP OF LUSAKA & DISTRICT RESIDENTS UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE MAYOR

Presented by O. P. Harrison

1. Introduction :

This evidence is presented by a group of White Rhodesians who have their homes, livelihood and future in the Lusaka Area. All are residents of many years standing, many were born here and consider Northern Rhodesia and Lusaka in particular as their only home. We have grouped together only in order to give this evidence to your Commission ; we are entirely non-political.

2. The Federation :

We wish Northern Rhodesia to remain as a component of the Federation believing that there can be no sound future for a small country like ours standing alone. We believe that for all races here a strong Federation (a partner in the British Commonwealth) is the best form of Government for the Central African Territories. However as Northern Rhodesia is a major financial partner in the Federation we feel that a much stronger representation of the North in the Federal Parliament is warranted. Federation in its present form has brought advantages to Northern Rhodesia but not to the extent we anticipated. While wishing to retain the free movement of trade and the security derived from Federation we commend to you that the financial sacrifices we have made must be adjusted if we are to have a stable and contented community. Northern Rhodesia contributes approximately 60% of the total Federal income. Before Federation this wealth was devoted to public works, capital development, health and educational facilities for all including the African whose contributions were and are even today only fractional. We would therefore wish to see a greater proportion of the territorial revenue devoted to projects in Northern Rhodesia and thus maintain the steady rate of development necessary to keep our immense population of unskilled and semi-skilled labour in employment and so help recreate the harmonious condition we enjoyed before Federation.

3. Federation and the African :

To the majority of Africans in Northern Rhodesia, and elsewhere in Central Africa, in their present state of development, ample food, work and a home are more important and more desirable than politics. As Rhodesians and as a Group we have had years of experience working with the African, we are convinced that those few Africans who claim a right to govern this country do so on false premises. They claim the right to rule because they say they represent the major portion of our population. For our own observations we are satisfied that this claim is false, and that the following these few politically ambitious men have, is obtained by stirring up mass hysteria when it suits their own ends to do so. Furthermore, the African aspirant to self-government ignores the fact that the early black population did nothing to uplift themselves nor to develop the country. Even today in rural areas they are still a primitive people lacking the initiative to better their lot, and entirely disinterested in politics. It is obvious that the majority of Africans have as yet no conception of the workings of a democratic government, their tribal systems being akin to dictatorships. It is the white man who has brought democracy to this country and enforced the civilised laws which have made it possible for these agitators to defy and even intimidate their chiefs. To maintain and rule a contented country we agree that all people living in it must be fairly represented but certainly not by mere weight of numbers, it would be very ill-advised to allow a mass of immature people to run a country simply because they are in the majority, the franchise must be restricted to the civilised people of all races, with adequate safeguards for the primitive African.

It is our considered opinion that the initial neglect by the authorities to explain the African masses what Federation entailed, has been the chief cause of the present suspicion amongst them and has given the political agitator a golden opportunity to stir up trouble and further his own ends. This conclusion is based on the experience we have had with our own African employees who we know have been threatened and intimidated.

4. Federation and the European :

As permanent residents of Northern Rhodesia we feel that

the present state of affairs has created a sense of insecurity. We are afraid that the Colonial Office may abandon the country to Black majority rule, while the Black Rhodesian fears that he will not be permitted to play his part in the joint ruling of the country. This has created a lack of political stability which has discouraged the foreign investor who is so important to our future development. Political stability is a vital pre-requisite for the success of this multi-racial territory. Whatever constitutional changes are made it is essential that the rights of minority groups be safeguarded. It has taken many years of hard work and initiative for the White Rhodesian to reach the stage where he has created, out of the wilderness that was Central Africa, a home for himself and his children. He has reinvested his hard earned savings in farms, businesses and industries and has provided the African with employment, education and health facilities, in place of tribal wars and massacres which were the order of the day only 60 years ago. Our great fear is that under so-called Black Nationalism the years of striving will be wasted and our achievements thrown away. Northern Rhodesia is our home and we have no desire to move elsewhere. It must be recognised that the White Rhodesian is today as much a part of this country as the Black Rhodesian, by their own efforts (the Europeans' finance and initiative and the Africans' semi-skilled help) we have created a country we are proud of and we contend that in spite of the outcries of a few black demagogues the average African shares this pride.

5. The Multi-racial State :

It is now nationally accepted that the Federation is to be a multi-racial state, we support this conception and are prepared to co-operate to the full provided certain discriminatory legislation is revised. Firstly we wish to refer to the distribution of land and the restriction preventing the White Rhodesians from taking part in the development of these large sparsely populated areas. It may have been necessary in the past to have these Native trust lands, but as our multi-racial state progresses we feel that the need for these preserves is fast disappearing and that these areas should be made available for settlement, with individual title, for all sections of the community. Secondly the question of social integration. We feel that legislation to enforce social integration is impractical, we do not see this as a colour problem but as a social problem. It is social levels and common interests that separate people in all countries, and we are convinced that legislation in this respect will foster discontentment. Evolution, education, and the development of mutual interests will bring the free intermingling of the various races, only time and goodwill on all sides can help to solve this problem.

6. Conclusion :

Two or three representatives of our group will be prepared to give oral evidence in Lusaka on the points we have raised in the foregoing. We would like in particular to be permitted to give evidence of the common African's lack of interest and unenlightened attitude to politics. To this end we would propose that we bring before your Commission a number of Africans from this district, and that these men should not be selected but should be spontaneously invited on the day they are to appear by a member of your Commission and by a representative from our Group.

Lusaka District

Oral Evidence

OLD SETTLERS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

Represented by C. C. Wienand

Mr. Wienand spoke to the memoranda of Messrs. Smith and Harrison and on his own behalf. He stated that he had been in Northern Rhodesia for 48 years as a trader, hunter and farmer.

In his view the Federation must remain but Northern Rhodesia should have more seats in the Federal Parliament. While supporting the Federation he considered that the development in Northern Rhodesia should have been more rapid since Federation than it had been, but nevertheless as far as agriculture was concerned there had been more assistance and a great improvement in the last two years, during which Northern Rhodesian agriculture had become federalised.

He would like to see more Agricultural Experimental Stations established so that their children could be properly trained for the land.

The witness held the view that the African was not yet fit to take over the reins of government; and as to the franchise, he thought that this could only be satisfactorily sorted out by the introduction of a Minimum Wage Act operating on a completely non-racial basis. Too many Africans were still far too immature, and he complained that the Territorial Government had not explained the benefits of Federation to them; but even if it had he doubted very much if more than a very small percentage would have taken it in. There was an ever present fear of the Chief and the witch doctor who were still, so to speak, on their doorsteps. He added that the African also had a fear of the hunter!

On the racial issue he thought there were many faults on both sides, and he stated that there were Africans who indeed were underpaid; but even so the vast majority were irresponsible and inept, and could not demand a reasonable wage.

Letter

THE SOCIETY OF AFRIKANER FRIENDS—J. G. Loots

Dear Sir,

The members of this Society, like all true citizens of Northern Rhodesia, are acutely aware of the grave situation in which we here in Central Africa, are placed, and in an effort to be of some help we have deemed it fit to elect four members, who by your leave, would like to meet your Commission with a view to discussing the following suggestions:

- (1) Federation in its present state not satisfactory. Form Confederation.
- (2) Amalgamation of Europeans in Northern Rhodesia with Southern Rhodesia under one government.
- (3) The rest of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to be transformed to an African Protectorate or Protectorates.

The members who would represent our Society are:

Messrs.

J. P. Reynecke
J. H. Swiegers
J. C. Muller and
Rev. W. Winterbach.

Trusting our request will receive favourable consideration.

Lusaka.

27th January, 1960.

Memorandum

THE SOCIETY OF AFRIKANER FRIENDS OF LUSAKA AND BROKEN HILL

A. There are no Afrikaans-speaking citizens of the Federation serving on the Monckton Commission. This is to be regretted in view of:—

1. The majority of early pioneers were Afrikaans speaking. In his day, Rhodes acknowledged the great part the Afrikaans-speaking pioneer played in developing the Rhodesias. In fact, to this day, the majority of European farmers in the Federation are Afrikaans-speaking.
2. The long years of extensive missionary work in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland of the Afrikaans churches have contributed vastly to the cultural development of the African.

B. A few reasons for the failure of Federation in its present state:—

1. Northern Rhodesia is, strictly speaking, governed by three bodies namely, Federal Government, Territorial Government and the Colonial Office in London. The general feeling is that we are ultimately ruled by the Colonial Office. This has the effect that no true sense of loyalty could result towards Federal Government. We are of the opinion that Federal Government is being ignored unjustifiably. In like manner the amended Voters' Roll was forced upon us in spite of the fact that no one desired it. We therefore have every reason to fear that London would just as easily force "one man, one vote" upon us and this without taking into consideration that the vast majority of Africans are not qualified to vote.
2. The fact that non-European affairs are being handled

directly by the Colonial Office is undermining their loyalty and faith in Federal Government.

3. Roman Dutch Law applies in Southern Rhodesia and the English Law in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; hence our Police Force not being Federal. This is yet another factor detrimental to loyalty towards Federal Government.

C. Reasons for suggestions of amendment of Constitution govern:—

1. The Europeans are equally entitled to claim Northern Rhodesia as their country; the reasons being:—

(a) The African did not originally live in Northern Rhodesia.

(b) The various African tribes were forever engaged in war until the European put an end to their differences. Had the European not intervened some of these tribes would have been completely wiped out.

(c) The country was wild and untamed when the Europeans arrived on the scene. The European is responsible for the capital and initiative in the development of the country, e.g., building of roads, railways, towns and factories; mining of minerals; providing of Education and health services; Agricultural development and above all the teaching of the Gospel. The developing of mines, secondary industries, roads, railways and also the introduction of Municipalities and Building Trades ensured employment and advancement for the African. The European also introduced the African to the system of Finance.

That the provision of hospitals, clinics and medical services prolonged the lives of thousands of Africans and safeguarded childbirth cannot be denied by them. Besides, time and again European aid and goodwill saved the African from destruction through severe drought and other natural disasters.

2. As a result different races do not integrate. Likewise different nations of similar race to do mix easily especially where numbers abound. A few examples:—

(a) To this very day the Scots, Irish and Welsh have apparently not become true Englishmen.

(b) As in the past, the different Tribes of Africa, to this day, do not mix although they belong to the same race. The formation of different political parties of the various tribes bear witness of this fact.

And now the outstanding factor is that the social differences between European and non-European are far greater than that of the aforementioned examples.

D. We would suggest:—

1. That the central section of Northern Rhodesia, i.e. the strip on either side of the Livingstone/Sakania rail developed by Europeans' initiative and capital and where the greater portion of Europeans are settled, be added to Southern Rhodesia and a province formed with self-governing rights. That the demarcation of this Territory be determined by a capable commission but with the definite restriction that it includes the land for which Freehold titles to Europeans were granted by the British Crown.

2. The remainder of Northern Rhodesia and the whole of Nyasaland be declared, and accepted by the European as territories where the African has the right of self-determination.

Should the parties so wish, a Confederation of these newly formed States could be formed.

Oral Evidence

THE SOCIETY OF AFRIKANER FRIENDS OF LUSAKA AND BROKEN HILL

Represented by J. G. Loots, J. H. Swiegers, J. C. Muller, J.P., Reynecke and H. Winterbach

The witnesses presented a written memorandum which was read to the meeting. Asked whether the ideas contained in it were their own or were based on those of the Dominion Party, the witnesses stated that their Society had nothing to do with any political party. Their memorandum gave a fair account of the views held by Afrikaners in the Territory.

The witnesses stated that they envisaged a new Northern Rhodesia which would be a province of Southern Rhodesia but would enjoy some degree of self-government. The matters

which would be under the control of the new Northern Rhodesia would include the franchise, and also education if their views did not prove to coincide with those of the Southern Rhodesia Government. Asked whether they thought there should be a revised fiscal agreement between the new Rhodesia and the Territories which were excluded, the witnesses replied that this was a matter which should be left for the Commission which would delimit the boundaries of the African and European lands. As to how these boundaries should be delimited, they did not wish to make any precise recommendation for the present. Asked who would appoint this Commission, the witnesses replied that this would presumably be done by the existing governments. The Confederation they suggested would include the new Rhodesia but the relationship of the new Northern Rhodesia to Southern Rhodesia would be different from the relationship of the excluded countries to the new Rhodesia. Asked what would be the position of Africans in Southern Rhodesia, so far as political development was concerned, the witnesses said that they could not answer for Southern Rhodesia, but so far as the new Northern Rhodesia was concerned, they were determined that government should remain in the hands of Europeans. They did not agree with the principle of one man, one vote since most Africans were not able to think for themselves. They did not want to be dominated by such people.

Memorandum

H. A. FOSBROOKE—Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute

Constitutional Advancement and Higher Education in Central Africa

This note is a purely personal one, not based on research or on official knowledge, but on personal observation by one who has had some contact with educational development and with African opinion in Central Africa over the last four years, and in Tanganyika over the previous twenty-four.

It is obvious that education must fall within the Commission's terms of reference, as in the African context it is impossible to separate constitutional from educational advancement. It is patently unrealistic to make recommendations concerning posts in the government or the civil service without considering who is to fill these posts and with what competence they are likely to fulfil their tasks.

As the Commission will doubtless be aware, higher education, a federal subject, has only developed recently within the Federation. The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland opened its doors early 1957, so that the first students sat their finals in December, 1959. The present syllabus leads to a London pass degree and it seems unlikely that honours degrees will be available in the foreseeable future, certainly not before 1969.

Prior to the establishment of the College, some Africans received university education overseas or in South Africa with assistance from the federal or territorial governments. But the numbers were small: a recent B.B.C. broadcast (Listener of 1st October, 1959, p. 513) referred to the fact that "only three of Nyasaland's thirty-five university graduates have not been arrested" in connection with the Emergency. It is thought that those figures are wrong, but one can appreciate Nyasaland's reticence in correcting the figures if, as is believed, the above is an over-estimate of the number of graduated African Nyasalanders. Figures are not available for the other two territories, but a glance at their staff lists reveals a paucity of African graduates in the upper ranks of the service such as would indicate that their figures are not greatly in advance of Nyasaland's.

The College is multi-racial, and to avoid any stress on racialism the authorities refrain from publishing results by ethnic origin. It is known however that the proportion of Africans entering the College is small and that their rate of failure is higher than the average 11 per cent which appears to be the English figure (see *Economist*, 16th Jan., 1960, p. 183).

As there is an Institute of Education associated with the College, no doubt the Commission can obtain comparative rates of failure and the reasons for any racial differential that the figures may reveal. To the layman however it would appear that the African is up against two very severe handicaps when entering the field of higher education. The first of these is the very recent introduction of sixth form work into

Central African education. Goromonzi School in Southern Rhodesia first sat the Higher School Certificate examination in 1954, Munali School, Northern Rhodesia in 1957 and Dedza School, Nyasaland in 1959. The distinction between this type of work and education at lower levels is apparent: up to school certificate the student is crammed—this should not be so, but it is: after that he is taught to think for himself—this should be so, but often is not.

This means that the number of Africans who have been taught to think for themselves in the context of Western education is insignificant, and will remain so for many years. Further, those that have been so taught are very young, much too young to play any part in the current political situation.

The second handicap under which the African enters on his university career is to be found in the socio-psychological sphere. After years of education in a totally African school environment, he is suddenly moved to a new city—to many a new country—into a college where all the staff, and a large majority of the students are of a different race. In the former category very few have had experience of dealing with Africans, in the latter such experience has usually been in the sphere of master-servant relationships. His lectures are directed at him in a variety of Commonwealth dialects, but in his outside contacts the legal and social context is such that the manner in which he is usually addressed is unmistakable. It is an obvious field of research for an educational psychologist to consider the effect of the adjustments involved in the transition from an all-African boarding school in the less illiberal North to an overwhelmingly predominant white college, in the country of Land Apportionment Acts and of colour bar buses.

It may be argued that this is a situation which will rectify itself with time, but judging by the current franchise arrangements designed to retain white dominance, one cannot foresee a period when a Federal Government dependent on such an electorate will be willing to extend its financial support to a single college with a predominantly African student body. Yet such is the logical outcome of the present population ratio and the planned expansion of African education.

This last fact alone postulates the ultimate necessity for additional colleges situated in the Northern territories, forming, one hopes, integral parts of a Central African University and recruiting neither on a racial nor a territorial basis, but with, possibly, subject specialisation as is envisaged in East Africa.

There may however be a case for accelerating this inevitable outcome both on political and on academic grounds. In the political sphere two points present themselves, firstly, it can be foreseen that even assuming a continuance of the *status quo* a public awakening to the present position will restrain the British Government from continuing to spend Colonial Development and Welfare money in a non-colonial territory and more particularly in such a colour conscious city as Salisbury.

But more important than this, it may be felt desirable to present some earnest of partnership to the Northern territories in the sphere of higher education as it has been—though admittedly with singular lack of response—in the field of public health.

On academic grounds there is little cause of complacency in the examination results, and if it is considered that a more realistic proportion between European and African and a less constraining environment would lead to a lower percentage of failures, an additional reason would exist for accelerating the establishment of a Northern college.

Even in the most favourable circumstances of finance, government backing, co-operation from sponsoring academic bodies and the like, it is improbable that the above suggestions alone will keep pace with the accelerating political tempo. It is suggested that the present is an emergency situation, which must be met by emergency measures, to fill the gap until the long-term measures become effective. In academic circles one hears much of the maintenance of standards; though the position is being challenged even in England (*vide* the *Economist* article quoted above). It must be admitted however that any temporary relaxation of standards creates a generation of second class citizens—in the academic sense—who are a continuing headache both to themselves, and to a better educated younger generation in the decades to come. But surely more could be done to see that every African currently qualified to and capable of reaching these inflexible

British standards does in fact attain them. One wonders if a system of six months term and six months vacation, no doubt suited to the environment in which it grows up, is most suitable to current African conditions, in which the student lives for half his time in the Salisbury college environment, the standard of which will be the envy of many Commission Members, with the other half of his life spent in "location" conditions where it is virtually impossible to work by day—owing to lack of privacy, or by night—owing to lack of electricity. The alternative rural conditions are little better—what is gained in privacy is lost in amenity. One condition is common to both circumstances; it is virtually impossible to hear or converse in good English, the language through which for the remaining half of the year the African student must absorb his higher education. Numerous practical steps to alleviate such a situation suggest themselves, but such details may be felt to fall beyond the scope of the Commission.

In addition to those entering higher education, local and overseas, from the schools of Central Africa, many already in employment are endeavouring to remedy the deficiencies of their earlier education and to acquire by night study and postal tuition the qualifications that would permit them to proceed to university. Is enough assistance being given to such worthy endeavour? As a basis for future action, it would again be appropriate for an Institute of Education to conduct some research into the number of such students, the amount they spend on such courses and the degree of success they attain. Without waiting for full research results a speedy review and presentation of known facts might prove sufficient basis on which the Commission could make some positive recommendation.

In conclusion, I personally do not feel competent to give detailed evidence on the points raised in this memorandum: there are those whose duty it is to study those matters professionally and whose findings and opinions will no doubt be available to the Commission. To the layman however the placid tempo of university expansion as envisaged in Central Africa seems insufficient to meet the mounting political crisis. Several methods of acceleration will doubtless suggest themselves to the experts, other than those propounded above, which can be very briefly summarised under three headings:—

- A. Plan now for further colleges in the North.
- B. Ensure that no potential university material fails to graduate, and
- C. Assist more adult students to qualify for university entrance.

There is a final corollary to all the above, namely that finance *must* be found to ensure the necessary expansion of the college system and to guarantee that, at least during this period of crisis, no African qualified to undertake and capable of benefiting from university education is debarred by lack of funds from doing so.

Lusaka

25th January, 1960

Oral Evidence

H. A. FOSBROOKE

Mr. Fosbrooke, who is the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute which he indicated covered the whole of the Federation in social and anthropological study, stated that he was in close touch with the academic world and educational matters generally.

In the course of his evidence he expressed, thinking to the future, a certain amount of alarm at the recent figures dealing with the failure rates. From them it emerged that the rate for the European was 29% and that for the African 42%. One of the factors regarding the failures flowed from environmental circumstances. When he went to University the average African was precipitated into a world that was entirely strange to him, and while he was able to settle into that life, he was again faced with complexes immediately he set foot out of University, whether it be casually or on vacation. Added to this the provision of secondary schooling was not enough and there were never enough teachers, particularly senior and experienced persons, to be headmasters. What was being done was however the best in the circumstances; but he wondered if the planning ahead was sufficient to meet the rapidly changing circumstances.

The main purpose of his Memorandum was to recommend plans for the development of education. He thought that some sort of Education Commission rather than Governments should deal with all aspects of education, but he was unable to judge whether these would best be under the Territorial or Federal Government. Some sort of enquiry at the top level was in his view necessary, and he thought that this was only likely to follow a top level recommendation such as one that could come from the Commission if it was prepared to make it.

In regard to Munal School, Mr. Fosbrooke stated that the products of this Institution were being absorbed, eventually going into useful occupations; but at the moment there was a highly unsatisfactory vacuum and confusion between the time of results and entry to University. Vocational guidance was quite essential to get the school leaving African to University or into satisfactory billets. The enormous problem that confronted the country was emphasised by certain figures he had recently obtained. Apparently there is an out-turn of 100,000 graduates from the U.K. population of 50,000,000 people. This postulated an out-turn of something like 16,000 in Central Africa, but what did one find in Northern Rhodesia alone? An examination of the Northern Rhodesia Public Services Staff List for 1958, which covered over 4,000 names, revealed no more than approximately 27 Africans among these. While he did not suggest that the figure of 16,000 was likely to be reached for very many years, the position was nevertheless becoming increasingly critical. At the moment the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had 226 undergraduates of all races. The African complement this year represented 58 or very nearly 25%. The intake of Africans, however, in 1960 had risen to 35%.

One of the Commissioners suggested that facilities were available for students at the University College, Salisbury, to stay up during vacation to put in extra work. I enquired of the Registrar, who replied that there were no standard arrangements for students to stay in Halls during the vacation, that only in exceptional cases was this permitted, and that in the long vacation it was a fixed rule that no one at all could stay up. The point I was making in this connection—that African students were, by circumstances beyond their control, handicapped and so should be assisted—was brought out in an article in the issue of *Dissent* dated 24th March, 1960. The author in fact dealt with "the Dilemma of the University College" from a greater number of aspects than I endeavoured to cover in my evidence.

Lusaka

7th April, 1960

Memorandum

COL. N. O. EARL-SPURR

For just over a quarter of a century, commencing from about 1896, this country was governed by the British South Africa Company under Royal Charter granted by Queen Victoria and I am able to tell you that right from those earliest days every encouragement was given to Europeans to come and settle in Rhodesia, to take up land and to carry on business activities; equal encouragement being given to persons to settle in Southern, North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia, as the administrative divisions were known for a number of years.

The encouragement for Europeans to become settlers was intensified after the war of 1914-1918, when soldier-settler and other immigration schemes were the vogue North and South of the Zambesi. This explains why so much of the land on the line of rail is held in Freehold title commencing with a grant by the B.S.A. Co.

Since those days, the British Government have encouraged in every way the immigration into Northern Rhodesia of people who do now form a large portion of the European and Asian communities—people who were given every reason to believe that they could safely make their home there.

For the benefit of those who were not here when the industry of this part of the country consisted of only one working mine—Broken Hill—and the line of rail farmers and those connected mainly with agriculture, I would like to point out that the main groups of African tribes were still living in their own tribal areas and, except for a very few odd wanderers, had never seen or heard of this part of the country and the area which was in time to become the Copperbelt.

These main groups, the larger tribes, were, in the case of the Lozi, living in Barotseland; the Ngoni in the Eastern Province and the Bemba group in the Northern Province. (I remember when the Prince of Wales came to Broken Hill in 1925, how the chiefs from all the bigger tribes came in on foot, travelling in some cases for many weeks to meet him. Some, if not all of these grand old characters had never seen a train in their lives before.)

As you will know, these main groups of tribes were, and to a greater extent still are, quite separate in their outlook, their way of life, their tribal customs and their language. (It might not be generally known that recruits into the Northern Rhodesia Regiment who do not happen to come from the Eastern Province have to attend language classes to learn the official medium which is Chinyanga.)

In 1924 I left Lusaka and went to work on the Broken Hill Mine as what was known in those days as an Assistant Compound Manager and one of my duties was to deal with the "deferred pay" of those Africans who had been recruited from almost inaccessible districts (remember, there were no roads in those days and all movement from the line of rail was on foot). The districts from which these men came included Petauke, Serenje, Mpika, Kasama, Chinsali, Abercorn, Mporokoso and many others, and the reason that I was involved with their "deferred pay" was that the Government of the day would only allow recruiting to be carried out provided that the men were put on specified contracts for a limited number of tickets at the conclusion of which they were to be repatriated back to their homes and their "deferred pay" deductions made available to them at their local District Commissioner's office.

Although the farming community and others found their labour from the local indigenous peoples, there were insufficient numbers offering to provide the labour force needed for the Broken Hill Mine.

I mention all this to give you some idea as to how the various peoples of this country were distributed prior to the opening up of the Copperbelt and to stress that there were practically no urbanised Africans as we know them today, in this part of the world, they were all living either on the job or in their own tribal areas.

Now, how did these people get to the Copperbelt and the line of rail towns, rapidly developing as a direct result of the mining activity in the North? I will tell you. The Mines set up a very large and efficient recruiting organisation with its agents and recruiters in every part of Northern Rhodesia and invited Colonel Stephenson, then commanding the Regiment, to be the Director. This offer was accepted, and Colonel Stephenson retired and set up his recruiting headquarters at Bwana Mkubwa and as a result African labour started to flow in ever increasing numbers not only to the Copperbelt, but also to other towns in this area.

I want to make this point very clear indeed so that we can refute to a great extent the statements made by certain extremists who stand up at public meetings in the Copperbelt towns and even here in Lusaka and say in effect "This is our country and the Europeans are trespassers." (Words similar to these were used by one of these gentlemen quite recently when talking at a conference in Tunis.)

To summarise on this very important point: when the Copperbelt towns and line of rail area was opened up by European and Asian capital, initiative and know-how, the very great majority of the Africans of this vast Territory were hundreds of miles away.

It is a matter of some interest to consider who these extremist leaders are. You will find that one hails from Barotseland (and has to talk through an interpreter when addressing meetings), another is from Bembaland and yet another is from Nyasaland or its borders.

From the earliest days this Territory has always been known as part of the country of Rhodesia and the people here have always had a keen desire for closer union with their Southern neighbours. This perhaps stems from the fact that in the early days many of our magistrates and native commissioners and almost all our European military and police personnel were men who had served at some time or another with the British South Africa Police.

When the B.S.A. Co. decided to give up the administration of Rhodesia in, I think, 1923, the people in the Southern part

were given the privilege of holding a referendum to decide whether they wished to have responsible Government or go in as another province of the Union of South Africa. By only a short head responsible Government won the day and our leaders in this country were all for going in with them and we were all bitterly disappointed when the approach of the so called *Black North* was rejected. As a result the British Government had no alternative but to take over Northern Rhodesia under Colonial Office rule.

However, as time went on, the idea of closer political affiliation with Southern Rhodesia gained ground and in the early 1930's an association known as the Greater Rhodesian Society was formed, with branches up and down the country and with considerable support in the South. The prime mover was the member for the Southern part of the country in Legco, one Captain Tom Murray, and its objects were the amalgamation of the two territories into a country called Rhodesia. There were several possibilities discussed at the time, either the amalgamation of the two territories into a whole territory or only that part being developed largely by European capital.

I am able to talk with authority on this matter, as I was on the Broken Hill Committee of the Society. Very unfortunately, Captain Murray died very suddenly and the organisation rather fell away for this reason, but also because at about that time we were given greater representation in the Legislative Council.

And so we come to more recent times with the establishment of Federation with its declaration that all lawful inhabitants of the constituent territories, irrespective of race, colour or creed, have the right to live within its boundaries and to go about their lawful occasions in peace. We have the declared policy that we are going to show the world how a multi-racial society can operate and flourish, each section helping the other to develop the country for the benefit of all.

I consider that in no circumstances should we deviate one little bit from the principles fundamental to the Federal concept. We must back Federation up to the hilt and make it succeed, with no talk of secession or of surrender or of turning back the clock, but give a fair deal to all its inhabitants, whatever the colour of their skin.

Now we come to my personal suggestion as to how we can best achieve the objects of Federation and at the same time ensure that everybody gets a fair deal. I have nothing to say that has not been said in general principles over and over again through the years, and I realise that my views may not find favour, that I am 'sticking my neck out.'

At the last Territorial Election, the Government introduced new franchise regulations which called for the re-demarcation of the boundaries of the various political constituencies dividing the country into Ordinary and Special Constituencies. Whether by accident or design, the Ordinary Constituencies embrace most of the Western, Central and Southern Provinces, in other words, the area of European and Asian development and settlement. And the Special Constituencies consist mostly of the tribal areas to which I have made reference.

My suggestion is simply that the Greater Rhodesia Society be reviewed, open to men and women of all races, colours, creeds and political opinions with the object of obtaining from the British Government in a proper and constitutional manner, Responsible Government for that area now covered by the Ordinary Constituencies leaving the Colonial Office to develop and administer the areas of the Special Constituencies. It would be a condition that all these areas must remain within the Federation and that in the Ordinary Constituency area there would be no lowering of the franchise requirements or the standards of Western civilisation. It should be a country having a multi-racial community with equal opportunities, equal rights and equal responsibilities for all its inhabitants, all based on merit and ability.

I suggest that we should take up and act on Mr. Macmillan's statement made recently in Cape Town, when he said in effect that there should not be any economic or political advancement except on merit and on merit alone. I hope that the British Government took notice of the statement, and will back their official spokesman on this point.

I know you will say that all I am suggesting is the old policy of Partition, which has been put up so many times and so many times shot down in flames, but my suggestion is "Benevolent" Partition.

Times have changed and, as the first speaker has said, are in fact changing from week to week and day to day. I venture to suggest that our relations with Southern Rhodesia have altered during this present week when we consider Sir Edgar Whitehead's statement regarding the strength of his Government's support for the people of the Northern Territories—the proposed support seemed to be lukewarm to say the least of it.

Those of you who have attended Army Tactical School will remember being told that the school solution to the problem set is not necessarily the only correct one, and so I say that my proposed solution to our problem may not be the only one but I do commend it to you for very deep and careful consideration as I devoutly believe that some such scheme is the only way in which the African himself, not only the other communities, will get a fair deal in playing his part, his rightful part in the government of this great country, and I beg of you not to be put off by the parrot cry which I have heard so often—"The British Government will never agree to it." The British Government have agreed to a lot less likely and less beneficial schemes, and I might add less honest schemes, here on the African Continent in very, very recent times.

Even though my proposed solution to the main problem may not be acceptable, I do advocate the formation of an Association or Society, representative of all parties and of all people of all races, which can hammer out a policy which we hope can be made acceptable to all right-thinking people, and in this event I am sure that such a society would provide a powerful backing for our Legislature and the party in power. But we must not in any circumstances allow such a Society to become the nucleus of yet another political party or to be solely the mouthpiece of any one of the established parties or politicians. Neither must we allow such a society or association to operate for the benefit of only certain sections of the community, but it must pledge itself to support to the full the concept of Federation and all that it implies.

We must approach this great problem on which our future and the future of our children so much depends, in the spirit of goodwill, mutual respect as between the various people which go to make up the multi-racial society of our country and with tolerance for the other fellow's point of view. Surely if we do this we can say, in the words of that great statesman, Sir Winston Churchill, in one of his most famous speeches made on May 13th, 1940—and I quote—"Come then, let us go forward together, with our united strength."

Lusaka

Oral Evidence

COL. N. O. EARL-SPURR

Col. Earl-Spurr handed the Commission a memorandum based on a speech which he had recently made at a public meeting held in Lusaka on 4th March, 1960. He was Honorary Colonel of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment.

Col. Earl-Spurr opened by drawing a contrast between the poverty on the line of rail when he first arrived in Northern Rhodesia and the relative affluence of Africans at the present time. Europeans were in fact on the Copperbelt before the vast majority of the Africans with the exception of a few minor tribes; they could not, therefore, be regarded as trespassers.

There had long been a leaning towards Southern Rhodesia on the Copperbelt. In 1923 the settlers in Northern Rhodesia had been bitterly disappointed that they could not go in with Southern Rhodesia. They had then been thinking in terms of Federation in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia going in with Nyasaland as an African protectorate.

Since the situation had developed on different lines, however, they now wanted to show the world how a multi-racial society could best go forward for the benefit of all. In his view, the only solution was a beneficial and benevolent partition under which the Northern and Luapula Provinces with the Eastern Province should be joined with Nyasaland, while the North Western Province and Barotseland continued to be developed under Colonial Office rule. On the line of rail and the Copperbelt there could be a multi-racial society in which all should be able to qualify for the vote on a

qualitative franchise not lower than, or very little lower than, the present Federal franchise. His plan differed from that of the Dominion Party in that all the constituent parts would come within the Federation. In this way the prosperity of the mining industry could be extended to all. Such a division was necessary to enable Africans to be given rights and opportunities in their own areas equal to those given to Europeans in the predominantly European area. At the same time Europeans would not be swamped on the line of rail and the Copperbelt in the immediate future.

Memorandum

D. J. EDMONDS

Mr. Chairman,

We have been told by Sir Roy Welensky and representatives of the British Government that the federation of the 3 Central African territories has brought many economic advantages to the inhabitants of this territory.

We are supposed to have benefited by the pooling of the financial resources of these 3 territories, as recommended by the Fiscal Commission's Report, which was published in October, 1952.

The Members of your Commission, Sir, will be familiar with this report and they will be aware of the recommendations that it contained. The Commission recommended that the £56 million public debt incurred by the Southern Rhodesian Government before 1952 to build roads, schools and hospitals should be taken over by the Federal Government. It also recommended that the Federal Government should receive 60% of all the basic income tax collected in the Federation to finance Federal Government services such as, European education, Health services and National Roads etc., etc., etc. The remaining 40% of revenue from basic income tax, the report says, should then be distributed to the territories for use on non-federal services. 17% to N. Rhodesia. 17% to S. Rhodesia and 6% to Nyasaland.

Before Federation practically the whole of Northern Rhodesia's revenue was obtained from basic income tax. In fact, 73% came from this source, whereas, in Southern Rhodesia a much lower percentage from basic income tax accrued to revenue.

If the revenue obtained by N.R.G. from Customs & Excise is added to the 73%, the Fiscal Commission actually recommended that 16/5 of every pound previously obtained in revenue by the N.R.G. should be diverted to the Federal Government.

That the Fiscal Commission's recommendations were unrealistic can be seen from the fact that when the 17% of basic income tax was returned to N.R.G., by the Federal Government, it constituted 64% of all the revenue available from departmental expenditure and for the development of services, which were a N.R.G. responsibility.

It will be observed from my statements, that the only development that could take place after Federation in N.R. would be in the Federal sphere, as the N.R.G.'s share of revenue would only allow it to maintain Government Departments at the 1952 level.

By 1954 N.R.'s revenue had outstripped S.R.'s by over £15 million and the Fiscal Commission very seriously underestimated the development which had taken place in N.R. between 1952-54 when it took as its basis 1952 conditions.

One would have expected the Federal Government to have begun a huge development programme in Northern Rhodesia or, at least, it should have executed much of the old N.R.G.'s development programme. But this did not happen. Instead, the Federal Government actually began cutting down on the N.R.G. development programme for Health Service, Schools and Roads. This obviously meant that the Federal Government was spending the bulk of the federal revenue in Southern Rhodesia. This statement can be proved by referring to N.R.G. allocations and achievements before Federation.

In the years 1954-'55, '56, '57 and '58 the Federal Government substantially reduced the yearly mileage of Class I roads it constructed, compared with the N.R.G. before Federation. It cut back the educational building programme drastically and many health projects already allocated were not proceeded with.

The Fiscal Commission's recommendations for the allocation of funds was strictly adhered to, but its recommendation

about development were ignored. This was, perhaps, natural, for it never was a matter of raising N.R. standards to those in Southern Rhodesia, but the reverse. For instance, the plans had already been approved and the funds made available for 2 Assembly Halls at Kabulonga School but they were not proceeded with after Federation because Assembly Halls were never provided in Southern Rhodesia.

I think, Sir, it has now been clearly established that N.R. entered a financial crisis in 1954 because of Federation. Only the terrifically high price of Copper helped us to hold off the day of reckoning.

Our Government was aware of this and began to cut the spending of all our Government departments with the exception of the Police and African education departments. That this happened in 1954 proves that the Fiscal Commission's recommendations did not allow for any expansion to the departments administered by N.R.G. The only way open to N.R.G. after Federation to finance the expansion of any department without increasing income tax was by dipping into reserves appropriated from revenue before Federation.

Your Commission, Sir, will no doubt have already ascertained this fact, for it is well-known that our government has been compelled to use up most of its reserves to expand the Police force and the Africans Education Department.

From these crude general statements, Sir, you will have observed that, in my opinion, far from bringing any economic benefits to N.R., Federation brought many economic and financial problems to this rich country and our people have been badly affected in many different ways.

With the cutting back of the N.R.G.'s development programme after Federation, by the Federal Government, many of our African town labourers employed on construction work, found themselves without jobs. Many workers who had obtained skill in a trade returned to their villages. Many moved out of the towns to reserves to revert to a tribal existence.

To give an example of this huge unemployment problem. It would pose the question of what has happened to the thousands of black workers who were employed by construction firms in Lusaka between 1947 and '58. We had in Lusaka between those years four construction firms of international repute employed on N.R.G. development schemes. Each firm employed approximately 3,000 black workers and about 100-150 white workers and professional men.

Since Federation two of these firms have pulled out of Lusaka altogether. One firm has maintained its Office, consisting of a typist, a store-keeper and a *tea boy*. The other firm has managed to keep going in Lusaka with a greatly reduced staff. The number of workers these firms employed and housed was approximately 12,000 and the number of workers they were compelled to shed on the labour market after Federation was approximately 11,000.

Northern Rhodesia has not only lost many skilled workers since federation. She has lost practically all of the terribly expensive Civil engineering plant which was bought for, and paid for by N.R.G. development contracts. Most of this plant was moved to Salisbury and Southern Rhodesia when it became plain that there was to be no more work for them in Northern Rhodesia.

The policy of the Federal Government towards Northern Rhodesia has been that of a victor. She has raised taxes and imposed duties without compunction or thought for the probable consequences. In 1955, after the Federal Government had made a new trade agreement with South Africa, she imposed a 10% duty on all goods not of an industrial nature obtained from that country. As most of the cheap clothing, shoes, foods and blankets came from South Africa in those days our working people were badly hit.

The Federal Government has raised some postal charges by over 100%. It has twice raised railway rates and consequently raised our cost of living at a time of depression. It has increased the cost of hospitalisation. It has inflicted wireless licences on us. It has cut school dental services and reduced several bus services. It has introduced several fees. It has increased the duty on blankets, bicycle tyres and bicycles.

In 1957 the Federal Government, acting in the true spirit of partnership, removed the subsidy paid to millers on maize-meal, the basic diet of our black people. This cost was passed

on to the consumer and the price of a 100 lbs. bag of meal rose from £1 5s. 3d. to £1 10s. 0d.

During the time of Federation, copper production has soared and increased by over 50,000 tons. The yearly average price of copper has never fallen below the tremendously high price of £201 0s. 0d. a ton. Without Federation Northern Rhodesia would have been a happy and rich country well on the way to solving many of its political problems.

From this, Sir, it will be clear to you that, in my opinion, my country has been treated like a defeated country. Federation has meant, in financial terms, to Southern Rhodesia what *Reparations* meant, in material terms, to the Soviet Union after the war.

There is no such thing as "The Federal Ideal." That is, as I have shown, dishonest double-talk.

I would humbly submit for your Commission's consideration, Sir, the following financial proposal :-

That all subjects be returned to the territorial Government of N. Rhodesia and that all revenue accruing to that government be administered by the Northern Rhodesian Government for the benefit of all the inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia. I also submit for your Commission's consideration the following political proposal :-

- (1) That a Commission be set up to prepare Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for self-government.
- (2) That Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland can become either members of a Federation or independent states.
- (3) That the Commission should govern the two territories for not less than 5 years.
- (4) That the Commission should be headed by a distinguished administrator of proved ability like, say— Sir Hugh Foot.
- (5) That the Commission should consist of African leaders elected by the people on a common roll.
- (6) That the Commission should consist of Europeans and Asian leaders also elected on a common roll.
- (7) That members of the mining companies and international financial houses be co-opted on the Commission to prepare for long-term development projects.
- (8) That the Commission be pledged to repeal all repressive legislation that now exists in this country and forbids the use, in future of this type of legislation by producing a written constitution declaring the rights of all citizens of this territory.

Lusaka

Oral Evidence

D. J. EDMONDS

The witness owned a Mineral Water Factory in Lusaka. He had come from Birmingham in the United Kingdom and had been 15 years in Northern Rhodesia.

Produced memorandum which was read out by the Secretary.

In reply to questions, Mr. Edmonds made the following points.

- (1) He was not opposed to the principle of Federation, but to the various actions of the Federal Government. He was definitely opposed to the Federation of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia.
- (2) He had analysed the report of the pre-Federal Fiscal Commission in the sense indicated in the memorandum. But even if the Fiscal Commission had produced different conclusions, he would have still been opposed to federation with Southern Rhodesia because of political developments in Southern Rhodesia.
- (3) At the time of Federation, on the balance of payments, Southern Rhodesia had a deficit of £28m. and Northern Rhodesia a surplus of £2m. The whole reason for Federation had been the financial problems of Southern Rhodesia. Under no circumstances had it been possible for Northern Rhodesia to gain anything from it. But he would agree to an association between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland only. Nyasaland was completely undeveloped, although there were possible mineral deposits. He considered that it would be worth Northern Rhodesia's while to contribute towards Nyasaland's development. The gain which Nyasaland had had from Federation should be perpetuated, and that was the responsibility of the British Government.

(4) He agreed as to the proportions laid down of income tax to be refunded to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but he had not considered in detail all the financial aspects. He thought an equitable arrangement could be worked out between the two countries. The Fiscal Commission had been based on the idea of extricating Southern Rhodesia from a "sticky" financial position. He was mainly concerned with the question of principle, and had not gone into the fiscal arrangements which might be applied between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

(5) He agreed that in stating that the maize subsidy had been removed, he should have said that it had been reduced. But the result of this act as described in the memorandum was correct.

(6) On the increase in postal rates, he agreed that this had occurred in practically every country. It need not have occurred in a country in the previously wealthy position of Northern Rhodesia. An indication of this was the number of post offices which had been built in Northern Rhodesia before Federation. He objected to the fact that it should cost 3d. to send a letter from one box in Lusaka to another box in Lusaka. This was related to the fact that the African worker concerned was paid only £4—£5 per month. It was because Southern Rhodesia costs had to be taken into account that the cost of the postal services was so high. He considered it definitely wrong to have introduced wireless licences.

(7) He could not say how many secondary schools there were in Northern Rhodesia. He knew that formerly people with children had received considerable subsidies to send the children to schools in Southern Rhodesia and the Union. There had been a programme for the building of secondary schools in Northern Rhodesia before Federation. There had been an influx of white workers bringing their children, and the Government had made allocations for secondary schools.

(8) He objected to the type of political development in Southern Rhodesia as compared with Colonial Office administration. He considered Southern Rhodesian ideas to be typically South African. He did not consider the Southern Rhodesian Government's attitude to the black man fair and just to the black man, i.e. he objected to the native policy in Southern Rhodesia.

(9) He agreed that in Northern Rhodesia no territorial surcharge had been imposed on income tax, but he supposed that this was only to make the country even less attractive. The Fiscal Commission had kept a close eye on the Northern Rhodesian resources which were known to exist at the time and had left Northern Rhodesia with the choice of either dipping into the reserves or imposing a territorial surcharge. The fiscal review which had now taken place had only made a difference of one per cent. But he was more concerned in the comparison between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia in the balance of payments aspect. It had been like a "take-over" bid by Southern Rhodesia.

(10) He agreed that the presence of minerals in Nyasaland had not yet been proved by comprehensive surveys, but he understood that there was the possibility of valuable ores. He did not think that this was a mere hope.

(11) Referring to the suggestion in the memorandum that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be governed by a Commission, he considered that such a Commission should have practically all the powers of the present Legislature. The influence of the British Government should even be increased. He would not however quite make Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland into a unitary state. He would prefer a much weaker kind of association. At the centre he would leave only Defence, External Affairs and Communications, and Transport in a very loose kind of way. Each Government would send delegates to the central body.

(12) He agreed that, as suggested in the memorandum, to return all Federal subjects to Northern Rhodesia would be equivalent to dismemberment of the Federation.

(13) The governing Commission which he envisaged should be above the Legislative Assemblies for a period of five years, in order to prepare the countries for self-government.

(14) On the question of school fees, it was true that only a small fee of about £2 per child had been imposed after Federation. But the Federal management of the European schools had led to a number of other difficulties, including in particular the inadequacy of the bus service. He thought that these arrangements arose from the fact that they were not

considered necessary in Southern Rhodesia, without regard to the fact that the density of the population in the towns was very much greater there.

(15) He agreed that before Federation, white people in Northern Rhodesia had asked for amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia. Great Britain, together with Southern Rhodesia, had the responsibility for Federation. It had been necessary for Great Britain to do something for Southern Rhodesia at the time of Federation. Great Britain's responsibility was still there. In fact, Southern Rhodesia's position might now even be worse.

(16) There had been no attempt at all by the Federal Government to direct development to Northern Rhodesia: he referred to the £7½m. worth of capital development in Salisbury.

Memorandum

THE REV. M. M. TEMPLE

Secretary, United Society for Christian Literature in Northern Rhodesia

I wish to base my evidence on no political theory or generalization about Africa but rather on my personal experience as one who from the time of its inception has given active support to Federation and preached the doctrine of Partnership.

Africans in Rural Areas

As a working missionary in a rural area for many years, I was personally involved in educational work, medical work and schemes for village improvement. I believed that for all these services we needed more money, that a prosperous Federation spelt more teachers for the schools, more drugs for the hospitals, more ploughs for the farmers. I believed what the Federal politicians said about the economic advantages of Federation and the influx of capital that a stable Federation would bring.

As I battled to discount the rumours that circulated in my mission area about Federation, such as (1) "The Europeans have poisoned our sugar," (2) "The Europeans will steal our land," (3) "The Europeans will always be our masters," I came to understand that no credence could have been given to such extravagant untruths unless there lay deep-bedded in the minds of the village people a mass of fear and suspicion on which such rumours could feed.

I very soon learnt that I could as easily exorcise such fears as I could cure Cancer with a dose of Epsom Salts. There is no specific against fear but the long process of building up trust. This remedy the leaders of the Federation have failed signally to apply.

Africans in Urban Areas

After my transfer to the town, I continued to advocate Partnership and Federation, not only through my work as travelling Secretary of the United Society for Christian Literature, but also in the following capacities:—

- (1) Chairman of the Lusaka Branch of the Capricorn Africa Society—1956/57.
- (2) President, Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia—July, 1957/March, 1958.
- (3) Deputy Leader, Constitution Party—1957/1958.
- (4) Leader of Multi-racial Study Group appointed by World Council of Churches to study Christian responsibility in areas of rapid social change.

I have seen the work of the Capricorn Africa Society in Northern Rhodesia founder on the single fact that it failed to obtain any African members because of its support of Federation.

I have seen the first truly multi-racial political party in Northern Rhodesia, the Constitution Party, break up because it maintained against the opinion of its African members a belief in Federation.

I have been driven against my inclination and against the logic of the situation to accept the fact that the only hope that remains for the continued existence of the Federation and the implementation of its policy of Partnership is for the Federal Government to be stripped of most of its powers and those powers to be returned to the Territorial Governments. I do not believe that the Federal Government will ever be able



to win the confidence and trust of the African people while it boasts of its material achievements and bullies the under-privileged.

The Europeans in Northern Rhodesia

I am a European married to a Rhodesian with my children in Rhodesian schools, and I now regard this country as my home. During the 18 years that I have lived here, the Northern Rhodesian Government has won my affection and my loyalty. The Federal Government has not done so. I believe that we in Northern Rhodesia—European, African and Indian—can make a nation for already there are signs of the birth of a kind of patriotism here. I do not believe that the Federal Government can expect a supra loyalty until the first loyalty to our own Territory is more deeply rooted. The greatest mistake the Federation has made has been to set economic advantage higher in the scale of values than emotional allegiance.

It is for these reasons that I suggest to the Commission that if loyalty to Northern Rhodesia is to grow, its powers must increase.

Lusaka
1st February, 1960

Oral Evidence

THE REV. M. M. TEMPLE

Mr. Temple submitted a written memorandum to the Commission.

The witness said that although he was secretary for the United Society for Christian Literature in Northern Rhodesia, he was not speaking for the Society but for himself. He had spent twelve years as a missionary in the rural areas and had recently, in his present capacity, toured all the districts of Northern Rhodesia.

In amplification of his memorandum, Mr. Temple said that he had supported Federation in 1953, but his experience in connection with multi-racial political parties in Northern Rhodesia had convinced him that there was fear in the hearts of the people which made it virtually impossible for Federation to be accepted, even though this fear might in some cases be misconceived. He had come to the conclusion that loyalty must be to the smaller unit rather than to the larger; he felt that it was possible to build up affection for the Territorial Government in a way that was not possible towards a Federal Government. The fact that Federation might be to the economic advantage of the three Territories did not of itself gain loyalty for Federation. The only solution was a break-up of Federation in the political sphere but keeping some form of association in the economic sphere.

Looking to the future of Northern Rhodesia, he felt that there must be at least parity of representation between Africans and Europeans. This had been rejected by Sir Arthur Benson for what appeared to be good reasons at the time, particularly that it would perpetuate racialism. Unfortunately, multi-racial parties did not seem to work because of the difficulty of harnessing the rational forces of African nationalism. There could therefore be no stability until Africans felt that they had a large part in the Government of the country. The only solution, therefore, was to go forward to a Government primarily elected by Africans. It was likely that some Europeans would be elected on this basis, but minority rights should be preserved by reserving powers to the Colonial Office. The franchise should consist of one common role on the qualification of the present Northern Rhodesia special voters franchise, with a fairly large group of exceptions including Chiefs, N.C.O.s in the Armed Forces, and teachers in the rural areas who might still not qualify for the vote. In calculating the property qualification, account should be taken of land held communally under Native Customary Law but which was in effect occupied by individuals.

Unless some action of this sort was taken, he felt that African nationalism would have no alternative but to oppose Federation by all means. Kenneth Kaunda believed in non-violence, but if he could not achieve anything for the Africans by non-violent action, it was likely that he himself would be overthrown and replaced by more violent people.

Memorandum

THE SOLI NATIVE AUTHORITY

We, the Soli Native Authority, represent about 30,000

people living to the east and south of Lusaka. Many of our people are working in Lusaka or on the farms and others work in Broken Hill, the Copperbelt or in Southern Rhodesia.

2. We have the following complaints and comments about the effect of Federation upon our lives :—

- (i) Since Federation started in 1953, we have seen very little that it has done to improve the lives of Africans or to make them pleased with Federation.
- (ii) Since Federation we have particularly seen no improvement in the Health Services for Africans. The African Hospital in Lusaka is a very bad one. There have been no new dispensaries built in the rural area. We even have to pay for ambulances now. We consider that it would be better for the Africans of this District if the Health Services are run by the Territorial Government.
- (iii) Since Federation we have seen less money spent by the Territorial Government which seems to be short of money for schools and other developments to help us. We feel that perhaps too much Federal money is being spent in Southern Rhodesia.
- (iv) We have seen the prices of some things go up under Federation; particularly we have seen that the price paid to us for our maize has gone down although the price of mealie meal for us to eat has gone up. Other things including the secondhand clothes which we buy in our stores have gone up in price.
- (v) We are still anxious that little seems to be being done to reduce the colour bar.
- (vi) We have never seen a Federal Member of Parliament or any member of the Federal Government coming to see us and talk to us about our worries. We feel that we are not properly represented by people who know us and whom we know, either in the Federal or the Territorial Governments and we feel that Africans should have more representatives.
- (vii) If the British Government is going to change Federation, we would like all things which closely concern the lives of Africans to be dealt with by the Territorial Government.

Lusaka District
30th January, 1960

Oral Evidence

SOLI NATIVE AUTHORITY

Chief Mpancha, and the Administrative Councillor of the Native Authority, Mr. Adam Mjaluka, gave evidence. The Native Authority consists of five Chiefs and the Administrative Councillor.

Chief Mpancha made the following points :—

- (a) The only positive action taken by the Federal Government which he had seen was the construction of the biggest road in the Territory which passed his Native Authority.
- (b) He had been asking for a dispensary for three years. No new ones had been built in his tribal area since Federation, and not until last week had he heard that the dispensary would be built in the current year. For a long time only a dresser had been available in the area in a temporary dispensary. Many people were needing medical treatment but often a dresser was not qualified to give it to them. Under a Territorial Government more dispensaries would have been built.
- (c) Not enough money had been spent on African schools. The money that should have been available for schools had been spent on Federal services, of which the people did not see the benefit.
- (d) The price of maize to the African producer had gone down, but at the same time the cost of mealie meal had increased. It was tricks like this which could not be understood by the people.
- (e) The colour bar still continued, and in this way partnership was not being practised. Last year he had gone to Kariba at the invitation of the Southern Rhodesia Native Commissioner. While he was there, he had been insulted by the Southern Rhodesia police for drinking Castle beer at a bar. Another example was

the mistreatment of the African Bishop when he was visiting Salisbury recently.

- (f) The people never saw their Federal members of Parliament. They neglected the people and never consulted them in the rural areas. So that their members of Parliament should take notice of what they wanted, the franchise qualifications should be lowered; he had not considered in detail what these should be.
- (g) Health, agriculture and education services should be united under the Territorial Government.

Memorandum

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

Although we represent the Dutch Reformed Church in Northern Rhodesia only, we can safely state that our viewpoint is shared by actually all the members of our Church in the whole of the Federation. Membership of this Church totals about 22,000.

A. This Church feels itself entitled to give evidence on the following grounds:—

1. Our long experience in dealing with the African :
 - (a) Our missionary work started in Nyasaland as early as 1889, in Mashonaland (Southern Rhodesia) in 1891, and in Northern Rhodesia in 1899.
 - (b) This means that our Church was among the first to start organized missionary work within the boundaries of the present Federation.
 - (c) This Church has since then never withdrawn from these mission fields, but has on the contrary persistently expanded its work.
 - (d) One of our missionaries took the lead in translating into Cinyanja the Bible, which is the most widely read book amongst the people concerned.
2. The valuable fruits of our missionary work :
 - (a) Membership of the Mission Church amounts to nearly 400,000.
 - (b) A Theological Seminary for the training of African ministers has been erected at Madzimoyo.
 - (c) The erection of a Teachers' Training School at Katete was granted the Dutch Reformed Church by the Government. The number of students at this school increased so rapidly that the Government last year made an extra allowance of £30,000 for expansion.
 - (d) Each Dutch Reformed Church Mission Station has an upper school.

B. Our approach to the present state of affairs:—

It is not our duty as a church to develop a solution regarding the political situation in the Federation, but we deem it our divine vocation to draw attention to the following:—

1. It is to be regretted that some missionaries do not stick to their divine injunction of proclaiming the Gospel, but are guilty of taking part in politics.
2. We believe that the evangelisation of the heathen is the surest way to real civilisation.
3. In order to give expression to our view, we wish to quote the following from a statement made by the Rev. C. F. Miles-Cadman in connection with race relations: "I mainly consulted the principals of Mission Colleges, because they are best acquainted with this matter; and I not only consulted the Anglican Church but also other Churches and sects. They agree with me that the most wise and kind approach would be not to treat immature people—whether they be individuals or groups or even nations—as brothers, but as sons.

"Because God is the Father of all people it does not follow that all people are equal either in the political sphere or in other ways. It stands to reason that they are not equal. If a person is the father of six children it does not follow from the common parentship that all these children are equal; and surely no reasonable person would assign to a child of three years the same status, privileges and duties which would be assigned to an adult. . . . Let me state clearly that to the classical and figurative question of the African: 'Am I not a man

and a brother?' my answer is: 'No, you are not a man and a brother. You are a child and a son, entitled to lawful protection and subject to proper discipline.' He is in the family, but he is not on an equal footing. He has the rights and also the shortcomings pertaining to immaturity. . . . I think that if we proceed from the viewpoint of sonship and not brotherhood in this connection, then we adopt a formula, and a Christian formula, which, being properly understood, will satisfy everybody.

"My daughter of three years of age is in many respects a privileged being. Her needs are never neglected by the elder members of the family, but many restrictions are imposed on her as well, for her own good. She does not possess much personal freedom, neither can she choose what she wants to wear or to eat. She is subject to the control of adults—for her own good.

"The African is also a child. His intellectual age is something between nine years and fourteen years; and until such time as his social and political infancy has passed he will have to accept guidance, to be helped and to be controlled."

In accordance with this statement we wish to add the following: For immature persons the adult should act as guardian. This guardianship means indeed that the guardian can better judge what things will be to the benefit of the immature person than the latter himself can; also that the latter should be safeguarded against dangers which he does not see as such. The protective measures which stem from Christian trusteeship and the Christian sense of vocation, should not be removed. Such a removal will leave the immature groups at the mercy of a cruel and hard world of exploitation and competition, for which they are no match.

What we expect from Christians abroad:

1. They can make a valuable contribution by learning to know the truth about Central Africa and its problems.
2. They can wait politely for the execution of the gigantic experiment in human relations the Federation has undertaken.
3. They can disseminate correct information to the Churches so that the good work that is being done for the non-Whites will not be obstructed in Christian circles.
4. They can express confidence in the Churches in this country, and give them the moral support to which Churches, which serve the same Lord and have accepted the same injunction to spread the Gospel, are entitled.

Lusaka

Oral evidence

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

The Rev. W. B. Jansen and the Rev. H. Winterbach appeared on behalf of the Council of the Dutch Reformed Church and presented a Memorandum of their evidence. It was explained to the Commission that the European membership of the Church totalled 22,000 of which 6,000 were Europeans in Northern Rhodesia. The 400,000 members represented the total membership of the Church in the Federation.

The witnesses stated that they approved of the Federation which was the best form of government for the three Territories. They thought that the enfranchisement of Africans was perhaps being proceeded with too fast, and if anything, the franchise should be raised a little. In their view it was unwise to give the Africans responsibilities now for they still had a long way to go before they could hope to achieve maturity. With the full growth of the African in political maturity they saw no reason why there should not be equality for all. For the moment, however, they considered that the European must retain a form of paternalism in respect of the vast majority. There were only a few Africans who were, so to speak, fully fledged.

In answer to a question they explained that theirs was the second largest Missionary development in Nyasaland, and thought that it was likely that the Mission would exercise a certain amount of influence over their adherents.



Memorandum

COLONEL AND MRS. R. A. CRITCHLEY

Democracy

The ordinary African does not understand democracy, and Parliamentary democracy of the Westminster pattern is unsuitable, and will be unsuitable for many years in Northern Rhodesia.

The pace at the centre is becoming too fast and what is required in Northern Rhodesia is a form of benevolent despotism or guided democracy. I suggest that this form of Government can only be carried out by the Colonial Office for some considerable period. This period would last until an African property owning class has been built up which by sheer economic importance could take its rightful place in the political affairs of the country. In fact, let the African electorate go through the same hard process as did the British electorate before we have the Westminster pattern of democracy in this country. I suggest that Sir Charles Cumming's address to Africans in Rhodesia published in "East Africa and Rhodesia" on September 10th, 1959, is relevant in this connection, also extracts from a speech by Sir Alexander Grattan to the Central Asian Society published in "The Royal Central Asian Journal" of July-October, 1959 (Appendix A).

Racial Discrimination

I suggest that too much importance should not be placed on the matter of Racial Discrimination. The African Nationalist leaders would hate to see it go because it is a most useful argument for rallying sympathy from overseas to their cause. In support of this suggestion please see "The Northern News" of 10th February, 1960, an extract of which is attached at Appendix B.

The Federation

It is in the best interest of Northern Rhodesia to remain within the Federation: in order to secure more harmony in the Federation it is essential :-

- (a) that the Federal Capital should be moved from Salisbury. The decision to have the Federal Capital at Salisbury was a grave psychological mistake. The Africans will never support the Federation as long as the Federal Capital is there, and it is no good the Federal Government saying that it is not possible to move it owing to the expense, and hardship to Civil Servants which such a move would involve;
- (b) That the Federal Government cease the milking of Northern Rhodesia as soon as possible in order that Northern Rhodesia may go ahead economically and a prosperous African property owning class be gradually built up.

Lusaka.

Appendix A

Extract from Northern News dated 10/2/60

"African Faces Store Boycott: Drank at Airport as Mac Arrived"

Livingstone, Tuesday

An African storekeeper who had a drink in the Livingstone Airport restaurant when the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, arrived there last month, is being boycotted by the African Congress and the United National Independence Party.

Pickets outside his store in Libuyu African township are asking his customers to return their purchases.

Police are standing by in the township to maintain law and order.

The boycott of the storekeeper, Mr. Mwale, began as the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council's select Committee on racial discrimination recommended legislation to ensure that nobody should be refused admission to restaurants, hotel dining rooms and other places on the grounds of race alone.

The Government has accepted the report.

The A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. allege that Mr. Mwale and a friend of his, Mr. Chimbuze, went at the instigation of the Provincial Commissioner for the Southern Province to give Mr. Macmillan a false impression about the colour bar and partnership.

The Provincial Commissioner, Mr. A. J. St. J. Sugg today denied these allegations.

"I do not know Mr. Mwale, although I have once visited his store, I certainly did not ask him to drink in the airport building."

Mr. Mwale said today that he and Mr. Chimbuze were requested to attend a joint meeting of the A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. in Libuyu the evening after drinking at the airport.

Mr. Mwale said he decided not to go. He was later visited and questioned by three men.

"I replied that, if people wanted to see me, it was up to them to come either to my house or my store."

Apology demanded

The next day, three others asked him why he had had a drink in the airport restaurant at the time of Mr. Macmillan's arrival.

"I told them that as far as I knew, there was nothing to prevent anyone having a drink there. If the A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. wanted to keep Africans out of the restaurant, they should have made their intention clear."

The men "demanded an apology for what I had done," said Mr. Mwale.

"I refused to apologise, and they told me I would be punished."

A few days later, pickets were posted outside Mr. Mwale's store.—Sapa.

Appendix B

Extract from Royal Central Asian Journal, July—October (Speech by Sir Alexander Grattan)

"My fourth point concerns democracy. When these newly emergent countries in Asia got rid of or threw over, as they thought, colonialism, they said: "We must be democratic; we must follow the example of Westminster and Parliamentary democracy." We and the United States of America thrust that down their throats. We made a fundamental mistake. We regarded democracy as an end in itself, whereas to my way of thinking democracy is merely one of the means to an end—the liberty of the individual and the rule of law. For the attainment of that end it is not essential that there should be democracy on the Westminster model. That is now being realized in Asia. China tried democracy, and as a result of the complete failure of it she has gone Communist. Democracy on the Parliamentary model is temporarily suspended in Pakistan, in Burma and in Indonesia. It may well be that something on the lines of guided democracy—which may well differ from country to country—may be the solution for many states in Asia. But for goodness' sake do not let us try to thrust our Westminster ideas down their throats. That is my fourth point: I challenge that Parliamentary democracy is automatically suitable for all countries, whether in Asia, Africa or elsewhere."

Oral Evidence

COLONEL AND MRS. R. A. CRITCHLEY

The witnesses had produced a memorandum.

Colonel Critchley was a retired cavalry officer who had been 12 years in Northern Rhodesia; his wife had been there for nearly 50 years. He considered that he had experience of backward races having been in the Army since 1929, having served in Abyssinnia and among the Cachins and Karins.

Colonel Critchley said that he would like to add some extra comments with particular reference to people who might be giving evidence. First, moderate Africans had been suspicious of Federation from the start, because they had not been advised at the time by the District Commissioners. The Critchleys had been in Northern Rhodesia at the time and were told by members of the Provincial Administration that they had been instructed not to explain Federation to the Africans. The scheme had definitely not been explained in the initial stages.

Moderate Africans at this time did not tend much to support the Nationalists. The Critchley's cattle boy had asked why Kaunda had been let out of prison. He had thought more highly of Nkumbula, because he worked with the Chiefs.

When Mr. Hopkinson had come out to Northern Rhodesia he had said that the settlers were here to stay. The settlers intended to stay and to have a civilised government.

As to the Civil Service, the Government on the whole was anti-settler. A senior civil servant had thought that it would not be desirable for the Critchleys to give evidence to the Commission. "The settlers were second-rate people with third-rate children." There are senior civil servants in the country who are anti-federal, and always have been.

It was not true that time was short—there was plenty of time.

Mrs. Critchley said that she had lived in the country since 1911. Her father had been a resident since the beginning of the century. She liked Africans. This was in spite of the fact that the local civil servants said that she was violently anti-African and beastly to them. Senior civil servants said this about her, and so did Mr. Harry Franklin. But they had old pensioners on the farm, including one who was 110 years old.

In reply to questions, Colonel and Mrs. Critchley made the following points:—

(1) They were in favour of Federation if it worked properly. But there had been a tendency to develop Southern Rhodesia at the expense of Northern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia had done well out of Federation. Now they learnt that a certain section of Southern Rhodesian Europeans would like to pull out.

(2) The siting of the Federal capital at Salisbury—"Bombazonkie"—had given the African the feeling of having a biased settler government. £113m. had been spent on the Kariba Dam—why could not £20m. be spent to provide a new capital?

(3) The reason for the civil servants' dislike of settlers was probably that they were jealous of people with capital who were independent. The Sudan had had the best civil service, India the next best, but they did not rate many of the local civil servants highly. They would contest the view that the first duty of civil servants in the Federation was towards the Africans. Their duty was to govern all races with impartiality.

(4) If the Commission could go round the farms they would find that the labour force was perfectly happy. The Critchleys claimed to get on with their labour, and with the Chiefs whom they met from time to time. There was no ill-feeling between them and the Africans.

(5) They had heard rumours that the British Government was watching the present developments in the Congo, and that if all went well the same experiment would be tried in the northern portion of the Federation. They had their fears of this, although they were probably based on unreliable grounds.

(6) Their main wish was to live under a civilised government.

(7) They would like to get rid of racial discrimination. The point made in the memorandum was not an argument, but a piece of information for the Commission.

Memorandum

E. B. COLGRAVE

Name: Edward Bernard Colgrave.

Occupation: Assistant Manager and Chief Chemist of Chilanga Cement Limited.

Age: 50 years.

Qualifications: M.Sc. (London), Member of the South African Chemical Institute, Fellow of the Royal Institute of Chemistry.

Period of stay in Northern Rhodesia: Since 1951. Intention is to settle permanently in the Federation.

1. In my opinion it would be a grave error to allow the dissolution of the Federation.

2. For prosperity in the future, which is essential in order to combat the poverty of the large mass of the people in the Federation, a condition of stability for investment must be achieved.

3. Development of further resources and other mineral wealth apart from Copper, Zinc and Lead must be furthered

to stabilise the economy, and to take the chance of employment to the people in the large areas where poverty is rife.

4. The coming constitutional review must be final, and there should be no suggestion of any repetition in another five years or so.

5. Stability depends on Government by people qualified for governing, which is only possible if election to all the Territorial Governments and Federal Government is by responsible people. This does not mean the franchise should be in the hands necessarily of any particular race but for this reason I am strongly opposed to any devaluation of the franchise.

6. Racial domination is bad in any form as it tends to lead to the expression of racialism in its worst form. For this reason partnership in government as well as in everyday life must be the eventual goal.

African Politicians cry for "one man one vote" knowing that with the present racial hatred they are stirring up it would ensure an African Parliament with, at the most, a very ineffective minority.

7. It is high time that every effort should be made to teach the African that citizenship carries with it responsibilities as well as privileges.

8. I would be very appreciative of a chance to discuss these points with the Members of the Commission at any time and place convenient to the Commission.

Chilanga,

Lusaka.

Oral Evidence

E. B. COLGRAVE,

Assistant Manager and Chief Chemist of Chilanga (Cement) Ltd., Lusaka

Mr. Colgrave spoke to his Memorandum. In regard to the franchise he thought that if it were de-valued any such action would have very serious effects on investments by reason of the fact that without any question the government elected would be one of irresponsible people. There had to be in his view some minimum standards if voters were to be in a position to appreciate policies that were expounded to them from time to time. It was true there were responsible Africans who should have the vote, but the vast majority were not fitted for it yet. Nevertheless, a democratic form of government should obtain as far as possible, but he reiterated that it would be the greatest folly to hand over the government to inexperienced people. It was the duty of the European to continue to show them the way; but in the meantime he submitted that to achieve greater racial harmony there must be increased African representation. The witness did not subscribe to the special roll which was racial in its concept.

This country was faced with racial domination from one side or the other; but he considered that by and large the government of the Federation and the Territories as far as the African was concerned was a very fair and just one.

Discrimination against the African was apparent in numerous instances; but the witness did not think that this flowed from any racial hatred by the European, but rather from social outlook. The African nationalist elements, however, were using this discrimination to stir up racial hatred with one object in view which was to get into power. The standard of intelligence of the vast majority of Africans were very low, and they remained people who could very easily be misled. The nationalist leaders were prepared to make any sort of promise, but he was quite certain that most of these would and could never be implemented. It was only after the African had been taught the art of government and the meaning of the word integrity that they should be given reasonable power. A vast amount of money had been invested here by the European and it was essential for the progress of the country and confidence that government by responsible people should be retained. Lastly Mr. Colgrave referred to the standards of living which he said must be improved, particularly in the Reserves where they were appalling. The only way to achieve any improvement was by creating employment through industry, but 94% of the land in the country represented Trust Land or other land reserved for the African. As things stood at the moment it was not possible for such land to be properly exploited and fair exploitation was necessary in order to provide reasonable employment for the indigenous population.

In answer to a question, Mr. Colgrave stated that he considered that notwithstanding the present troubles in the Congo being on their doorstep the present form of government in Northern Rhodesia could be sustained.

Memorandum

J. GAUNT

The witness submitted a pamphlet :

YEAR OF DECISION 1960

SURRENDER OR FIGHT ?

The true position of the European in
Northern Rhodesia today

and

A plan for the future

by John Gaunt, M.P.

This pamphlet has been made available at no cost to the public through donations received from certain public-spirited Northern Rhodesians to whom we owe our thanks.

(The contents of this pamphlet, except for minor alterations originally appeared as a series of articles under the general title "What after 1960?" in the *Central African Post*, and are reprinted with the kind permission of this newspaper. They were also printed in the *Evening Standard* of Salisbury.)

WELL FOUNDED FEARS OF OUR POLITICAL FUTURE

First of all I would like to present my credentials as a prophet of events to come—unless certain courses of action are immediately taken.

I repeatedly warned the Legislative Council that the ever-hastening march of events in the world in general and in Africa in particular are overtaking us with a frightening speed which makes a mockery of our political posturings and our feeble attempts to maintain a *status quo* which does not exist.

In particular I warned those who loudly declared that they would resist any attempt to form "native states" that willy-nilly they would in the immediate future have a "native state", Tanganyika, on our very border—and a long border at that—with Nyasaland to follow.

It has been brought about even more rapidly than I anticipated. During the long drawn-out Constitutional debate I declared time and again that if the Government's proposals went through that sooner or later the "immigrant" voters would be swamped. The only matter for conjecture was the length of time this would take.

Apart from additional African enrolment on the Special and Ordinary voters rolls it is believed by some that when the present revision of the Ordinary roll is completed and the "dead wood" removed it may be reduced by as much as 20 per cent., as compared with the roll at the time of the last general election—to the detriment of European influence.

I have repeatedly warned that any "promises" made by the Secretary of State on behalf of the United Kingdom Government must be treated with the utmost caution—if not suspicion.

Compare the statements originally made to bolster up the morale of the servicemen and the "loyal" elements in Cyprus with the pattern of events as they have actually occurred culminating in a republic.

Read again the promises of Lennox-Boyd and his spokesmen, Chief Secretaries and Governors, to protect the White Highlands, etc., and contrast these "assurances" with what has recently taken place with worse to follow for the "immigrants" of Kenya.

I have other claims, based on past events, to my readers' attention. From 1954 onwards I warned against the evils of political boycotts and urged the Government to take the necessary legislative action. It has taken them six years to come round to this view.

In the meanwhile many traders and innocent Africans have suffered financially and physically.

I cast grave doubts on the efficacy of the original Riot Damage Ordinance. I asked that a "dangerous weapon" be defined as in the Union of South Africa and provision made for the banning of such weapons in proclaimed areas whenever circumstances so justified.

I warned that the uncontrolled activities of the African National Congress would end in disorder. It ended in the tragedy of Gwembe and the attendant loss of life.

I questioned the militant role of Zambia before it was proscribed. I deplored, with others, the closing down of the rural police posts. They are now being reopened.

Many claim what the Americans call "hind-sight" when events over-take theories but one of the advantages or disadvantages of being an M.L.C. or an M.P. is that if you venture into the realms of prophesy your predictions are recorded in *Hansard* at the time of their utterance, and there they remain to justify or mock you as events may prove.

I have perhaps taken up too much space in trying firmly to establish and reinforce my request to be heard but the times are so perilous and events are pressing so hard upon our heels that I feel justified in reminding those with short memories and informing newcomers that I have already established a reasonable claim to their attention.

Let Sir Roy Welensky have the final word: ". . . I would say there are very few members in this House who have greater knowledge of African Affairs than the hon. member (Mr. Gaunt) . . . and his advice is something which I shall certainly study." (Debate on the Monckton Commission).

A twentieth-century phenomenon to be observed in world affairs is the frequency with which future dictators and "strong" men have made quite plain the course of events they intend to follow and the actions they propose to take. They write books dotting the i's and crossing the t's accompanied by endless speeches.

The list is already a long one—Hitler, Nasser, Jomo, Kenyatta, Nkurumah, Julius Nyerere, Tom Mboya, Hastings Banda, etc. All these people apart from megalomania, share one thing in common—the world at large and their own fellow-countrymen in particular took, and take, not the slightest notice of the writing on the wall in its modern form of Press and radio.

While they were, and are, busy translating words into action those about to suffer, and suffer most cruelly, remained and remain, deaf, dumb and blind.

The curse of Western civilisation and of the European in Africa is apathy and at best a self-satisfied complacency while at the worst it is a form of mental cowardice.

The individual goes on trying to pretend to himself that all is for the best of worlds. Pre-occupied with personal problems family and business, primarily interested in the size of his monthly cheque and the venue of his next holiday, with time off for sport, he lowers a mental shutter and excludes any thoughts of the future as being in anyway something that is hammering on the door for immediate admission.

He prefers as a general rule to regard any political threat to his stability as some vague possibility which may intrude itself upon him at some unspecified and remote date.

There is of course an exception to this political remoteness and that is when his pocket is touched and his bread and butter threatened.

This explains why various worthy citizens feeling the financial pinch of Federation are talking about Northern Rhodesia reverting to its former state without apparently taking into their calculations the future position of the "immigrant" community under a black nationalist government and without political backing from Southern Rhodesia. There is more to life than a profit and loss account.

CERTAIN ILLUSIONS AND DELUSIONS

The demands of African nationalist leaders are dismissed as laughable and preposterous—scarcely worth a shrug of the shoulders so fantastic are these claims for one man, one vote and an immediate African majority in both the Legislative and Executive Councils. Yet, throughout East Africa and in the French and Belgian Congo we are witnessing the granting of parallel political demands which a scarce five years ago would

have called forth similar expressions of ridicule, disbelief and feelings of outrage by their European inhabitants.

From time to time the political sleep-walkers of Northern Rhodesia in spite of themselves find their repose momentarily disturbed by some statement which penetrates even their blinkered existence. This is when a *Conservative* Minister in an incautious moment lets slip his real views, and therefore of his government, of the future of Northern Rhodesia. Such revealing glimpses have come recently from Mr. Macmillan, Lords Perth and Home and our latest liquidator of the Colonial Empire—Mr. Ian Mcleod. *They have all made it perfectly plain that our fate is to follow the pattern set in Tanganyika.* Lest the recoil be too severe this is followed by a little soothing syrup to the effect that this would be after Nyasaland and would take slightly longer.

In Tanganyika the vote *this year* is to be granted to anyone earning £75 a year. Possibly in order to avoid too violent a reaction our franchise may to start with be lowered to say £150 a year to be followed at not too long an interval by a further lowering to £75 or less a year. Unfortunately it is more than possible that before the first step is taken that Tanganyika will have adopted universal franchise and our masters will feel bound to accelerate our descent into Avernus.

Jarred into temporary wakefulness by these pronouncements your average Northern Rhodesian cries in anguish, "But . . . it can't happen here!" and then draws around him his tenuous cloak of illusions and delusions to comfort him in his distress.

He forgets that all the elected members in the last Legislative Council, with varying degrees of force and determination, protested against the constitutional proposals of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It made not the slightest difference. With one exception not one jot or iota was altered and those proposals became our present Constitution. This was achieved by the simple process known as an Order-in-Council, and exactly the same procedure will be used again when the time comes to further debate our franchise.

Under the Federal constitution there can be no recourse to the Federal Government. The most that the Federal Prime Minister can do is to approach the United Kingdom Government and acquaint it with his government's views, and make such appeals as he may deem fit. How ineffectual and useless such an approach is in practice, when the United Kingdom Government has already made up its mind, was shown by the abortive trip made in 1958 by Sir Roy and Mr. Greenfield, Minister for Law, when they went to London on just such an errand and returned empty-handed.

The time has come for another incantation—"Vested interests will never allow it!" by 'vested interests' is meant the Rhodesian Selection Trust, the Anglo-American Corporation and the British South Africa Company, while 'it' of course stands for an all-black government.

Unfortunately for our optimists these impressive and important names in the final issue resolve themselves into the shareholders who put up the capital, and a shareholder, whether he lives in Stockholm, Berne, Rio de Janeiro, London or New York, is interested in only one thing and that is the size of his profits and *not* in political regimes. That a black nationalist government would not tolerate large numbers of highly paid white miners and staff is obvious to all but the most obdurate. *As in the mines in West Africa the role of the European would be confined to highly qualified technicians and top-level management.* An immediate drop in efficiency and increased calls on workmen's compensation funds would be more than covered by the colossal savings on the wagebill, including houses, copper bonus and all the other 'perks,' and *the cosmopolitan shareholder would contemplate with complete satisfaction swollen dividends without a thought for the Europeans of this Territory.* It is difficult to unravel the twisted thread of international finance but it is alleged that far more 'outside' capital is now invested in the Republic of India than was ever available under the British Raj.

Another straw is then hastily snatched, "What about a black government nationalising the mines? The United Kingdom Government would never stand for that! "How short are memories! In 1937 Mexico 'expropriated' the oil fields owned by wealthy and influential United States and British corporations. Their respective Governments made diplomatic protests and that was all. It was not until years later that in order to

encourage a further flow of foreign capital that the Mexican government agreed to pay a certain amount of compensation extended over a number of years. Does the name Abadan and its oil refinery mean nothing after so short a time? Where are the enormous British and French investments in the Suez Canal and Egypt generally? Come, wake up dreamer!

Perhaps even our most super-optimist may by now be slightly shaken, but he resolutely pulls himself together and with a final twitch at his cloak demands, "What about Southern Rhodesia? *They* will never let us down. After all they need our money!" This is sometimes hastily followed by, "Besides they are our own kith and kin." This sounds better.

The truth about the average Southern Rhodesian's political feelings towards the Black North are distinctly practical and almost devoid of sentiment.

First of all he does not regard us as real settlers as understood by him. He reads of prominent footballers, cricketers, etc., playing one year for the Transvaal, then next for Northern Rhodesia and the third year as likely as not playing once more for the Old Transvaal. He is informed that all civil servants live for the day when they can return to live at HOME. The fact that this is quite untrue and that only a very small number from the top echelon retire to England has never been made clear to him. Nor does he realise that the majority of civil servants of all ranks are Rhodesian and South African born.

He has always been highly suspicious of the Colonial Office and its policy in the Northern territories and *he imagines that all his present African troubles are the result of Federation and the contaminating influence of the North.* The fact that without Federation his country would still not have been immune from the yeast of African nationalism he either ignores or just does not believe. He acknowledges that the flow of money from the North has been immensely useful and he has put it to very good use—for Southern Rhodesia. Nearly bankrupt in 1953 he has now stabilised his economy, developed his secondary industries and made Southern Rhodesia financially self-supporting. All things being equal he would like to continue to enjoy the profits of the copper mines, but to give him his due he does place the political future of the white man above financial gain. It also helps, of course, that he is busy developing his own copper mines in no uncertain manner.

The plain fact is that the Southern Rhodesian in all ranks of the community is not prepared to contemplate Federation consisting of two territories ruled by all-black governments and Southern Rhodesia. Before this takes place he is all set to call it a day—and thanks for the memory!

Since I originally wrote the above I have once more been proved a true prophet by no less a person than Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia!

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES

It is necessary to examine the position of the Churches generally towards our political problem.

Long before Henry II asked 'who will free me from this turbulent priest?' protests were raised against the alleged interference of the Church in politics, and they have continued ever since.

The first difficulty to be faced is what is meant by 'politics'?

On the one hand you have an Archbishop Makarios who after a close association with a terrorist organisation is the President-elect of a new republic. On the other you have those Protestant pastors and Catholic priests who sheltered Jews and escaping prisoners of war. In the eyes of the Nazis they were engaged in 'politics' and paid with their lives if they were caught.

In matters of faith and morals surely it is the duty of all churches to advise, warn and, if necessary, admonish the faithful, and it is inevitable that on occasion the pursuance of this duty will make it imperative to enter the field of politics. If a political party, for example, advocates that euthanasia be legalised are the Christian churches to remain silent on the grounds that this is a 'political' matter?

Granted this inherent right it behoves all concerned to be very wary and cautious before exercising it. *It is no small matter to invade the political beliefs of the ordinary citizen with appeals to his conscience,* and when the matter is of such gravity that a pronouncement must be made should not this be done by the Moderator, Archbishop or Pope as the case

may be after due and grave consideration by Synod, Convocation or College of Cardinals? Publicity minded persons who use the pulpit for the dissemination of their own personal political theories only bedevil the issues at stake.

Again I would respectfully suggest that it is one thing to point out the evils of racial discrimination, the affronts against the dignity of the human race, the placing of artificial barriers in the path of advancement by merit, but quite another matter entirely to suggest political solutions or even a particular method by which a political solution may be arrived at. Even ordinary criticism of political views which may be expressed should be extremely guarded and moderate in tone when made by a cleric—especially when the head of the government is concerned.

Recently the Bishop of Nyasaland condemned in very forcible language the Prime Minister's suggestion that Africans might learn to rely on the Federal Government for protection of their interests rather than to look overseas, and that a Senate might take the place of the African Affairs Board. Apparently the Bishop objected as much to the timing of these announcements, which he considered ill-judged, as to the proposals themselves. I should have thought that both the suggestions and the timing were entirely a matter of political opinion as to their wisdom. Sharp disagreement from the Central Africa Party or the numerous African splinter-groups would be understandable but, with respect, how does it become a Church problem?

The Catholic Hierarchy in their first communication to the Prime Minister wrote the following:

"They (the Bishops) consider that until the non-European section of the population is more competent to assess the import of the Constitutional changes proposed and can, by prudent exercise of the franchise, make their wishes known, it would constitute a great injustice to impose on them a form of Government unacceptable to them."

Now with the greatest respect towards their Lordships how does one ensure that there will be a 'prudent exercise of the franchise'?

Is anyone prepared to argue that those hundreds of thousands, nay millions, of Frenchmen and Italians, baptised and brought up as Catholics, who voted Communist immediately after the war cast their votes in a prudent manner?

Is it not a fact that in Spain and Portugal, where Catholicism is the State religion, voting in a democratic manner for a candidate of one's own choice is unknown? In both countries the form of government is that of an oligarchy and when elections do take place the candidates are almost exclusively nominated by the government party. Elsewhere, in France, Italy and the Republic of Ireland where Catholics also constitute a preponderance of the population elections are conducted in the best democratic tradition. *It would therefore appear fairly obvious that it is the inherent qualities of the people themselves and not their religion which determines their form of government within the Christian world.*

Having noted that in at least some old-established countries with centuries-old civilisation behind them the vote, which their Lordships appear to look forward to as a reliable means by which to determine the future form of government, has been virtually discarded for all practical purposes *is it not logical to assume that the form of government must vary with the needs of the particular people concerned?*

The fundamental error being made in Africa is the attempt to graft our own home-grown democratic institutions on to a plant which in its own environment knows only the privileges of power and rejects its responsibilities towards others with differing views.

The revelations concerning the dictatorial methods of the Government of Ghana in practice as compared with its democratic professions has shocked many people and provided a useful weapon against the United Kingdom Government, but are we not perhaps being unfair to Dr. Nkrumah? For centuries the Russian people under the Tsars had no say whatsoever in the conduct of their political affairs. Then came the Revolution with Kerensky as the first would-be democratic ruler, but the strong meat of political freedom was too much for the Russian masses and after a very short time he was swept away and the Bolsheviki took over, Russia resumed its destiny to be ruled by the few.

May not the true position be precisely the same in Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea and all the other newly emergent African states? When Dr. Nkrumah suppresses the Opposition, exiles journalists, erects statues to himself and places his portrait on postage stamps is he not conforming to a very old pattern which is acceptable to his people for as long as he is able to hold his own against all comers? Should a stronger man arise then, "Le Roi est mort. Vive le Roi!"

Democracy is not just a political regime. It is a way of life. It is compromise, seeing the other person's point of view, protecting the rights of minorities. It is freedom of speech and of the Press. It is an impartial police force and a judicial system independent of the Executive and political influence. A cultural background and extensive knowledge will not in themselves make for democracy, and here in Africa the possession of the three B's—brief-case, blue suit and B.A. degree—do not automatically turn the proud possessor into a democrat. As long as he is in a political minority he will use all the shibboleths and cant phrases invoking democratic principles as a means of achieving power through the masses. Once this is achieved and he is in the saddle he is no longer interested in either democracy or the masses.

It has been said that in the past partnership has failed because of the day-to-day attitude of the Europeans towards the Africans. Be that as it may it is a melancholy and indisputable fact that African nationalist leaders have now rejected partnership and any question of special representation for the European and Asian communities. We are informed that as individuals we have nothing to fear and that the best man irrespective of race will be elected. Even the most gullible amongst us must realise that the 'best man' would always be an African and acknowledge that the final result would mean the end of a democratic way of life and the last of the European except as a trader or tutor—a foreigner and an alien in the very land which he transformed from virgin bush roamed over by nomadic tribes of blood-thirsty and primitive savages into the prosperous and peaceful country which today we call Northern Rhodesia.

Are we to pay the extreme penalty of political extinction because we brought health and education instead of fire arms and fire-water as did the Americans to the Red Indians?

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

The attitude of the Civil Service in Northern Rhodesia towards the Federation has from its inception played an extremely important part in the march of events which has brought us to our present sorry state. By and large, although not entirely, for 'Civil Service' you can substitute 'Provincial Administration' including both past and present members of this 'government within a government.'

As a prelude to Federation there was the notorious instruction to all District Commissioners and District Officers to remain strictly neutral when questioned by Africans on the merits and demerits of the Federal scheme. Since its inception of the Administration in Northern Rhodesia the indigenous population had been taught to rely on the Boma as their combined father and mother and to look towards it for guidance in all matters political. This sudden silence could have only one interpretation. If the Bwana could not tell them that this new thing called Federation was good for them then it must be bad. It was puzzling that he did not actually say so but after all a nod is as good as a wink. From my own experiences during the Bledisloe Commission I do not believe that the average District Officer indicated in any way that he thought that the advent of Federation would be detrimental but unfortunately his enforced silence had exactly the same effect.

In what one might term the Executive Council ranks of Government the position was quite different. Whatever lip-service might be paid to the conception of Federation there was amongst certain persons considerable resentment at the very idea of an over-all authority being super-imposed on Northern Rhodesia—particularly if that authority was to be centred on Salisbury. This was partly due to a very human dislike of relinquishing power. To be Governor is not quite the same as being Governor and Commander-in-Chief and so on down the ladder. It probably did not worry Sir Gilbert Rennie unduly but Sir Arthur Benson with his well known autocratic tendencies found it very hard to bear. Again certain

individuals had a personal antipathy towards Welensky stemming from the time he was a thorn in their flesh and, to mix metaphors, twisted their tails in Legislative Council. To them he was, and is, the 'up-start engine-driver.' Most of these people have left on retirement or to conquer fresh fields, but there are still one or two left and I could name them—and so could Sir Roy!

Another factor was a very real fear that the advent of Federation would result in the lowering of the high standards maintained by the civil service in Northern Rhodesia.

Unfortunately a certain amount of justification for this general attitude came only too quickly when one of the first acts of the newly elected Prime Minister of the Federation, Lord Malvern, was to repudiate the agreement over the Kafue Gorge project which only a short time before he himself had solemnly signed as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia with the Governor of Northern Rhodesia as the other signatory. Few people seem to realise what a really deplorable and detrimental effect this one action had on the relations between the two governments. Can the Northern Rhodesians be altogether blamed if hence-forward they refused to accept at face-value any proposals made by the Federal Government and looked for the undisclosed motive?

In the provinces and districts I think it is true to say that the attitude of those who have been in the country twenty years and longer can be summed up as, "A plague on all politics and politicians, black and white, and that goes for the Press too. The task of administration is difficult enough without further complications. Why can't we be left to get on with it in peace?" There are many outside their ranks who will heartily echo their sentiments. Unfortunately the roaring sea of black nationalism soon makes a breach in the ivory tower of isolationism.

Amongst those who have been not quite so long in the administration there appear to be some who are more politically minded and who look to the late Professor Laski as their mentor. It was one of these who when informed by a police officer that his clerks were taking a rather unhealthy interest in the local Congress leaders told him to mind his own business and to remember that in England there was nothing to prevent a civil servant from consorting with political leaders in private once he was off duty! It may be sheer coincidence but these men do not seem to be of the same high calibre as their colleagues.

Amongst the very junior and young officers—District Officers, District Assistants and Learner District Assistants—a certain amount of indoctrination appears to have taken place. During the course of my travels I was told by one young gentleman not yet nineteen that he had been brought out in order to train the indigenous inhabitants as quickly as possible so that Northern Rhodesia could be handed over to them lock, stock and barrel. Further questioning elicited that the Europeans of the Copperbelt and those living on their farms had not entered into his calculations at all. As this particular individual had only left his Public School a few short months previously someone must have been very busy sowing the seed either here or in London.

Although I have so far confined my remarks to the Provincial Administration it is an unfortunate fact that most of the heads of departments hold similar views to those held by the senior officers in the Secretariat. There is also considerable dissatisfaction amongst those who have transferred to the Federal Public Service and remain in Northern Rhodesia. It is very frustrating when a senior officer finds that he cannot spend more than £50 at a time without prior reference to Salisbury—even when he has a regional director close at hand. Amongst the junior Federal civil servants pin-pricks become magnified out of all proportion because of the lack of decentralisation and tactless handling by those who do not understand local conditions—so that in some mysterious way Federation itself becomes the villain of the piece. Some of the early appointments of ex-Southern Rhodesian civil servants to senior posts in Northern Rhodesia were no doubt based entirely on merit but they were hardly diplomatic. For example Northern Rhodesia had just paid over a million and a half for two new schools. Wisdom would have suggested that the two senior posts be initially filled by Northern Rhodesians and that any necessary transfers be made discreetly later in the day.

Although not part of the civil service it is instructive to note that the local representative of the Rhodesia Railways cannot answer any question of importance without first getting on the telephone to Bulawayo.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNING PARTY

I have tried to exclude party-politics and to avoid criticism of individual parties. Firstly, because I am an Independent, and secondly, because I am a realist. The United Federal Party is in power with an overwhelming majority and provided the franchise qualifications are not lowered still further with a consequent general election it may well remain the governing party for another four years. Provided also that the Federation lasts that long!

The Dominion Party has exactly one member in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia and its organisation throughout the Territory appears for all practical purposes to be dormant if not actually moribund. This is in sharp contrast to the Southern Rhodesia division of the same party whose prospects appear to be fairly bright if Sir Edgar Whitehead's latest demarche has not stolen its thunder. Let us, however, for the sake of argument assume that the Northern Rhodesia division is all this time planning and organising in secret preparatory to making a great show of strength for the benefit of the Monckton Commission. Leaving aside this assumption for a moment there is an alternative concerning which there is much talk these days but no discernible action. This is the formation of a new party—a Northern Rhodesia Party which would protect the legitimate interests of Northern Rhodesia and aim to hold the balance of power between the other two parties in the Federal Assembly.

An existing party revitalized or a new party formed—what are the plain facts of the political situation? That neither the one nor the other would be in a position to do anything more effective than to make representations which would be weighed against the views of the party in power with its huge majority. It is therefore, whether we like it or not, the United Federal Party and its elected representatives which we must try and influence and to whom the electorate as a whole must give a clear mandate as to our political future. The whole situation has altered so rapidly and deteriorated so disastrously since the general election that there is every justification for voters to take fresh stock of events or if necessary require their representatives to alter present policies.

To have any force at all these representations will have to be made by those who are either active members of the party or who, *faute de mieux*, voted U.F.P. It may well be that the elected members themselves are only waiting for the general public to give them a clear lead. It is only the very stupid and the very stubborn who still continue to cling to beliefs and policies when circumstances have so altered that they are no longer tenable. A wise man will take cognizance of the facts, the realities, as opposed to theories and adjust his political thinking accordingly however reluctant he may be to do so and however painful the process. Sir Winston Churchill and other great men have had to follow this path in the course of their political careers. That is how they became great men and statesmen instead of remaining mere politicians.

The U.F.P. are now faced with two factors which they dare not continue to ignore, or, worse still, try and hide beneath a welter of platitudes, pious aspirations and the repetition of slogans that no longer have any valid meaning. These factors are, firstly, that the black nationalist leaders have all rejected outright the conception of partnership as formulated by the U.F.P. and twice endorsed by a predominantly European electorate, and, secondly, that the United Kingdom Government despite originally adhering to that same concept of partnership is now determined to give these same black nationalists absolute power over all other communities.

Under these circumstances the question must be asked as to whether the U.F.P. can in the true and long term interests of Northern Rhodesia afford to continue its participation in a Government in which they are a minority in the Executive Council and of whom the majority are virtually pledged as representatives and servants of Whitehall to bring about their destruction?

All things being equal it is extremely beneficial to have an elected member with a portfolio that looks after the interests of farmers, miners, municipalities, transport and public works.



Freehold land-tenure and kindred matters are of the utmost importance in a properly constituted democratic state but of what value will all these things be to us if because of a political surrender all the farmers, miners and townspeople are going to be driven out of the country? There are many ways, other than by violence, to make a place impossible to live in if those in power wish to rid themselves of those they may consider undesirable.

Is it really possible in our present state of political affairs to continue to follow with the hounds while proclaiming a close association with the hare? Can one really share collective cabinet responsibility and at the same time fight for the future of the predominately European electorate which elected you and whom you represent?

We are constantly being told that the elected members with portfolio exert their influence behind the scenes and divert the course of events in favour of those they represent although of necessity no details of these negotiations can ever be made available to the public. There is no reason whatsoever to doubt that these claims are substantially correct when they refer to the everyday business of governing the country *but when it comes to matters effecting the Constitution the elected Ministers exert no influence whatsoever as was abundantly made clear with regard to the 1958 constitutional proposals. Their wishes were completely disregarded irrespective of whether they were made known in public or in private.*

I feel very strongly that one cannot serve two masters at once, or to change the metaphor, fight the Colonial Office when one hand is being firmly held by its representatives!

I have attacked the U.F.P. in the past over this very issue and I have used some harsh words, but, at this critical juncture when the political future of every single one of us is at stake I want to try and avoid those asperities which only too often accompany conflicting views. I am making an appeal not as one politician to other politicians but as a Northern Rhodesian to fellow Northern Rhodesians who have a common interest and love of this country.

We must forget past controversies, worn-out slogans and policies no longer applicable. We must close our ranks against those who are forgetful of the sacrifices made by two generations of Northern Rhodesians who rushed to help defend the very country which is now willing to abandon us in the name of East-West power politics. The time is indeed five minutes past midnight.

The Belgian Congo is to be completely independent on July the 1st—less than five months to go. Another 'native state' with a long border contiguous to our own. Truly the sands of time are running out at express speed and trite sayings and pious aspirations will no longer avail as substitutes for a definite plan of action.

To add to the gloomy picture we have Sir John Moffat on behalf of the Central Africa Party telling us to surrender quickly if we wish to avoid violence.

A NEW DEAL

Before deciding on whether or not our present state of affairs calls for a New Deal, and how we may obtain one, let us once more consider the facts of our situation and the conclusions we may justifiably draw from them. They are:—

THAT at the present time Northern Rhodesia is under the 'protection' of the United Kingdom which can alter our Constitution by means of an Order-in-Council irrespective of our wishes.

THAT Messrs. Macmillan and MacLeod (The Great Liquidator), and Lords Home and Perth have made it quite plain by their speeches that we are to adopt the pattern of Tanganyika and Kenya with Nyasaland to follow.

THAT Kenya was once upon a time known officially as Kenya Colony in exactly the same way as Southern Rhodesia is a Colony with all that description implies, but nevertheless all the promises of the past have been broken and the European betrayed.

THAT within the next twelve months the Legislative Assemblies of Kenya, Tanganyika and Nyasaland will have black nationalist majorities, to be followed shortly by Northern Rhodesia if events continue on their present course.

THAT whatever the political future of Northern Rhodesia if it remains in its present form it will have a very long bound-

dary bordering on native states—the Belgian Congo, Tanganyika and Nyasaland.

THAT approximately 94% of Northern Rhodesia is barred to the European. He can neither trade, farm nor own a home in the Native Reserves and the Native Trust Lands.

THAT whether one has to deal with attacks from within or without the shorter perimeter the better the chances of a successful defence.

THAT whatever the Federal Constitution may say to the contrary if a black nationalist government in Nyasaland, elected on a franchise embracing the majority of the people, passes a Motion demanding secession then the United Kingdom and world opinion will insist on it being granted in the sacred name of democracy.

THAT the farm lands along the line of rail, the trading establishments and the copper mines were created out of virgin bush through the energy, resourcefulness, initiative and financial investment of the European and, to a much more limited extent, the Asian.

THAT large tracts of this land were bought as *free-hold from the Crown* and the owners possess the title-deeds—it is not 'protected' land.

THAT throughout Eastern, and to a lesser extent Central, Africa the Asian communities have been subjected to boycotts, physical assaults, looting and arson at the hands of black nationalist mobs, and that however much they may be dependent now on their trade with Africans if they do not throw in their lot with the Europeans they are doomed should the Europeans vanish from the scene and their final end may not be a very pretty one.

THAT the African has supplied the manual labour, but that this entitles him to no more than the wages he has earned. The African miner has no better claim to a share in the mines than has a shop assistant to his employer's profit and business.

THAT had there been no African labour the white man would have supplied it as he has done in Australia where, in such places as are to be found in parts of Queensland, the climate is far worse than on the Copperbelt.

THAT with the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who is also a leader of the United Federal Party, openly talking about the possibility of secession for Southern Rhodesia it is an impertinence for his colleagues in his party to try and brand others as extremists and faint-hearts because they are trying to see if a modification of the present Federation will ensure its survival instead of its dissolution—which at the moment appears inevitable.

THAT Northern Rhodesia is entitled to more equitable terms if it is to continue in the Federation, but that to contract out of the Federation would mean a short-term period of prosperity for the European followed by political extinction and the end of the European way of life.

THAT the leaders of the newly emergent African states have already shown quite clearly that their original cry for democracy was only a cloak until they could achieve absolute power.

THAT the Foreign Office and State Department, playing their dangerous game of "power-politics", are determined to sacrifice the whites in Africa in order to try and win over "the un-committed millions" of black in the East-West cold war.

Should the reader agree that the above is a fair and true picture of our present position and of our future if we let things slide then *we must take some resolute action if we are not to have our children's heritage stolen from us under a facade of legality through constitutions and laws made in Whitehall and imposed upon us.*

We know that powerful forces are at work to dismember the Federation as far as Nyasaland is concerned and that sooner or later they will succeed. This frees us from an obligation to abide by the original Federal scheme and in return for agreeing to the secession of Nyasaland let us demand a NEW DEAL for Northern Rhodesia.

That a new territory of Northern Rhodesia be created with its boundaries extending a hundred miles either side of the railway line including the whole of the Copperbelt.

That this new territory recognising that democracy on the British model is unworkable will insist on very high franchise qualifications which may well exclude a number of Europeans.

That in future partnership will be based on *ability* irrespective of race or colour. That within the new state there will be no artificial barriers to hold back *those who qualify* whether it be in business, mining, the professions or politics.

In return for creating this new state the Federal and Southern Rhodesia Governments and the ordinary elected members of the N.R. Legislative Council should agree to the secession of Nyasaland and the rural areas outside the new boundaries. The Central African Alliance scheme of the Dominion Party might have worked five years ago. Today it is out-dated by events. The African leaders will have no truck with the Federation and they make it clear that any connection with the United Kingdom of a subordinate nature must be terminated as soon as possible. We have enough troubles of our own without undertaking a joint supervision of unwilling people. At the best it would be taking two bites at the cherry because within a very short time the African leaders backed up by the independent native states of the Congo, Tanganyika, Kenya and Nyasaland would demand the removal of the yoke and that they be "liberated".

That those Europeans who are at present living in the areas which will be outside the new Northern Rhodesia be very handsomely compensated if they wish to leave.

That these same areas be subsidised until they are economically self-sufficient to the extent it now costs us to administer them.

That we actively encourage the planters, ranchers and farmers of Kenya and Tanganyika to transfer their machinery and livestock, if practical, and to continue their farming activities in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. If necessary we should set aside from £2 to £5 million to carry out this operation. They understand our problems. They will strengthen us and in return we will give them new life and new hope.

That the new Northern Rhodesia should not, at this stage, join Southern Rhodesia in an amalgamation. We should have our own Legislative Assembly and spend our own money and be joined to the South in a loose Federation.

How can all this be achieved? Only by the formation NOW of a non-party Northern Rhodesia Association with a branch in every town and country district from Livingstone to Bancroft and beyond. We must all join—U.F.P., D.P. and those without any particular party affiliations. The chairman and treasurer should be men who are prominent and respected in their communities. If they have taken no public part in politics in the past so much the better. This must be a national movement coming from the people as a whole and led by the people's own chosen leaders. This N.R.A. must hold public meetings, sign petitions and collect money. It must instruct the members of Legislative Council and the Federal Assembly irrespective of party. In other words we must make ourselves a force to be reckoned with, refusing to have our destiny decided over our heads by strangers from overseas. Is it only the Africans who are capable of organizing and making their wishes felt with vigour and determination?

ACT NOW !! "

Oral Evidence

J. GAUNT

The witness had produced the pamphlet reproduced above.

During discussion Mr. Gaunt made the following comments :—

(1) The African Affairs Board in the Federal Assembly has lost all meaning since it became a Party body. It first began to lose prestige with Africans when its recommendations over the changes in the Federal Constitution were over-ruled by the House of Commons. (This did not imply that Mr. Gaunt himself thought that the changes were wrong.) But this was the first major clash between the Federal Government and the Board in which the Board was over-ruled. The African people were unable to weigh properly the pros and cons of the matter. All they knew was that the first time the Board had been tested it had failed. Then, when the second Federal Assembly was elected, and the new members of the Board were appointed, it was found that the majority of them

were members of the United Federal Party. Although assurances had been given from time to time that those members disregarded Party politics, it is difficult to conceive that they could wholly disregard the Party caucus. A situation must arise in which they would be bound to resign either from the Board or from the Party. The Independent Africans in the Federal Assembly lost confidence in the Board, and Mr. Gaunt had sympathy with them. It had been a clumsy expedient at the best and did not really fit into a parliamentary system. Originally few Africans understood its functions, and those who did understand merely hoped for the best. The attitude of many had been to "wait and see."

(2) A Senate should take its place. He meant a House of Parliament and not merely a House of Approval or Veto. Its composition might be 20% nominated by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, 20% by the Governor of Nyasaland, 30% by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia on the advice of the Prime Minister with a pro rata allowance for the Opposition, 20% nominated by the Governor General on the advice of the Federal Prime Minister with a pro rata allowance for the Opposition. The remaining 10% would be elected. It was healthy to have in the Upper House the views of the people, to stimulate thought and to give the general public a say. There were many suitable retired people in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia who could be used. Both were still very young countries, and they had not got the class who wished to go into politics during their working lives—they were too busy earning their living. Equally they had not got the type of person who could be put forward for parliament with financial assistance from a trade union. It was thus difficult to get candidates for parliament. This was the ground for having nominations to the Upper House. That House should be like the Senate in the U.S.A. or South Africa. It should be able to initiate legislation and Ministers should be heard in both Houses. The House should not be able to reject a financial measure. If it rejected an ordinary Bill, it should be resubmitted to the Lower House once only, and if then passed again should become law. As to a discriminatory or racial measure, if it were rejected in the Upper House by a simple majority, that should entail a veto by the Governor-General for five years. If it were then brought forward again it could similarly be vetoed again. This would be so even if it appeared discriminatory, although it might in fact be a protective measure. The 10% to be elected would come from combinations of a number of constituencies of the Lower House, e.g. a constituency covering all the country in Northern Rhodesia south of Livingstone. He saw no reason why this should not work. The whole membership of the House should be somewhere between 30 and 50. This would certainly involve very large constituencies. He was not putting forward hard and fast ideas; they would have to be worked out in detail. He did not agree that it would be difficult to get responsible people for the Senate, which would be inter-racial. There would be, for example, the four Paramount Chiefs of Northern Rhodesia, and Chiefs of similar status from Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. There might also be African clerics of standing. He could think of three suitable Senators in the ranks of the Monckton Commission. Discriminatory Bills could be repeated by a simple majority of one. The Governor in Northern Rhodesia would appoint members on the advice of the Executive Council. Members would also be appointed in Southern Rhodesia and in the Federation on advice. He discounted the possibility of the Dominion Federal Party getting a majority quickly. He referred, for example, to the uneasy coalition which at present existed in Northern Rhodesia. Its character was likely to change as more Africans came on to the voters' roll. He did not see a European majority in Northern Rhodesia persisting for more than five or six years. In Nyasaland almost certainly one of the African Parties—he did not know which—would become dominant. He agreed that perhaps it would not be wise to make the Governor in Northern Rhodesia act on the advice of the Executive Council. Senators would be appointed for seven years, and their appointments would definitely overlap with the elections to the Lower House. This in itself might help to remove the fear of domination by one Party. He agreed that there might have to be a special provision for money bills which were also discriminatory. In that case there should be a right of veto, although he agreed that this was a strange doctrine in the parliamentary system.

The Senate itself would say whether or not a bill was discriminatory. But the Governor-General might have the right to refuse the veto on the grounds that the Bill was not discriminatory in his view.

(3) Lack of explanation of Federation by the Provincial Administration. Mr. Gaunt referred to his statement under

"Attitude of the Civil Service" in the pamphlet about the "notorious instruction to all District Commissioners, etc., to remain strictly neutral." He had been a District Commissioner at Mkushi at the time of the Bledisloe Commission. Instructions had then been received to try to explain the purposes of the Commission without influencing the Africans in any direction. But for years and years, the word of the Boma had been law, and Africans could not understand if matters were not explained and had therefore been suspicious of the Commission. The same thing had happened before Federation. This had been admitted to Mr. Gaunt by Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Lord Perth, Lord Home, and Mr. Hopkinson. They had agreed that it was a deplorable error. The "notorious instruction" had been from the Colonial Office. As he was not in the Service at the time he did not know whether it was a circular.

(4) The siting of the Federal capital had been a major blunder. It encouraged the idea that the Federation was being ruled from Southern Rhodesia. It should have been elsewhere. He did not want to be parochial, but probably it should be in Northern Rhodesia. There was also the fact that the vast majority of senior civil servants in the Federation came from Southern Rhodesia. The whole concept of government in Northern Rhodesia was quite different from that in Southern Rhodesia. At any rate officials in Southern Rhodesia had a different outlook from that of their counterparts in Northern Rhodesia. Such men naturally carried their attitude on the relations of Europeans and Africans into the new Service. If the capital had been sited in Northern Rhodesia such feelings would have disappeared. He cited as an example the way in which Afrikaners altered their attitude when visiting Beira. In only one year a different kind of relationship would have arisen. There would have been no troubles such as those in connection with the treatment of the African barristers in Salisbury who wanted chambers in the European area, because of the Land Apportionment Act. The Federal Government had not taken their capital to Warren Hills as planned. They had put up no buildings either. They had simply rented a huge block in the middle of Salisbury. Mr. Gaunt had very recently proposed again in the Federal Assembly the removal of the capital from Salisbury. He recalled that it had taken from 1936 to 1948 to remove all departments from Livingstone to Lusaka. He agreed that the whole government could not necessarily move at once. He suggested that a start should be made in moving it to the north piecemeal. Materially the Federal Government would suffer no loss. But the change of capital would have a great psychological effect. The two essential things were to have the House of Assembly itself in Northern Rhodesia, and secondly, the Departments of External Affairs, Internal Affairs and Defence.

(5) Commenting on the Dominion Party plan, he thought it might well have worked four or five years ago. The trouble was that the Africans in the portions divided off did not want anything to do with Federation. They did not really want anything to do with the United Kingdom either. Barotseland was quite different. It was already running itself as a protectorate now. He observed that no Congress man lasted there for five minutes. He either left the country or fell in the river.

(6) His own idea of a "New Deal" was not new. It had originally been conceived by Sir Steward Gore-Brown. These ideas had also been adopted by the Dominion Party (which Mr. Gaunt himself had founded). He saw no point in trying to keep large tracts of country under British rule when their people did not want you and were also no use to you. He did not believe the argument that such an arrangement would dry up the source of African labour. The truth was quite the other way round. Northern Rhodesia or Southern Rhodesia could stop people coming in to work from the other Territory if they wished, but the people would certainly want to come in to work. For example the Bemba would want to go on working in the mines where conditions were quite satisfactory. Mr. Gaunt agreed that he did not believe in democracy if that meant "one man, one vote." He wanted to see a new conception of partnership. By this expression, Europeans had meant the maintenance of the *status quo* for as long as possible, and Africans had meant equality tomorrow and then dominance. This ambiguity was bound to lead to trouble, and had done so. He was speaking of the attitude of the ordinary man in the street, the voter. It was also regrettable that certain elected members had shewn little signs

of progressive partnership in their private lives—here Europeans were mainly to blame. To the Africans "partnership" had become a dirty word, a cloak for European designs. His own idea of partnership was one of ability, pure and simple. It was necessary to have a ruling class, not based on birth or colour, but purely on capability. It would be like the Praetorian Guard, whose members had in the end been anything but Romans. It would be a long and gradual process, but it was the only way to get a suitable government in a multi-racial community.

(7) Questioned as to the real test being the "point of power," Mr. Gaunt said that it was necessary to have some kind of barrier. He favoured very high franchise qualifications, not necessarily monetary; education should come in, but more particularly responsibility, service and the like. Many Europeans would be excluded from the start. From those with these high qualifications you would choose your government. The criteria should be partly financial and partly educational. Provision should be made to bring in such people as a sergeant-major of 25 years' standing. You wanted a sound, sober citizen. He would raise the present tests on both sides: on the educational side to the equivalent of school leaving certificate, coupled with £750 per annum. He would not however remove the present voters from the roll. He agreed that this scheme would exclude many Africans, and would therefore be bound to be interpreted as a European device. But it was conceived as part of a bargain. The Africans in their own areas would presumably have their low qualifications for voting, if any. In equity the European areas would have to pay to the African areas subsidies equivalent to the present cost of their administration. He supposed that in those areas qualification would be on the Tanganyika pattern. The arrangement was therefore not one sided. As to the number of Africans in the two areas, he would not say that there were very many in the European strip—large numbers of them were not domiciled. He agreed that Broken Hill, with a number of settled Africans, might be an exception, but Broken Hill was a "family mine." It was not the same on the Copperbelt.

(8) Mr. Gaunt said that the two motives behind his scheme were firstly, to maintain the Europeans in this country which they had developed by their own initiative and effort, and secondly to bring some peace into this area. The Europeans would not give up their part of the country peacefully. He admitted that there were bound to be Africans in the area. All the same he would maintain the very high standards of voting. Africans might qualify for higher posts in the civil service. The aim was to get government into the hands of responsible (not necessarily civilised) people. It was not to keep the African in his place.

(9) Referring to the expression in the pamphlet to "spending our own money," he explained that Federation was not popular with Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, but for different reasons for its unpopularity with Africans. The Europeans felt that they had had a raw deal from Federation. The Federal Government had been very tactless in many ways. They had given encouragement to businesses in Southern Rhodesia, but very little in the north. The health services were much worse than before Federation. He referred to the actual administration of the health services and not to the buildings. There had been a withdrawal of free milk for schoolchildren, and the free bus service. He thought this all stemmed from the Kariba and Kafue controversy. It had almost been a condition of Federation for the Kafue scheme to go ahead, but the agreement about it was simply torn up by Sir John Huggins. The average man in Northern Rhodesia felt very badly done by. He himself had backed the idea of Federation. He now feared that many Europeans were willing to break the Federation through resentment at the economic treatment of Northern Rhodesia.

(10) Given the right kind of Government in the country, health and education should become Territorial again.

(11) Commenting on the fiscal settlement at the beginning of Federation, he agreed that the best professional brains had been used with no political axes to grind. He had always accepted the general view of the Fiscal Commission. He himself found it difficult to conceive how a more flexible system than writing the proportions of revenue into the Constitution would work. He did not object to the proportions, but to the disproportionate expenditure as between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, i.e. too little

came back to Northern Rhodesia. He gave an example of expenditure on defence. On the other hand, most thinking people in Northern Rhodesia did not object to its money going to help Nyasaland, since they realised that to be a necessary part of the Federal arrangement. He had no views on the Federal Loans Board.

Memorandum

THE REV. J. R. SHAW

(Retired Minister and Missionary who has lived in Northern Rhodesia for forty-four years)

1. Northern Rhodesia is a British Protectorate

This position arose at the request of the people of Northern Rhodesia.

In the year 1890 the Paramount Chief of Barotseland sought the protection of Queen Victoria. He was advised to do this by Chief Khama of Bechuanaland—who at that time enjoyed the protection of the Crown—and also by the French and Swiss missionaries of the Paris Mission who were then working in Barotseland. These people *could* have pointed Lewanika to Portugal or Belgium or France or Germany.

Northern Rhodesia was not bought or conquered by the Crown.

The relationship between the Crown and Northern Rhodesia is that of guardian and ward. It is *not* that of possessor and possessed.

Does any passage of time give a guardian the right to give to a third party the estate of the ward without the consent of the ward?

When I came to Northern Rhodesia over forty years ago the European population was 1800.

During the War years of 1939/45 the Copper Mines in Northern Rhodesia were so prosperous that the total annual revenue rose from £800,000 in 1930 to £25,000,000 in 1952.

Such property brought a great influx of Europeans who were seeking peace and prosperity after the war. The European population of 1931, 14,000 people, jumped to 65,000 Europeans in 1957. This increase led to growing political demands on the part of the new European inhabitants. Recently, demands have been made for complete independence from the control exercised by the Crown through the Colonial Office. I quote a local politician "Let us sever the umbilical cord which ties us to Britain."

These demands come from European politicians—not one of whom was born in Northern Rhodesia—in fact many of them are post war immigrants.

In Northern Rhodesia Europeans are 3% of the population, yet a loudly vocal fraction of the 3% claim the right to control the land and lives of the 100% of the population.

2. Why are the African people of Northern Rhodesia afraid of Federation?

The sensitive nerve in the thinking of the African people has to do with *land*.

A large number of the men in Northern Rhodesia have lived and worked in Southern Rhodesia and in the Union of South Africa. They dread what they have seen in those lands to the South.

In Southern Rhodesia there was a Land Apportionment Act in 1941. The European population was then 70,000 and the African population 1,430,000. In that Act 50% of the land was allotted to the Europeans despite the fact that most of the Europeans were town dwellers, i.e. to 5% of the population. 33% of the land area was allotted to the Africans who were 95% of the total population.

In the Union of South Africa the Land position is even worse than in Southern Rhodesia.

The people of Northern Rhodesia know these things about the land to the south. They fear that the Federal Government—which is mainly a European government—will in due course take similar action in Northern Rhodesia.

The African people of Northern Rhodesia trust the impartial attitude of the Crown but they do not trust the declared aims of some incoming Europeans. Of many it can be said that, "They come to Northern Rhodesia to make as much as they can as quickly as they can and then get out."

Sound plans for the future cannot be based on a view which says, "If the next ten years are prosperous I do not care what happens afterwards as I do not intend to be here."

The freedom of the Territorial government of Northern Rhodesia must be maintained. The protection of the Crown must continue until the African wards can stand upon their own feet and guard their own interests.

To transfer the protection of Northern Rhodesia to the Federal Government will be a betrayal of trust. I fear that it will lead to bitterness and strife. If it is enforced it may mean that the South African system will come to the north and we shall have betrayed the children of those who sought the protection of the Crown.

The people with the biggest stake in any country are the people who are staked fast to the country.

It has been said that it has taken Europeans many centuries to reach their present stage of development and that it will take Africans just as long to reach the same stage. This is not true. The rate of development of any people depends upon contact and opportunity.

In 1917 I ran a boy's boarding school for Africans. There were no trained African teachers. The top class was Standard 2 and I had to teach it myself. In 1958, 130 African youths and maidens sat for the Cambridge Certificate examination. Of the 130 who sat, 120 passed and some of them with distinctions.

Remember that this examination was in a foreign language. There is tremendous latent ability and energy in the young life of Northern Rhodesia. It needs to be guided and used. To frustrate it will be both cruel and dangerous.

Oral Evidence

REV. J. R. SHAW

The Rev. J. R. Shaw appeared before the Commission, presented his memorandum and asked if he could amplify it to a certain extent.

The witness explained that after the 1939 war the expansion of the country was very rapid and in the result it was his estimate that four out of five of the European residents of the country were post war immigrants. Indeed, most of the men in the Legislative Council other than Africans were recent arrivals. In his view the European in this country had no deep knowledge of the indigenous people, and in fact their knowledge extended a very short distance from the line of rail, and in the result there was a general attitude among the Europeans that what the African had to say was usually wrong. He himself had a great human and personal interest in this land, but he was equally concerned with the interests of the Africans.

Personally he was happy under Colonial Office rule and he found their officials useful people who were taking an objective line. The politicians on the other hand were probably doing quite the opposite in that they had to watch their electorate which was largely European in order to retain their seats.

The witness considered that an extension of the franchise was necessary; the present one, in view of its financial demands, simply closed the door to the vast majority of Africans. At the same time he was opposed to the cry for "one man one vote." It should be made possible for the responsible African to get on the roll because as far as many of them were concerned, and he was speaking of responsible ones, they had never been in a position to obtain any secondary schooling when they were young. He thought the qualifications should be lowered to enable responsible men of say, 15—20 years' experience to get on to the common roll. He felt equally that some provision should be made for those many thousands of Africans who enlisted voluntarily to be placed on the roll.

On the question as to the introduction through the franchise of an African majority in the Legislative Assembly, he stated he would be most apprehensive of this until a fairly long period had elapsed. In the meantime he did not think it would be inappropriate for the European and African interests to be given parity in the Legislative Council with the balance of powers resting with the officials. He thought that the support of responsible Africans could be secured by the above suggestion and he pointed out that the extreme (U.N.I.P.) demands being made at the moment were the reply by many Africans to the Europeans' own extremism in recent months.



The witness agreed that many Africans were seeking control against the white domination but his view was that they should only be able to advance as they become fitted for responsibility, and that the retention of Colonial Office control was essential for some time to come. On the question as to whether or not it was necessary to secure the form of parity he had suggested by lowering the franchise, he thought that this was not necessarily the only method for he saw no reason why the Governor should not constitutionally be in a position to appoint more nominated members. In reply to a question he stated that the change of Government in the United Kingdom was by no means always followed by a change of policy in Northern Rhodesia.

The witness stated that the prosperity of Northern Rhodesia flowed primarily from the advent of the European. Before that the provision made by the Government had been very meagre indeed. This advent had made all the difference to the progress of the country, but the witness added that at all times we must bear in mind the immense contribution made by African labour to the wealth of this country. For instance, the proportion of African to European labour on the mines was something like ten to one. It was doubtless higher on the tobacco farms, and it was significant in every enterprise. Just as he had said that the coming of the European had been for the good of the African, he held the view that were the European to depart it would be to their extreme detriment.

Reverting to the question of franchise, the witness stated that this must be altered so that the politician was more responsive to the electorate. He felt that the special vote had had an influence on the roll, and he gave a specific example of this in the last election, and he said that if special voters came forward as they were entitled to they could have a real influence in the political sphere.

The witness commented that the Federal Government had shot its bolt two years ago during the recession when the Minister of Finance balanced his budget by increasing the price of maize—the staple food of the African—by 5/- a bag. There was an election in prospect, and very few if any European consumer goods were taxed more highly in that budget. This action in raising the price of maize had, in his view, put the cap on the Africans' condemnation of the Federal Government.

Memorandum

H. T. KIRK

The Effects of Federation in Northern Rhodesia

Submitted by: Herman Thomas Kirk.

Present Address: P.O. Box 1597, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

Age: 45 years.

Born: Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, England.

Occupation: Contracts Supervisor on African Housing. Also Company Director.

Political affiliations: Am on Voters Roll having resided in Northern Rhodesia for over 11 years. Belong to NO Political Party. I am married and have one son aged 17 years.

1. It seems to me that no useful purpose is served by recounting the History of the Country prior to Federation as this is well known to everyone who is interested in our problems here. Suffice it to say that in the sphere of Race Relations, conditions existing in Northern Rhodesia before the decision was taken to Federate were better in most ways than now.

2. What has brought about the change which is so apparently to the detriment of us all—black and white, a change from peace and progress to lawlessness, intimidation, and the consequent imposition of restrictions upon the liberty of the individual by the enactment of Legislation more in accordance with a police state than a country of democratic government under the Crown?

3. The answer to this question is in my opinion undoubtedly the imposition of Federation on the Northern Territories against the will of the majority. It will be remembered that, unlike Southern Rhodesia, there was no referendum over the proposed Federation and in neglecting this elementary precaution, the seeds were sown for the growth of sedition, nationalism and a determination to make the Federation a failure. It should be noted that many white people were

opposed to Federation on these very grounds but having no voice were powerless to do anything about it.

4. This then was the major turning point in the whole matter. Since then a whole host of pinpricks has been delivered, among them the following:—

(a) The Kafue Hydro Electric Scheme was superceded overnight by Kariba to the detriment of Northern Rhodesia. The volte face of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia was noted here.

(b) The Federal Capital was sited in Salisbury against the wishes of many. It is neither central, nor does it hold the geographical and economic significance usually associated with the Capitals of the World.

(c) The Federal Government was therefore, centred in Salisbury. (It is logical to site it at the Capital.)

(d) Industrial Head Offices and Government Departments began to move—Rhodesian Selection Trust Ltd., being an example in the industrial sphere. The Grain Marketing Board and The Medical Services are Government Departments who have also moved South to the detriment of business in the North. There are others.

5. As a result of this, the phrase "Bombe Zonke" was applied to Salisbury, it means "take all," but underlying it all was a suspicion that Northern Rhodesia was losing over Federation, and much bitterness has been engendered. So much for the practical effect of Federation. I should now like to consider the political consequences of the amalgamation.

6. The root of our trouble politically is, I am sure, the fear of domination by the races. One side (the European) fears that the other side will dominate by a preponderance of its numbers, and attaining the franchise will oust the other from the political field. The African feels that he is already dominated by the European with his more advanced state of development and believes that he is held in a form of serfdom with little or no political outlet. He is suspicious of the Europeans' well-being and apparent luxury, and realises that until he can reach parity or domination in the political field he can expect little change. Thus we have the rise of African Nationalism in the Country not unlike that which is so evident in other parts of the world.

7. This Nationalism is inevitable, natural, and a fact to be applauded in many ways. It is to be deplored when it creates lawlessness, civil disturbances, riots, strikes and the like. The Country has gone a long way to meet the natural aspirations of the more educated black man, by advancement in the mines, the Civil Service, the Police and Armed Forces, but this is not enough. Ghana has set the pattern and the African leaders here will not be satisfied with less.

8. The dilemma offers no easy or quick solution but I think that certain facts have become clear and can be stated:—

(1) The Federation has been rejected by the majority of the inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia (and this majority contains many Europeans).

(2) The policy of partnership which I think is well understood by most Europeans has not been accepted by Africans, who now regard the term with suspicion.

(3) There should be no irrevocability of Federation. Having made a mistake, we should admit it and try to reach a better solution to our problems.

(4) Confidence in the Democratic way of Government must be restored in the African.

9. What then can be done to put these matters right? My own conclusions are as follows:—

(a) Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland must return to something approaching the style of Government obtaining before Federation, but with increased representation in the Legislation for Africans.

(b) This accomplished the two territories must move towards independence within the Commonwealth.

(c) Great Britain must accept a responsibility towards the Territories by making funds available on a large scale to improve education, industry, health and communications.

In this connection the Kafue Polder Scheme comes to mind. The onus of providing the funds required

for the development of this major project should not be on private enterprise.

- (d) The colour bar must be abolished by Law immediately, and opportunity must be equal for all races to advance and progress according to his ability and industry without distinction or race, colour or creed.
- (e) No change in the Form of Government or in the Constitution must be made without a referendum being organised in which all the races can participate.

10. In conclusion, I would like to say that so far as my own race is concerned, I have sufficient confidence in its strength in adversity and its ability to hold its own against all-comers, to know that in the final count it will not only survive in Central Africa but will be recognised by all to have made a worthy contribution to the emancipation of the Black Man, and to the credit of the people to which I have the honour to belong.

Lusaka,
12th February, 1960.

Oral Evidence

H. T. KIRK

Mr. Kirk said that he was employed by the African Housing Board as a Contract Supervisor. He had presented a memorandum.

Mr. Kirk confirmed that the gist of his paper was that Federation was not a success. He was in favour of an association of the Territories of some kind if a suitable form could be found. He was in favour in principle of Federation but thought that it had made a very bad start.

He wished to add some points on fundamentals :—

- (1) Black, brown and white must be united under one allegiance to get stability.
- (2) All should work together free from racial discrimination. All should be prepared to live together in unity under the Commonwealth.
- (3) True advancement could come only through partnership. All should have the same opportunities, in trades, professions and every sphere. Those rights should be enshrined in the constitution.
- (4) The vote was a responsibility to be exercised for the common good. All should be registered on a common roll. But it might take time for many Africans to reach the higher qualifications. For this reason it might be necessary to have a communal roll until they reached the standard.
- (5) All public places, and all areas, including native areas, should be open equally to all without regard to colour.
- (6) African leaders must show more responsibility and come out against lawlessness and sedition.

In reply to questions Mr. Kirk made the following further points :—

- (1) Franchise. He thought the present qualification fairly devised. An increasing number of Africans would be able to come on to the roll. But he thought that filling in the form in *English* might not be a fair test. Even though English was the common language of the country. If this test was dropped, more Africans would come on to the roll. He would be inclined to lower the financial qualifications for Africans, but not the educational; this was because Africans as a whole were very poor throughout all three Territories. They had little opportunity of reaching a firm financial standing. At present they also had difficulty in filling in the necessary form.
- (2) On the present form of Federation, methods had to be changed in some way; it was foolish to reinforce failure. Some of the functions of the Federal Government should be returned to the Territories; for example health and education as a whole should be Territorial. This applied even to university education. The witness would not be able to speak about agriculture. He knew of no instance of the division of agriculture acting against Northern Rhodesia interests.
- (3) One bad affect of Federation was the movement of government bodies from the north to Salisbury.
- (4) Northern Rhodesia had far too few members in the Federal Legislature. Equal representation would safeguard Northern Rhodesian interests better. When

development and investment proceeded in Nyasaland, that would entitle Nyasaland also to greater representation. But he would not know on what figures representation should be based.

- (5) He agreed that there had been expansion in Lusaka and in Ndola in the last few years, but most of it had either taken place before Federation or had been planned before Federation.
- (6) Mr. Kirk gave an example of the bad affect of the remote control from Salisbury from his own business experience, in respect of inability to tender for the supply of tarpaulins locally to cover over the split silos of the Federal Grain Marketing Board in Lusaka.
- (7) In paragraph 9(c) of the memorandum, Northern Rhodesia had been supporting the other two Territories. Its reserve from copper revenues had been dissipated. He thought that Great Britain should take up the financial responsibility. The ability of Northern Rhodesia to meet it depended entirely on the price of copper. He thought, for example, that the onus of providing education should fall entirely on the United Kingdom, because of the protectorate status of Northern Rhodesia. There was a special responsibility on the whole country to finance even development in the territories.
- (8) The English had done a great deal in Central Africa, and should be prepared to stay even if the political pattern of Ghana were followed in it.
- (9) Referring to his opinion that Europeans should be able to go into the native reserves, he agreed that the government must legislate against land speculation. His opinion was related to the colour bar which should be broken in both directions. People should be able to move freely over the Territory as a whole.

H. L. COHLER

Mr. Cohler said that he had been born in Germany where he had studied analytical chemistry. He left Germany during the Nazi regime and came to the Copperbelt as an assayer. He now operated a transport and taxi service.

He was in favour of Federation. In his view, the present Government of Northern Rhodesia was not doing justice to the natural resources of the Territory in a way to bring the whole country forward quickly enough. The most objectionable feature of the present Government was its complete neglect of the opinion of Africans. Although unofficial members were now members of the Executive Council, the real authority of the official element in the Northern Rhodesia Government had not been diminished by European representation in the Legislative Council.

As a result of the Government's negative attitude towards Africans, no real contact existed with the African National Congress. This had led to a perversion of the attitude and aims of the Congress Parties. He himself had had some business dealings with Harry Nkambula whom he regarded as having reasonable ideas, but in constant danger of being unnecessarily harrassed by the police and Provincial Administration. The attitude of the authorities in the towns in particular was hopeless. The theory of indirect rule had provided a convenient alibi for the Government in dealing with urban Africans. Any outside questioning of action taken by the police or the Provincial Administration was regarded as interference. There appeared to be no respect whatever for Africans as individuals; frequent cases had occurred when people arrested on suspicion had been beaten by the police to obtain information. As a result, Africans often preferred to be dealt with by the Urban Native Courts where by ordinary standards justice was a complete travesty. The Chiefs and their assessors were not trained to hear evidence dispassionately, and judgement was largely influenced by prejudice. The police did not have the confidence of the public. Some supervision was needed.

Mr. Cohler made the following further points :—

- (a) Africans were granted trading sites in the suburban locations, but they had been given no freehold titles to them.
- (b) Some effort had been made by the Government to make laws to enable Africans to buy property, but repayment terms were unsatisfactory.

66A

- (c) Severe unemployment among Africans had been evident for the past three years. This was quite wrongly attributed to Federation. The Government tended to regard the unemployed as "loafers," and efforts had been made to repatriate some of them to the rural areas from which they came.
- (d) Grain marketing in Northern Rhodesia had been handled maladroitly. The fact that African producers were paid less than European producers had led to misunderstandings and resentment, and in practice some African maize was sold to European farmers who re-sold it at the European price.
- (e) The planning authorities had not been helpful to European business projects.
- (f) As a result of the present system of Government very little interest was shown by the Legislative Council in the Territorial budget. There was in fact hardly any debate on the budget which was normally accepted as printed.
- (g) Agriculture should not be divided between the Federal and Territorial Governments, but should be centrally directed by the Federal Government.
- (h) Many of the arrangements under the present Health Service were highly unsatisfactory, particularly the charge for ambulance services.
- (j) Property owning was an essential feature of land tenure. The productivity of African farmers from Southern Rhodesia was much higher than that of the indigenous native, and should be encouraged by the opportunity to buy land.

THE RT. REV. F. O. GREEN-WILKINSON,
Anglican Bishop of Northern Rhodesia

The Bishop stated that he came before the Commission under the banner of the Christian Council pamphlet "Where do we stand?" (see page ??). His views were not exceptional, they were generally those of all Anglicans. He wanted particularly to underline the point that there was far more fear than hatred between the races. There was in fact a fund of good-will. European fears were an even bigger problem than those of the Africans. Most European fears were mainly based on fears for their children and their future. Anything to alleviate that fear would be a benefit.

To the Africans the word "Federation" had become a real bogey. This was largely emotional. But nevertheless it was of very great importance. It was no use thinking that Africans would change their minds while under the influence of this emotion. It was based on the land situation in Southern Rhodesia, as it appeared to people in Northern Rhodesia. They were definitely afraid of the loss of their land in the north. The last seven years had been largely wasted as there had been so little done to win over Africans to the concept of a multi-racial state.

On discrimination he would quote one big and one small example. The big one was the discrimination on the railways. There were African engine drivers and firemen in the Congo and Kenya, and even in the Copper Belt—but they could not be so employed in the Federation. The government was fairly closely concerned with this matter. The small "pin prick" which he would mention concerned passports. Africans could get a Federal passport only for one year, while Europeans got them for five years. He knew that as regards cafes, cinemas and the like strong action had been recommended by a Select Committee, and he welcomed it.

It might be asked what the Church was doing about it. They had to struggle and the struggle was partly with members of the flock.

As regards the political consciousness of the Africans, it had been a surprise to Europeans to find what had happened in the Congo. Quite recently Africans there had been alleged to be contended with economic and social advancement. Now it appeared that they had also been politically conscious. Political consciousness was acute in the northern territories. Many Africans were interested in one or either form of nationalism, even though that interest might appear to be slight in some areas.

The peace, prosperity and happiness of the country thus depended on the consent of the people to the form of government. This general consent had not yet been given to Federation. Africans were still against the form of

government which they had. It was necessary to find a form which would have their consent. As a preliminary to this the wideness of the franchise was very important, to enable consent or lack of consent to be given. It was also important because European political leaders at present did not look to the Africans as they should do; they should be concerned with the whole country.

The programme should include advancement in politics, and ways for people to meet more freely. But political advancement must be carefully timed. This was because there were no experienced leaders among the Africans at the present time but he had doubts about the political intentions of the Party at present in power. Some guarantee of sticking to the programme would be required.

On the question of schools, he thought that much more could be done even to get Europeans and Africans to learn more about each other. On the one side the African was automatically learning English and English history; Europeans should be taught a vernacular language and some African history and law.

The Church was making its own effort in the organisation of centres and clubs. It was important for the two races to have things to do together, for example drama and games. They had to be things which people really wanted to do, and not merely for the sake of getting together.

We were in the midst of the great experiment of the different races living together. But some changes, some important changes, were necessary. There was a good chance in the future, provided goodwill was forthcoming.

In answer to questions the Bishop made the following further points:—

- (1) The Bishop stated that his diocese covered the whole of Northern Rhodesia and Katanga in the Congo. He confirmed the idea that Federation was "a bad word in the bush."
- (2) On the question of the timing of political advancement he agreed that the strengthening of the executive as a possible bridge towards the future was worth considering; this might be in both the Federal and the Territorial spheres, but it would be easier in the Territorial. In fact it was difficult to see how it would work at the Federal level.
- (3) Questioned as to difficulties of attitude to Africans between old and new European settlers, he thought that some of the new arrivals were among the worst. People come out from England with liberal ideas, but after a short time become even more extreme in their attitude to Africans than South Africans. People who had lived in the country for many years and had seen African advancement were able to take it more steadily. He thought that the reason why recent immigrants became disillusioned so quickly was because what they had read in the Press at home was so far removed from the real facts. There was also the fact that in England they were not accustomed to wielding authority. When they came out they found the African more difficult to deal with than they had thought. In their attitude they were trying to increase their own sense of importance to make up for the deficiencies which they showed in the handling of Africans. Europeans also felt resentment against the perversity of Africans, especially if they did not realise that this was in fact a process by which the Africans were testing them out.
- (4) Referring to the importance of getting political consent, the Bishop agreed that timing was important. In the last resort you either had to abandon the experiment or to press on with gaining the general consent of the African people. It was difficult to give the whole answer now. But anything likely to precipitate a clash would be wrong. If the Africans really refused their consent we should have to give up the multi-racial state idea. With time, many Europeans would probably change their views.
- (5) On the relations between Europeans and Africans, he would not agree with the firm discipline idea, it was one way but not the best way. Discipline might give good immediate result, but it was not "character" forming for the future. The position could be compared with the degrees of discipline which would be

applied to a schoolboy. The schoolboy had to become a student and adult, and so in time a "partner."

H. A. N. BARLOW, Anglican Diocesan Secretary

The witness had been in the Indian Civil Service for 18 years, had spent from 1954 to 1958 in the Kenya Service, and had now come to Northern Rhodesia as the Diocesan Secretary.

Mr. Barlow considered that the question whether a unit should remain part of a union (i.e. the Federation) could be viewed from two aspects. It was hard to justify the continuation of the union if it was known to be against the express wishes of the inhabitants of a unit within it. The argument against this was usually that it was "in the best interests" of the inhabitants to remain in the union, as in the case of Nyasaland for economic reasons. But if this argument were accepted, the decision ought to lie with an impartial body. To insist on union in this way was also contrary to the interests of the union itself. The lesson of history was that all unions had the seeds of decay if they rested on force. The history of the U.S.A. might teach a different lesson; but he thought it depended on consent in the end. Thus, the partners in the Federation should have the option of contracting out after a trial period. During the interval there should be an accelerated programme towards the self-government of the Territories. Meanwhile also there should be a loosening of the Federal ties, including the return of certain functions to the Territories, including health and European education. Meanwhile there should also be an increase of authority for elected members of legislatures in the Territories. This was necessary so that during the period Territorial units could show that they were capable of standing on their own feet. If, for example, they could not enforce law and order, that in itself would stand in the way of their eventually being permitted to contract out. The interval should also be employed by the Federal government in "selling" the Federation, through information services, and by deeds. Federal ministers should seek to prove that the Federation was worth while and should woo the African electorate. Also, during this period, all three governments should take into consultation responsible leaders of African opinion: by "responsible" he meant those who fore-swore violence. This was in order to bring together the political parties, who should play their part in the conference on the future of the Federation.

He did not despair of the future of the Federation. Africans and Europeans would eventually work well together. There was a growing body of Africans quite capable of meeting socially with Europeans. But mere social contacts were not enough. Joint activities were necessary. He himself was interested in the Waddington Group, where amateur dramatics, debates and the like were carried on. A bond of common religion could also play an important part.

In answer to the questions Mr. Barlow made the following further points:—

- (1) As to the interval, five years might be enough, but perhaps not. At the end of it the Africans might possibly be more willing to accept the advice of Europeans.
- (2) As to the contracting out at a future date, this should be based on the wish of the people expressed either through an election or by a referendum.
- (3) Mr. Barlow was optimistic about the future and about partnership. His view was generally based on something like the informal nature of the partnership of the Commonwealth.

MRS. R. M. MERSON

Mrs. Merson read a written Memorandum which is given below:—

"I am an Estate Agent in Lusaka, having been twenty years in the Rhodesias and three years before that in the Union.

I am continually surprised and pleased that so many ordinary people are buying their own properties with the intention of living the rest of their lives in Lusaka. Some of these are second and even third generation Rhodesians. The answer is, of course, that Rhodesia is their home and nowhere else in the world have they any roots or friends.

In 1954 I went to England for two years, where I was an official lecturer for the Federal Government, and a member of the Conservative Commonwealth Council, representing Central Africa. I was appalled to find just how little the average person in Britain knows about Central Africa. So they judge our actions, and are extremely vocal, by developments in West Africa and in other earlier developed countries. Which, of course, is totally unrealistic.

Although investment is pouring into Southern Rhodesia, Salisbury in particular, it is very difficult to persuade people that here in Northern Rhodesia there is a future for their money.

To my mind, the main cause of the present unrest is from the fact that it is considered to be a racial issue. Whoever started that idea is to blame for many of the difficulties we are now facing. Of course it is not a racial issue. It is a social one. It is something I have watched during my lifetime occurring in nearly all European countries in the world.

When I was a child, living in London, we had five white servants. The cook was the most highly paid, getting, if I remember rightly, £20 a year and her keep. The others were graded downwards to the girl of 14 who came from an orphanage as a learner, who got 10/- a month. So this is not a problem confined to Africans.

Gradually these things have been put right in Britain, as we know, and people are paid according to their worth, while social distinctions are becoming a thing of the past. But people still choose their friends from those who have the same interests.

I feel that the fact that we are of different colours in Africa has led to this big misunderstanding *because* the lower paid and, up till recently, uneducated people have been the Africans. If it were only possible to muzzle the Press (a vain hope) and to get the matter onto a realistic footing of calling this a Social Evolution . . . not Revolution . . . we might have a far better hope of settling our differences within the Federation.

The second factor which I consider to be a bar to better understanding, in Northern Rhodesia at any rate, is the British method of electing a government. Don't misunderstand me, I am entirely in favour of democracy. But the usual electoral arrangement has given an opportunity to all kinds of unsuitable people to give way to a form of megalomania. Political parties are started, large crowds who have nothing better to do attend, and there is a lot of noise and hot air. Eventually, if given the chance, I feel that some of these factions will be at each others' throats and then the Government will have to step in and questions will be asked in the British Parliament.

It is so easy with primitive people in the country districts to threaten them with witchcraft, or bribe them with impossible promises, if they do not vote for the person who makes the most noise.

I should prefer to see the country divided, for electoral purposes, not by convenient lines drawn criss-cross on a map, but into communities. I should like to be offered candidates from representatives of the mines, the railways, commerce, industry and so on. All races could be represented in each case, the country districts voting for suitable farmers.

When I came to Africa the Chiefs' word was law. They had absolute control in the Reserves and this extended to their fellow-tribesmen on farms and in towns. I am sure a lot of the present unrest is because they have been pushed further into the background in recent years. Therefore, I feel that if the Chiefs were given power to nominate their personal representatives, who can interpret their wishes into Parliamentary English, the present opportunity for many of the self-styled Leaders would disappear.

I honestly do not feel that the universal franchise, as we know it, would be in the best interests of the thousands of inarticulate and uneducated Africans who exist at the present time. By the next generation, yes, but not now."

In giving oral evidence Mrs. Merson thought that some new type of representation on a community basis which would allow all races to participate in government should be pursued. This in essence was syndicalism, but she did not think she was in a position to judge whether in the circumstances obtaining in Northern Rhodesia, any franchise connected with this form of representation should be on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Her main reason for advocating this was that witchcraft and other things could play such an important part in this country in coercing voters.



Mrs. Merson complained about the press which she said would always publish anything anti-British or anti-European that is put over and at all times play up and exacerbate racial feelings. These were aroused tremendously by the unfair presentation of news.

Memorandum

G. L. LIPSCHILD

Affiliation between the Rhodesias, with or without the inclusion of Nyasaland was inevitable. It goes back some forty years ago when the idea was first conceived in a question "Amalgamation of Federation?" I myself was present at a public meeting in Lusaka when Welensky advocated and pressed for Amalgamation and opposed me in a speech I made in favour of Federation but my Proposition got no seconder. But those were the days when Southern Rhodesia regarded itself superior, aloof, prosperous, and Northern Rhodesia was only in the prospecting and development stages of what was later to become its great money-spinning industry, the production of copper. We here were referred to, humorously, almost contemptuously, by our Southern neighbour as its "poor Relation". Nyasaland was given hardly a thought. Government visitors from the South mused over Government House in Lusaka, our pride, with a suggestion "it might make a good school," the new Central offices later "perhaps a hospital" and so on. We bore it meekly and humbly. There was no "African" problem at all. Our "Natives" constituted our unskilled labour force, worked loyally and within their abilities and were happy and well administered by Government and well-tutored by hard-working missionaries. They had no grievances and no ambitions and no dreams of pseudo-nationalism. Had Amalgamation fructified how simple all might have been! Each Rhodesia and Nyasaland would have lost its identity into a single entity and we would all have grown up into one great central African state. Colour problems did not and would not have existed, and an unconscious true "partnership" would have evolved slowly and naturally without being a political football". What an opportunity was lost!

Events took their course and with the drop in prosperity of Southern Rhodesia and the fantastic rise of the prosperity of Northern Rhodesia with copper in full production at high prices, the relationship became reversed. Where originally Southern Rhodesia regarded the North with good-humoured tolerance, perhaps a trifle contemptuously, it now saw in Northern Rhodesia its economic salvation, and more than that, a means of widening its own status in the world, as a power and as a justification for world confidence, world bank support and American and British investment and world respect. I have no doubt whatsoever that the prime object was the glorification of Southern Rhodesia under the guise of a central African Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. All this was connived by Roy Welensky on the North bank, and Godfrey Huggins, now Lord Malvern, on the South. They were the architects; unfortunately they were not perfectors. I have never understood why Huggins was raised to the peerage, for what he did. But I do think Welensky was the greater man, a great man indeed, to take his place beside Rhodes and Smuts. I do so because he was indeed a idealist and a realist, rising from the smallest, most obscure beginnings with all their handicaps, and because he first of all did many useful things for his own territory, Northern Rhodesia, as an outstanding leader in the Legislative Council, such as clamping the financial artery of the country that led into the Chartered Company's blood stream. We shall always be proud of him whatever errors he may have made in fostering Federation the way he did. There are some who say openly that he deserted us treacherously for personal greatness, but that I do not support. I believe Welensky did, and still thinks he is doing all he can for the good of both countries, of the whole Federation. These were the mistakes that were perpetrated at the outset:

1. A "Federation" could not be engendered between a self-governing territory like Southern Rhodesia, with it having already attained self-government, and mere Protectorates like Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This has been one of the prime causes of territorial dissatisfaction in both, and all territories, the rise of African pseudo-nationalism, strife and internal violence and disorder, questions in England and world, commissions of enquiry and more besides. There developed instead of one strong government a variety of parties, not as a normal Opposition under the Parliamentary

system, but all with various ideologies actually opposed to the very Federal system. And arose the Bandas, Nkambulas, Chirwas, Kaundas and all that ilk. It also stimulated the Ghanas, the Congolese, and the eventual triumph of Kenyatta, the Mau Mau and the Mboyas. The "emergent" African. The consciousness of Africans that they had been "betrayed"—even though it would be more true to say the "betrayed" were the Europeans who had built civilisation into Northern Rhodesia, indeed all the three territories. It also bred the Moffats and Franklins and Morris's. And it gave us, to balance, Van Eden and John Gaunt, whose talents could have been directed to less wasted activities. It conjured out of nothing such problems as "partnership" and "integration" and multi-racialism." None of these problems faced our "protectorate" before. It even undermined the loyalty of many European settlers to the Crown in seeing their pioneering and the hardships of their forebears set to nought, seeing all they had done to make Northern Rhodesia into a great country in the likelihood of being handed over to the Black Man and the reputation of the country as the "Black North" become so indeed. It even created the Monckton Commission—after nuisances like Barbara Castle and Stonehouse—into most unnecessary being. And ultimately it has made Southern Rhodesia wonder whether it was worth it and to consider other courses like union with the Union of South Africa, a "go-it-alone" or just a status quo. In short, as far as Northern Rhodesia was concerned, it played up "old Harry"—and I do not refer to Nkambuka! Nor has South Africa been without anxiety in its efforts to make South Africa the bulwark of European civilisation.

2. It did not care two hoots for the view of the people of Northern Rhodesia! In Southern Rhodesia, at least, there had been a Referendum of sorts. I say "of sorts" because it was at the time generally recognised that half the people consisted of those who either did not know what it was all about, or did not care anyhow. But in Northern Rhodesia there was no referring to the people, black or white. It was rushed through the Legislative Council, after some Federal stumping through the country, and before we could cry Hoy, Roy! we were part of the Federation. All objections were shouted down. I remember a public meeting under the chairmanship, I think, of Harry Grenfell. In reply to a question on Federation he said, to my breathless amazement, "you went into it with your eyes open!" If ever there were ever a people bound hand and foot and blindfolded, ready for execution, it was the people of Northern Rhodesia. We had positively no say whatsoever. In Legislative Council we lost Roy, as a territorial fighter, and many others, I have no doubt—I do not say this as to Roy—most were merely angling for federal posts. Many later incidents set this out boldly. And so began the drift of money, amenities, power, control, and all our own pride as an entity, into Southern Rhodesia. She fattened and we became lean! That was mistake No. 2. Remember, the surge of Africanism did not rise at the time and it would have been enough to get the consent, by referendum, of Europeans and perhaps such few intelligent Africans as might have existed, tribal chiefs and so forth.

3. If Northern Rhodesia were to be regarded as part of a corporate entity as Federation was understood to be it should have had parity of representation, the Federal parliament to have equal numbers of Northern Rhodesian to Southern Rhodesian Members, with a smaller representation from Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesia had no right to take seniority of Representation and so rule the roost. That alone gave heartaches to the North and it would have been some comfort to the North to feel that they had an equal say. And that applies to the Cabinet also. There is at present, true, only one statesman in the Federal Government, namely Sir Roy Welensky, and he is a Northern Rhodesian even if of Southern Rhodesian birth, and except, perhaps for that shrewd Scot, Donald McIntyre, as poor a cabinet of ministers, nearly all Southern Rhodesians, as could be got together anywhere. There are other, better, men in the North such as Gaunt, Roberts and Van Eden, the first and third of which became either members of other parties or Gaunt independent, but splendid men nevertheless. What few other Northern Rhodesians other than these were elected to the Federal party are poor indeed. That matter of equal representation was a soreness with Northern Rhodesia in that alone.

4. Northern Rhodesia made Southern Rhodesia economically and financially, and Lusaka is situated geographically in the centre of the Federation, yet Salisbury in Southern

Rhodesia, after some farcical "going through the motions" of considering Lusaka as a potential capital, was made the capital. It would have given Northern Rhodesia greater pride and confidence if Lusaka had been created the capital and the Northern Rhodesian capital moved to either Ndola or back to Livingstone, or to Kitwe. That grievance has been aired to this day, but of no avail. Salisbury remains both the Southern Rhodesian and the Federal Capital. Personally I advocate a better idea and with greater chance of success, namely the well-known and practised principle of a dual capital, Southern Rhodesia to have the Legislative capital in Salisbury and Northern Rhodesia to have the Administrative capital, Southern Rhodesia to have the Legislative capital in the two towns are excellent, more so than perhaps, say, Cape Town and Pretoria, and in the Union as elsewhere it works well. That alone would have given Northern Rhodesia some pride and have boosted its chief town. Even the Judiciary could have been moved somewhere else, as in the Union where it is in Bloemfontein. The creating of Salisbury as the one and only Federal (as well as Southern Rhodesia's territorial capital) attracted, and still does, as it was intended to do, business headquarters and enterprises and industries from overseas and the Union and elsewhere. Had Lusaka been the capital or one of two capitals such would have been shared naturally, for, remember, Salisbury was already well-developed and had the initial advantage. It would have put Northern Rhodesia on the map whereas as she is today she is worse off under Federal rule from Salisbury than she was ever before.

5. Now as to Finances: Southern Rhodesia had the temerity to grab the lion's share, so that while Northern Rhodesia was the money spinner Southern Rhodesia took most of it and spent most of it—on herself. Northern Rhodesia needed it all for its own development and with it could have become as great a territory as the South, but proportionately it got pretty little. Added to this Southern Rhodesia in the name of the Federation gained stupendous loans from overseas, the World Bank and its public but Northern Rhodesia had to contribute, naturally, to its interest and to repayments in due course. The rival power schemes, Kafue vs Kariba went in favour of the more costly Southern Rhodesia Kariba. Northern Rhodesia could well have developed Kafue on its own, or the two schemes could have run in parallel since it was admitted that both were desirable. It is questionable now if the Kafue scheme will ever materialise. Postal and railway charges to the public and commerce went up and up, Income Tax and other taxation rose, all in the name of the benefits of Federation, benefits derived by Southern Rhodesia almost entirely. All this has been further resented by Northern Rhodesia, finding itself rather a satellite than an entity within a Federal plan. Towns in the North grew rather through the efforts of local authorities and Municipalities than from Federal coffers.

6. There were no guarantees that the Europeans, those who over the years had made the Rhodesias, would be protected for the future as their due inheritance. Within the doubts expressed by Northern Rhodesians as to the benefits of Federation it had been stated by Southern Rhodesian Federalists that the better control of the African element in that territory would become the policy of the Federation throughout and so would extend to the North and so the future of Europeans in Northern Rhodesia was adequately safeguarded. Events have shown this to be not so. Indeed, the effect has been to stimulate the rebel element of Africanism and over which there has been no Federal control whatsoever. And so the Northern Rhodesian European is conscious of a great betrayal.

The initiated faults of the Federal scheme can therefore be summarised as follows:

Northern Rhodesia should have been converted from a Protectorate into a Self- or Responsible Government country with the same status as its Southern neighbour before any question of a closer relationship was to be considered. Northern Rhodesia was already in a better position to claim this status than Southern Rhodesia was when it was granted self-government. It should have pressed for it and it would have been granted in the same way. Why not? What Southern Rhodesia attained we could have attained. A formal "annexure" was all that was necessary by Whitehall and Westminster. It would have delayed Federation or Amalgamation but the wait was well worth while for meantime we would have developed rapidly, more rapidly than under present

Federation, with the financial resources at its disposal at the time and continuing. Then, having succeeded in this aim as I contend it would have succeeded, it could have negotiated with or received the overtures of Southern Rhodesia on equal terms. And such terms would have meant complete parity in all things, equal development of the respective parties to the unity in whatever form it took. And there would have been a referendum not merely in Southern Rhodesia but by all territories concerned with greater satisfaction to all. There would be greater control of the arrogant claims of the African and of interference based on ignorance of the United Kingdom Government, because there would have been, initially, two responsible Governments instead of one, and together would have represented a power strong enough to make it clear that we would resent such interference in our domestic affairs and knew our business best. It might have meant either Lusaka as the capital of the joint organisation, or, as I have suggested, two capitals so that both cities could develop side by side, attracting investors and industries to both, with equal pride and to the advantage of all the respective territories. None of this could have been achieved or can be achieved with the unbalanced state of affairs as constituted.

Now let us turn to the problem of the "emergent" African, which arose mainly as result of the effects of the Federation, and developed into aggression and a menace to all we Europeans stand for and have created.

The African first of all claims that Africa belongs to him, that the Rhodesias belong to him, that the Europeans are merely intruders. But history shows this is not so. The Africans of Northern Rhodesia, apart from Barotsealand, were migratory blackbirds, with singed feathers, chased for their lives from the South by superior tribes, and for the most part were nomads. They were distinctly inferior to any other tribe in Africa probably, quite below the calibre of Zulus, Basutos, and the tribes of Southern Rhodesia. The natives of Ghana, the Masai and Kikuyi and others of East Africa are a prouder people. They are incestuous, syphilitic, to a large extent and more than most other Africans beridden by witchcraft that have largely defeated the efforts of Christian missionaries. Their deterioration is, as usual, marked when they live in the Towns. As that great authority, Chirupula Stephenson once said: "In the towns I do not know, but in the villages they are traditionally gentlemen . . ." This I quite believe from my own knowledge of them as I met them in the old days of some forty years ago, living their natural lives under wise chieftainship, guided by beneficent missionaries and efficient Government administration. They were never oppressed, never ill-treated, and not exploited. They were being slowly but surely educated on the right lines. But they have no right to claim this country as their own any more than the Europeans; less so in fact, than say the redskins of America, the Maoris of New Zealand or the aborigines of Australia. What would have been the fate of the Americans or Australasia if the countries had been handed over to their original inhabitants? All countries are possessed by conquest, whether by force of arms, peaceful penetration or trade, or by treaty or just industry and natural development and civilisation and education on the part of the occupying people by virtue of their national superiority. That has always been so. And it has been as regards Northern Rhodesia. For instance, quoting Chirupula, "In the year 1900 . . . occupied much of today's Copperbelt and imposed Pax Britannica—forbidding war, witchcraft and slavery, with, however, the proviso that in all other things 'Men shall do as did their fathers before them'." A Mr. Spandow wrote in the Rhodesian "Sunday Mail," "We came into Africa not to uplift the African and lead him to self-rule, but to build a civilisation for ourselves and our descendants, and, in doing so, we are prepared to raise the standard of the African as high as he is prepared to assist us in doing so." An African, M. Mainza Chona, writing to the local press, repeated the parrot cry, "This is our country. It is not a European territory. Africans simply want to govern their own country irrespective of who is here . . ." which is untrue. It is as much a European country as Australia or Canada, by virtue of the occupation and penetration of a civilised and superior people. As "Civix" wrote to the Northern News in April, 1958: "It is not the possession of a white skin that distinguishes the civilised from the uncivilised. It is the 'nature of the beast.' Civilisation has occurred in past ages among people of various skin pigmentations. But it did not occur much in

Africa from the Hottentots to the Sudanese and more. Civilisation characterises the European. It was created by fundamental characteristics of stamina, energy, mentality, pride and principle and activity. It became a tradition and tradition is behind it . . . And though there were ancient Chinese, Arabian and Indian civilisations, in the main civilisation is European. It is what grew out of the conflict of man with nature under worse climatic conditions than those in which the Negro has stagnated through the same centuries. Webster calls it a reclamation from barbarism and the elevation of a people intellectually, socially and morally, in the arts, sciences and statecraft. Elsewhere it is declared to be a social and ethical condition. Many nations and races exhibit it; many do not, notably the African who through the years the European has so developed, has hardly emerged at all, except in so far as he is now beginning to learn somewhat and aping a great deal." He adds significantly: "That is what I mean when I say that the way in which I have evolved entitles me to be what I am. Not that I have a right to everything merely by being a biped with eyes and a wagging tongue . . . like the African . . . If Africans emerge into a truly refined, civilised people, so be it, but they have a very long way to go . . . Many so easily revert to type should environment and circumstances occur." Africans often talk about their land rights and land taken away, but Europeans only own 6%, and they occupy the rest of it as virtual owners. It is a well-known fact, to quote "Civix" again, "The African cannot see straight, work straight, be straight." At work it is all "slow-motion" in the manipulation of his limbs. Watch African bricklayers, painters, carpenters, at work. Compare them with European artizans. But of course one gets used to it! They are not "cheap labour," they are, productively, the most expensive labour of all! "Civix" points out: "Why is it that when we are charged with 'discrimination' the expression is always 'the colour of the skin'? Why not his tufted hair which we like less, or the different B.O.? I have heard that the smell of soap and cleanliness of the white man makes Kikuyi vomit!" So how can we live intimately side by side on terms of equality? Dr. Merwin David Waldegrave Jeffreys hails the Negro as the "highest" type of humanity!

To digress humorously for a moment let me quote from a letter to the Central African Post by someone calling himself "Interested" attacking a Mr. Van der Spuy for remarking that marriage between black and white people is revolting, says: "Has Mr. Van de Spuy never seen a white horse mate with a black horse? Has he never seen a brown dog mate with a white dog . . . Nothing to do with colour . . . so it is an offence for a black bird to mate with a white bird? Well, well, we live and learn!" Here is some African mentality for you!

Wrote "Albus" . . . "I believe the black man 'en masse' in this country, at this stage, is inferior to the European 'en masse.' I do not blame him, revile him or castigate him for it . . . but it is true. Without reference to anthropology his background has made it inevitable. If he wishes to ape my ways let him do it on his side of the fence—I want no part of him till the harsh abrasive of history has smoothed off some of the more obvious neanderthal bumps . . ." Another correspondent wrote, and I agree, that "No one would deny that there are many Africans . . . who have advanced ahead of their fellows . . . but they are a drop in the ocean, an immense ocean, of backwardness and ignorance . . ."

He is a peculiar animal! See his resentment at being addressed as "boy" whereas in civilised countries no one objects to being called "garçon" in France, "Ragazzo" commonly in Italy and so on. How quickly do newcomers become disillusioned as to the qualities of the African! As one wrote: "After only two years in your country I no longer respect the African, neither do I trust him." The African is not immoral; he is amoral! He knows no better. He will cheat, thief, lie and deceive, without fear or shame except on the rare cases of being caught. Domestically he is a pest. Industrially he is inefficient. Ethics and principle mean not a thing to him. And he has that nerve-racking habit of walking about on you, whether barefooted or shoe-shod, in absolute silence, just slinking about and appearing suddenly seemingly from nowhere. The dignified, proud and aloof, of magnificent stature, does no useful work, lives, like other "wild creatures" on what he can slaughter

in game, is a nomad, changing his home from time to time from one set of mud-erections to another, and takes a daily meal from his cattle by stabbing the beast in its neck and sucking a fill of blood. Otherwise he is in continuous enmity with the Kikuyi and Oranga tribes. The Kikuyi perpetrated the Mau Mau with its vileness and cruelty, its Kimathi and Kenyatta, and have got their way with the British Government who have so easily forgotten these barbaric atrocities and have betrayed the fine European settlers who made Kenya as they have made Northern Rhodesia.

As Mr. Quinlan of Marrandellas said in the "Sunday Mail," inter alia, "To try and make a European of the African is the limit of sentimental socialism, a psychological impossibility and detrimental to both races."

There is food for thought in a letter by "Rhodesian Nationalist" to the Northern News, in which gives questions and pointers such as "The financial contribution to the development of the country is practically nil while the annual tax pays for scarcely a ninth part of the outlay on educational and other services to them . . . The most outrageous is perhaps land distribution and tenure. Why should over 90% be reserved for a section of the population whose only contribution is . . . erosion and destruction of forests? Why should a game licence be cheaper for an African, an African dog licence cost less . . . an African convicted of a driving offence fined proportionately less? Is an African drunken driver less dangerous than anyone else? Africans are allowed to wander without let or hindrance in European townships (pass laws have been abolished) but no European unless in possession of a pass may visit his areas. Why? Hotels and restaurants are built, financed and equipped by Europeans with their own money for use of their own people, but the Africans, who contributed nothing, claim service as a right . . . Those who attempt to bulldoze us into social integration are both unreasonable and detestable. . . ."

The black man's attitude to other people is peculiar. Witness Haiti where no European may own property. Witness Ghana, where life is made intolerable for anyone not contributing to the views of the black dictatorship. Witness the United States where life for whites in certain cities becomes intolerable as the others become numerically superior in any section. And witness Great Britain where whites are being blamed for black vice and squalor.

"Let us face facts, however, unpalatable they may be. Only a form of apartheid, applied reasonably and intelligently and humanely can make it possible for other races to live in amicable terms with the Bantu/Negro races." How true! There is nothing wrong with apartheid—call it parallel development by segregation—with certain humane minor adjustments. It is best for both colours to maintain, justifiably and rightly, the standards and superiority, as it is and always will be, of the European who created the country and made it what it is, but to allow the Bantu or African to develop and create and maintain civilisation and decency in his own communal centres I do not favour Bantustanise.

What would have been made of the United States if we had handed over—as Britain might well have done had it possessed that country today—to the Redskins, or to New Zealand the Maoiris, or to Australia to the aboriginal inhabitants? Left to the European settlers, all these great countries became what they are today.

We are blamed for the filthy condition and squalor of native locations, "shanty towns" and locations, except where under strict European supervision of Europeans such as Municipalities or other local authorities, but without such supervision it would remain squalid, and give the same Africans modern housing, bed-sitting rooms, flats, modern kitchens and furniture and wall-finishes, drainage and modern amenities and in a few months such habitations will not be fit for pigs. I have seen a decent bedroom so treated that an open fire was made on the floor, shacks of mud and thatch built adjoining and the walls used as urinals.

In Lusaka the abolition of the "Night Pass" has been a dubious act. It was followed almost immediately by burglaries and assaults. Wrote "Civix," Take a walk round the business and residential areas any night or pass by car and see the dozens of idle Africans lounging about the roads in the vicinity of houses and shops. What is their business? There are not enough police to keep an alert eye on them.

Day by day more and more residences are fitted burglar bars and screens to every window and chains to doors and extra locks until one's home becomes a veritable gaol. How many burglars are caught? How much of the loot recovered?" Says another writer: "Multi-racial schools can hardly be introduced when the majority of young Africans entering schools require instruction through the medium of the vernacular . . . and many have to be taught simple social behaviour, such as using the lavatory instead of the bush or the floor . . ." Yet Dr. Jeffreys declares, "The negro is the latest development in man. He is more evolved and more recent—the newest variety of the human race . . ."

A labour lawyer M.P., Mr. Reginald Paget, suggested that trial by jury was an unsuitable method in a multi-racial society. And Mr. Iain Macleod agreed, referring to Kenya, that the extension of this system, and he had decided so, make such an extension impossible.

Murders by Africans amongst themselves have taken on vicious and barbaric forms, such as killing by neatening with a coffin, burning a native woman alive, and ritual or witch-doctor killings, for which Africans blamed the Administration, and as a protest started fasts in relays outside Government offices, because one such was the finding of bones alleged to be those of a nephew of the paramount chief of the Barotses.

Said no less a person than Sir Roy Welensky, "Civilisation, not colour, is the qualification" and issued a warning that Central Africa would "return to the rule of the knobkerrie and the assagai if the Europeans were to leave the country." He added: "If the white man's days are numbered it will be a sorry day for the Western world. We in the Federation have tried hard to bring the African into our system of Government. We have always maintained that our franchise qualifications are a test of civilisation not colour." Yet the Africans demand the absurd franchise principle of "one man, one vote," that the only qualification for what should be a sacred privilege shall be that the voter is a biped! Sir Gilbert Rennie knows the African as well as anyone, a shrewd observer, a brilliant past Governor of Northern Rhodesia and rightly denounced this demand as ridiculous. Yet that is the theme of all the gatherings of Africans and their banners and posters. Observe this recent choice example exhibited on arrival of the Monckton Commission: "*Moncky don't be deceived. Welensky is no better than Kaunda. Leave us alone on our sacred soil. Moncky do you know that African Government is our motto now? Freedom is our birthright, not a privilege . . .*" (I suppose Lord Monckton will feel a little hurt as to the anthropoidal abbreviation of his name!) And the battle-cry continuously vociferated "ad nauseam" is "*Freedom—One Man One Vote.*" Freedom from what? Freedom to revert to savagery and barbarism, to the penalties of infringements of tribal laws, to pursue his own wild ways? Freedom to return to oppression, starvation and lack of education and health amenities? Of what does he complain? An African cannot work without white overseers, for they have the "know-how" and the "gen," and if they left the work would stop. The African is not entitled to a "full share in the Government" of the country (which is not, by any means, entirely his, as I have said before) merely because he is an "African." He must first rise, as in the past, by his own efforts, aided, as in the past, by the white man's training. He is not entitled to what he calls adult suffrage purely on anatomical grounds. The vote is a precious thing, and if anything the present qualifications are much too low in his circumstances. He is not yet fit, by a long way, to enter public places, restaurants, etc., on the same level as a European. He is not fit to be an equal or a "boss" or of the same standing as a European. He is rarely even a good capitao. Mau Mau gave settlers and Britain trouble in Kenya, yet the African now demands parity there in their Council, and already is more in power there than he was before the Mau Mau reign of terror. In Nyasaland we have the new "Banda Hope" vociferating in Hitlerism, Mussolinian, Nasseroid shouts. "Africa for the Africans they shriek."

Incidentally, this may give Dr. Verwoerd good cause to think and maybe act some day. South Africa may not take kindly to having an ulcer too near its borders. And of course Russia says slyly, "Oh so! Then we are set for 'Africa for the Russians!'"

And here is some startling idea-germs of the African National Congress. It recently urged Government and business firms to increase the salary scale of Africans like this: African graduates (by virtue of education alone?) to £160 a month, from minimum £98, school "managers" £75-£120, teachers £68-£115, clerks £50 to £80, messengers £35 upwards, askaris £39-£64, carpenters £68-£115, cooks £33-£40, farm labourers £30-£35, to quote a few examples published, and claims the reason why Africans are refused admittance to public places is because they do not get such wages! They claim their right to this because of increase cost of their living requirements not only of essentials but in order to ape the European. Such a scale of remuneration would, of course, cause highly qualified Europeans from all over the world to flock to Northern Rhodesia and who could accomplish three times the work of the best African employee in a third of the time and do everything competently whereas the African is totally unfit for high grade work in any category. The African would be forced back to his village! And here is some amazing reasoning.

A correspondent quotes "Civix" in a letter to the Press in which he claimed that Africans, who are basking in the sun of European culture and civilisation, are now demanding the moon as well. He replies assuring "Civix" it is not the African's wish to claim even a fraction of anything that is not his by right, and by right of human nature to repudiate any action that deprives him of any right" and as examples, as states "much of the land which by virtue of 'earlier inhabitation' belongs to the African has been taken away by Europeans, control in the hands of 'persons from outside' who have made themselves 'at home' while the indigenous owner is made a stranger 'in his motherland' a stranger . . . at the discretion of 'an intruder.' 'African skill' (whatever that is) in Government circles and industry is deliberately placed much below that of the European, the former being the labouring element while the latter is a pipe-smoking overseer, regardless of the experience or educational attainment, and the African is paid much lower than the subsistence level to maintain 'a high scale of living.' Does 'Civix' not agree with me when I liken these conditions to slavery?" In reply to all this drivel I patiently remark that no one, European or African is entitled to anything "by right or entitlement." Both must earn it. But the European knows this and aspires accordingly while the African is ceaseless in his demands, not a "fraction" but all of it, whether he has earned "the right" or not. Since only 6% of the lands belongs to the European where Africans freely live also while the rest is in the hands of the African to which Europeans can only go on a visit and requires a permit in the reserves, his reference to this is absurd. In parts of Northern Rhodesia the African came before the European, chased there by better tribes of the South like scalded cats. In others the European came before he did, and spread civilisation and development for the benefit of the African, without which development the African would still be living in savagery and oppression by his own people and neighbouring tribes. In my forty years in the country I have still to find an African with "skill in both Government circles and industry." He is slow, incompetent, unprincipled and a complete stranger to any form of ethics, culture, manners or ambition. He works to the clock—or sun—and will do as little as possible in the longest time possible to be stretched out, in slow-motion movement of limbs and is mentally defective. He can work under supervision only, and strict at that. That is not "slavery." Slavery was his environment and his bondage before the European came, not since he came. It was the European who freed the African from slavery. He has never been so free in all his history as he became the day the European came on his scene. He can come and go as he pleases, work or not as he wishes and is deprived of nothing, protected from the oppression of his own people, their cruelties and ignorance and tribal harshness.

"True African" (whatever that is) goes on to demand for the African "Full share in the government of 'his country,'" and greater membership of both Executive and Legislative Councils. As if he were really fit for either, as any one can see witnessing the utterances their members make in the Council. I was an observer at a recent congress of the Federal Party and one or two were speakers. I am sure the genial and patient Chairman will agree with me that no greater drivel was ever spoken than by these "African delegates." Now for some more of "True African" which



I quote only because it is so typical. He goes on to what he calls "colour bar legislation" whatever that is, and says "an African can enter public places such as hotels . . . restaurants, etc., only as a valet and not as a guest, as a servant not as a patron; European homes only as a servant and not as a friend; the company of European children only as a nanny and as a playmate . . . in office or industry . . . bossed, never as a boss or even as an equal!" Quite so! Simply because at his present stage of development, from which his emergence is pitifully slow if it ever does rise to acceptable levels, he is not fit for any other status. All the "non-discrimination" legislation in the world will not make the European like his company at restaurant tables or hotel bedrooms or his home "as a friend" or as an equal in any place, or in any circumstances. The African is simply unfit for equality with the European in every respect, hygienically, manners, conduct, intelligence, responsibility, socially, or competently. There are said to be exceptions. Maybe. I have not seen any. But if there are they must be so preciously few as to make such mere oddities. But he is not oppressed. For self-respect and because of our undoubted general superiority we Europeans simply ignore him socially. After all we do this even among ourselves in hotels and clubs and public places. "Civix" is criticised for saying he does not like using telephone booths with Africans, or queuing with him. A telephone booth (and why do Africans stand in rows waiting to enter them, to ring up or pretend to ring up goodness knows who, about heaven knows what) can be seen often filled with four Africans at a time, after which it is unbearable in odour for any decent European, man or woman, to use. In queues the African is appalling in his behaviour, pushing out his arm for prior attention, blowing cigarette smoke into the eyes of European women, in his new-found "freedom," or rude to the lady attendant. And as his final word "True African" asks "Civix" whether "in certain cases" he has not heard of the relationship between European and African going as far as matrimony! Well, well! Then what is he complaining about? Another correspondent points out correctly, "The African if left alone is not a bad fellow; let him develop in his own slow way which is far better than when busy bodies push him about to run before he can walk." We were doing quite well, and he was doing quite well, on this principle. It was only when we started to pamper him that he has become "too big for his boots."

We are all getting very tired, as "Civix" says of this business of pandering to the African. We are asked to "respect" and "understand" him and "help" him and mix socially with him and extend all the amenities and privileges of the white ways of life to him in the same way as to our family and friends. He has been called "Royal Game" indeed! One nowadays, by a sort of process of "brainwashing" gets into the way of looking round sheepishly if one makes any mild derogatory remark about him. One gets afraid to say things to him that one would openly say to a European, for fear of hurting his sensitivities or arousing his ire.

But the procedure now should be to stop taking notice of him, as we used to do, to stop talking about him. Better to forget him. You are dealing with a "spoilt child." Leave him alone, let him have all the amenities he has earned, not as a right, but by the virtue that he earns them by the sweat of his brow, his endurance, his providence. "I have no right to what I have; I earned it! No one gave it to me!"

Personally, as said before, I have a deep regard, as I always had in the past, for the African in his natural habitat, wisely and firmly governed and controlled by his tribal chief and headman and under the just control of the District Commissioner there to prevent witchcraft and malpractices that still exist despite the African's aspirations to equality. I also take off my hat to the fine missionaries who did splendid work among them with no pretensions of making them equals of Europeans, even if I still, most certainly, object to my church service being ministered by an African Priest, even a Cardinal, a "Monseigneur," or my baby being baptised by one, or even to confess my sins before one. Would that not be sufficient quality?

The African has his education, his welfare amenities, his luxurious entertainment halls and his interracial clubs—whatever good purpose these serve—and does precious little to deserve or be entitled to them. I am certainly not going to have Africans at my tea-parties, my sundowners or to use my

bathrooms and lavatories, or consort with them at cafés, restaurants and bars. They will not be on social equality or even at conversation distance with my family. I have no intention of being cruel or unjust in my dealings with Africans but I will not accept them as equals. Nor will nearly all the other Europeans in this country. The word "partnership" is one of the most unfortunate swear-words, whoever coined it, in the century and the quicker we forget it the better for everyone.

One of the great tragedies of history is colour inter-marriage and is usually acknowledged to be so. Yes, in early Cape history it was even encouraged, indeed it was a directive by the Dutch East India Company. The object was economic. It provided slave labour. And so when slavery was in full swing there was more and more such labour. The "Cape Coloureds," a problem in the Union and here as well, has been the result. Many of them are very decent people. I have seen their spotlessly house-proud homes, and their neatness and their pride. But their's is the tragedy of being wanted neither by the natives nor the whites, and now, pathetically regarded in the Union under the category of blacks. The same thing occurs with Japanese, Chinese and other inter-racial marriages of that sort. Come the creoles, the Eurasians, the Euroafricans which so many now wish to advocate as desirable, without consideration of the immediate offspring. A correspondent opposing my views cited the case of that fine old pioneer Chirupula Stephenson, whom I knew well and respected. Remember he chose to become virtually a hermit, a recluse, and to live all alone in the "bundu" where he even accepted "king-priesthood" in the local tribe. He did not lose his standards as many have done who "went native", and he did not live with or mix with Europeans as a rule from the day he chose that way of life. Although greatly respected by us he is no example at all. To the bright, presumably African, person who, as mentioned before, wrote and asked me "whether you have never watched a "white horse mate with a black horse" or "a brown dog mate with a white dog" and so forth, I pointed out that, indeed, poultry are also not particular about the colour of their feathers, nor cats of their fur, but I had never heard of cats mating with dogs, or lions with leopards, or elephants with buffalo and they are all mammals even if not exactly homo "sapiens" like Africans. Of course a horse can be made to mate with a donkey, which makes one wonder which is the bigger ass! Result a mule! Useful if silly-looking animal. But what happens to the mule? Nothing! He will always be a mule, a beast of burden, without nobility, without grace, without hope, living and dying, unloved and unsung!

No, I said to him, it is not the colour of the skin. It is the Nature of the Beast! I would like again to refer to South African policy and in regard to apartheid declare it sound in principle. I stand, with the majority of Europeans in this country, by my view that we must support the principle of the supremacy of the white man.

I submit that the majority of South Africans did not come here as political refugees as has been alleged. They came to better themselves like all other immigrants. I admit to other factors such as dual-lingualism, irritations such as the abolition of the Union Jack and the English anthem, but this is beside the point. One may look with misgivings at the move for a Republic, but remember the Union is that already almost. And anyway Ghana has much sooner taken the same step. I refer only to the "racial conflict". I do believe the Union is the "European bulwark," that the "apartheid" policy is right directed towards that purpose, even though it may require a great deal of modification and a more humanitarian approach, and I feel sure lessons have been and are still being learned. If that approach does not work and severe measures become necessary, as they may be, then I am positive that no one but an Afrikaner will know how to inflict a lesson that will suffice for all time, and such a policy and practice can well "stem the tide" of this pseudo-nationalism of the African. Today he threatens us here, demands not merely equality with the European but the supremacy of the black man. He invokes the "protection" of Downing Street and the next government. And if he achieves that "protection" he will, no doubt, throw that off also and try and convert this country into a Ghana. Doubtless not all South Africans are flocking back to the Union. For many the Federation is now their home. But many are certainly going back unfortunately—fine people we should be sorry to lose. For these envisage as I and many others do the danger that we may indeed

become a black man's country, the "black North" if we do not nip the trouble in time. Yes, as my opponents have requested me to do, I have been thinking, "thinking hard" over all the years I've been here, married, seen my children born here and as a pioneer saw the country develop. I "think hard" of the early days and of the present days, and of the "Native" who was once decent, accepting European guidance, gradually, at the right pace, and I now think "hard" of his constant demands, his insolence and arrogance, and his open threats to take over the country. And I think "hard" of the legacy of the children of the Europeans who, like myself, came here many, many years ago, and saw things develop and happen and grow. And amongst us there were many South Africans, both English and Afrikaner. And I suggest that my opponents should also "think hard", beyond their generation and back to that heritage.

The policy of our neighbours is, in principle sound. With faults eliminated, I and thousands of others, wish them well.

Let the Africans remember who and what they were in this country. I quote an extract from a Colonial report some time ago: "From the very early days, when the hordes of migratory Bantu swept southwards from Central and North Africa, Northern Rhodesia had been subject to constant invasion from stronger tribes on its borders—so much so, that the vast majority of the present native population, though of Bantu origin, is descended from men who themselves invaded this country not earlier than 1700 A.D. . . . the Arabs from the north, the Ngoni, a branch of early Zulus, who fled from Tchaka and settled in the north east of the territory, and the Kalolo, an offshoot of the Suto family . . . the Lozi tribe under Lewanika, enlarged their kingdom by conquering several surrounding tribes . . ." So you see, we are "all immigrants together," black and white. The great difference is, perhaps that unlike the Lozi rebels we did not massacre everyone—keeping the women! We Europeans brought peace, civilisation, development and progress to the country. So the African must stop claiming Northern Rhodesia as his own property. Yet, we get the childish and curious argument that if anyone disagrees with all this he should "get out" and return to the country he came from. Greeks to Greece, Italians to Italy, Germans to Germany, and now, of course, South Africans to South Africa. Whether one is for or against the Union policy, if we have made Rhodesia our home here we are here we stay.

The South African Nationalist is merely trying to keep his country a "White Man's Country" and is the Federation not in danger of becoming a "Black Man's Country"? A reputation it had for fifty years back. It is a splendid country but let us keep it so. Even a "God's Country" is what we make it, what the European made it. We will not achieve it by allowing the African to continue along his own sweet way as he has been doing for years and now threatens to tell us "where we get off"! It is time we got our pride and manhood back as civilised Europeans, those who came here many years ago, built their homes here as well as those who have more recently settled here. "The African has through the ages given nothing to the world, in thought or deed" wrote a correspondent "and everything that stands today in the Federation is the product of European brains and industry. Violence must be stamped out with violence, and should include lashing with the sjambok." He continues: To imprison an African is equivalent to sending a European on a holiday to the coast, for the African is better fed and housed in jail than he feeds and houses himself outside. A deterrent is necessary, and the lash is precisely that. Stone-throwing and hooliganism must be stamped out, and magistrates should be replaced by men of the county who understand the African and that the African who indulges in violence is a savage who must be treated so. And our police should be locally recruited wherever possible."

From my own experience and observation the only punishment the African understands and benefits from is corporal punishment and this should be done in the presence, and in the open, of his womenfolk and of other tribesmen. The humiliation of this I have found is the best cure of all!

In my view, the African is grossly undertaxed. He seems to find money to send his so-called "leaders" continually on overseas trips to pester the Home government. Who pays for this? If he can afford this he can afford to pay more for what is done for him in health, housing and protection from tribal superstition and warfare.

The franchise qualifications must be raised drastically, so that all Africans have a clear understanding of what a vote

means, and this means the requirement of a higher educational standard and occupational responsibility or property ownership.

As another correspondent wrote: "Mr. Kaunda, through a political short-cut, wishes to take over the fruits of 50 years' endeavour by Europeans whose families were in many cases in Northern Rhodesia before the Bemba, the Angoni and others . . . He wishes to control the skill, the industriousness and the financial capacity to which he has contributed not an iota. Not for him the centuries of heart-breaking adversity against which races like the Anglo-Saxons and the Afrikaners have had to struggle for a place in the sun . . . Mr. Kaunda apparently considers that all he has to do is to threaten enough and the fruits of decades of endeavour of Europeans will be his for the taking . . . He may perhaps succeed in frightening Whitehall, but he will not frighten those Europeans whose roots are far deeper than those African "settlers" who in fact have never settled anywhere . . ."

As Britain sheds the once glorious Empire and Africans take over in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and elsewhere the Northern Rhodesian African thinks it is so easy. Just pull out your panga and throw stones and shout "Kwacha etc."

But Ghana was never a really European-developed country, nor some other such colonies. He sees that Mau may have been victorious, atrocities forgotten, terrorism in Cyprus and so on.

But Rhodesia is not the same thing at all. And we must stand firm. The posturing of Dr. Nkrumah in a recent photo of our Queen and Duke as a guest only filled the European with utter disgust. What, precisely, has Nkrumah done for the old "Gold Coast" but make himself a dictator, taking his neighbours with him by intimidation?

On the subject of suggested integration of Africans into European schools, another correspondent well says; ". . . when young people play together, study together and mix socially together in the normal activities of school, it is the beginning of what may lead to mixed marriages, and we will then be breeding a bastard race . . ."

And here are some interesting facts about taxation, given by a Mufulira correspondent: "For year ended June 30, 1956 only seven Africans paid Income Tax, and for the year ended June 30, 1957 only five. The present rate of tax permits a married man with two children to earn £1,350 a year before paying Income Tax. If the family were larger this amount would increase accordingly. Africans usually have very large families." Of course they pay a village personal tax, but I consider this not high enough. Judging by the amazingly repeated wins by Africans in our Lotteries they must be spending heavily in that direction, so can afford a higher tax. I believe in personal or "poll tax" and disagree with this correspondent that it is unfair because it imposes the same tax on rich as on poor. So it should be. You do not tax wealth, you tax earnings, and it is wrong to make a man who works hardest pay more for his efforts than the man, like the African, who does least. However, I do not want to digress on the ethics of taxation. In the early days of the BSA Company, as Chirupula reminds us, Africans having no money paid tribute by the process of "soccage." It might well be revived.

In February, 1959 our Politicians under Mr. John Roberts attacked the Government at their inaction at inflammatory speeches made by Kaunda, Sipalo and other African "leaders" of the Zambia movement, and referred to the forbearance of the Europeans. "Recent utterances (by African leaders) are nothing less than blatant defiance of the authority of the Government . . . designed to do two things, to make their wide-eyed audiences believe that all they have to do to attain black self-government is to scream abuse; and secondly to create enmity. . . . What they don't realise is that enmity could grow to such proportions that serious clashes might be unavoidable." And Mr. Roberts continued, "and I want to impress this upon Africans particularly that were the peace to be seriously disturbed it could only mean a standstill to investment and fewer jobs. . . . Those Africans who listen to these spreaders of untruths are being deluded. The Government must, therefore, use such authority and resources as are necessary. . . ." As I write I hear that in Lusaka two large concerns who had proposed building on a large scale, multi-storied erections, have postponed their intentions, with adverse effect on the economy of the town. One African was asked the other day by a European what he expected to gain by

making this an African state and he replied, "For one thing we would take over all European shops and produce our own money and coinage!" Shades of Jack Cade!

What a farce is that ill-coined word "Partnership!" What maddening nonsense is the African's cry "Freedom—One Man One Vote!" Since when has he been enslaved? If they all had votes irrespective of qualifications what evil powers will they then yoke themselves to? Internal tribal strife, dangerous powers to their fellow-men and the negation of democracy, which is something alien to their understanding! And secession would destroy the confidence of the world and make this country one for universal distrust for unforeseeable years of the future.

We hear of Europeans described as the "minority." I disagree with this. In anatomical numbers yes, but by virtue of the fact that the 'minority' are the doers, the creators, the civilised and cultured people, the workers, then the black mass of Africans, the drones, are for all practical purposes actually, potentially, the real minority. The European could manage without the African, as he has done in Australia and Canada and everywhere else, but the African cannot manage without the European, especially the poor type existent in Northern Rhodesia or the whole Federation, no matter what Nkrumah with his coming republic and anschluss with neighbouring black countries says and does about it.

By the way observe that in the various riots and disturbances it is the African women who are at the forefront, not the men! And that it usually follows a hearty beerdrink and carousal. The African has been introduced to European type bars, European liquor, mainly by municipal bodies, and this seems to be his main occupation. He is most riotous and uproarious when he has imbibed, and beyond restraint. They scream for "Justice." But what injustice has the African ever suffered from the European. In the same breath as they repudiate the Federation and the rule of the Settler and cry to Britain for "protection" they shout to the Monckton Commission "You are evil—Britons go home!" In Kenya Kenyatta perpetrated unmentionable horrors, to Africans and Europeans alike, yet—so used are Africans to that sort of thing, the only language they really know—they acclaim him as their leader and demand his release to enable him to resume his barbaric practices. In Nyasaland Dr. Banda was caught planning organised revolt and terrorism, and the Africans shout for his discharge from gaol, having almost defied him. In Northern Rhodesia Kaunda was gaoled and released and within hours he was preaching violence and hatred of the white man. In some countries every one of these and many others, Nkumbula, Chirwa, Chona would have been publicly liquidated.

What has happened in other parts of Africa should surely not dictate that the same thing shall happen here! Probably in no other new African "state" has the European done so much to develop the country and settle in it as in the Rhodesian Federation. That argument alone should be enough.

An extraordinary contribution appeared in the local paper recently claiming "thousands of African craftsmen who execute the bulk of the work in the building industry in this territory or those who . . . were a major item in the early completion of the Kariba scheme." Europeans were the "craftsmen" without whom no African labourer would have done a stroke of work. And I always understood it was the Italian "craftsmen" who achieved Kariba. And Italians know how to work. Africans rarely display skill, or conscientious adherence to duty without close supervision. All he was concerned with was finishing off the day. I remember an amusing anecdote about an enthusiastic welfare officer getting out boys from the compound on a Sunday and teaching them football. Having learnt the principles of soccer and playing a match with great verve on conclusion of the game they went up to the officer and presented their work tickets demanding "Overtime"! That is quite characteristic of the African mentality.

Mr. W. G. Dunlop, Minister of Transport and Works in Northern Rhodesia, said "The wild ravings of self-styled African leaders affected the confidence of people in the future of the Federation" and when he continued "without such confidence the inflow of capital from overseas, which is an integral part of our financial structure, might well slow down or even dry up. One of the basic reasons for this lack of confidence is the doubt existing in the minds of some people as to the future stability of the Federation. I sympathise with

those whose thoughts are affected by would-be African dictators on the one hand and the happenings in other colonies and protectorates in Africa. . . .". For all this slowing down only the African is to blame, not the natural villager ready to receive education and instruction and encouragement and the civilising influence of the white man, but the true leader, the tribal chief, but the pseudo-nationalistic propagandists who shows little aptitude but self-interest and who by demands, threats and violence are working for the elimination of the European and all the European's culture and civilisation represents and send out their womenfolk with placards demanding "Freedom—one man one vote" and absurdities of this sort.

The fact of the matter is we have been taking too much notice of the African, too much of him in broadcasts, press and the patience of the European, his tolerance and restraint has been strained to the uttermost and reaction is now essential to put the African back "in his place" We must do this before it is irretrievably too late.

Britain must stop interfering in a situation her people do not understand and cannot grasp by her politicians and journalists visiting us for a few days or a few weeks. We must now be left to sort out the mess she has got us into by our own efforts and better knowledge. The impact of comparative populations of Africans and Europeans is important. Thanks to less regards for Europeans—perhaps because, rightly perhaps—by the Home Government than for the welfare of the natives, the elimination of tribal warfare, witchcraft and control of disease, the African population, breeding freely, has grown all the years much faster than the European, where, if anything, immigration has been restricted. Thus you get a numerical superiority of people who were not the original inhabitants of this country at all.

An interesting case occurs in New Zealand recently where hitherto, for many years, there has been no racial problem, and where, indeed, the Maoris are today a much superior people to the Northern Rhodesian African. Internecine warfare, cannibalism, and other factors, had reduced the Maoris to only 42,000 in 1896. But thanks to Government organisations it has since grown to 53,000 but while this is still itself unimportant since the total population of New Zealand is about 2,326,000, it is now increasing at over twice the rate of the European population. And only recently the Maoris have started interracial grievances which will doubtless, if not brought under control, create the same sort of trouble we are having here, in a great land also built up by the energies and enterprise of the white man. That is precisely what is happening here.

Just imagine what would be the impact if the Redskins staged a revival in the United States or the aboriginals in Australia. Remember, the latter two groups of natives are aboriginal. And what of the remnants of South American Indians? But the Maoris were polynesians not native to New Zealand and in Northern Rhodesia very few of the Africans, if hardly any, are aboriginals.

In the interests of the unquestionably superior white man here as in the other countries mentioned we have to get things under control. But as emphasised before actual numerical superiority is not so important. In quality, not quantity, it is the white man that stands superior, as a civilised, intelligent, enterprising, cultured, industrious and progressive and scientific people. If the United States had not broken away from Britain and Britain had set about raising the Redskin would the U.S.A. have become the greatest country, in the world structurally, today?

Here is a choice instance of ingrained native terror: a young African asks for and is given a lift on a motor lorry on which are also journeying some other Africans. Their conversation turns on "chifwamba" or "man-stealing," the business of seizing young Africans and taking them far away for sale into slavery, a profitable trade many years ago before the European stamped it out. The lorry inadvertently passed the turn-off where the boy in question was to have been dropped off. In fright the boy leaps from the moving vehicle, to his death. Are people with this fear in their hearts fit to govern or be given by the same ilk? And these are the people to which our Motherland is to hand us over to as other instances like Kenya.

"East Africa and Rhodesia" speaking of the recent Kenya Conference in London said: MacLeod "ruthlessly and recklessly sacrificed Kenya to the agitation of a few ambitious, obdurate and well-coached African politicians, and who were

now eager to attempt a similar operation in Nyasaland." To which I add, and Northern Rhodesia, and, if they can, the whole Federation. The journal adds "If Macmillan and Mr. MacLeod had had their way Dr. Banda would have been set at liberty weeks ago. Fortunately they have been thwarted by the solid opposition of the authorities on the spot, including the Governor of Nyasaland who has so far declined to take very broad hints (and perhaps thinly veiled orders) from London." And claims that as Sir Robert Armitage is due to retire in a few months he can continue to stonewall, to the irritation of Downing Street." We take off our hats to Sir Robert. But what when McLeod arrives—in a few days time of writing this? And what when Sir Robert departs?

And now what of Northern Rhodesia? An equally dangerous man is Kaunda. He served a term of imprisonment. He was recently released on termination of his sentence and instead of sending him away to a safe place he has not lost a day in stirring up more mischief and threatening us with dire consequences if the White Man Does Not Get Out Of This Country. And this same Kenneth Kaunda is invited to the United States to address a big "Africa Freedom Day" rally on April 13th. This Kaunda who is leader of the "United National Independence Party" the new vociferous organisation created on the ashes of the condemned and outlawed Zambia gang. This party has already announced that if it gets into power as an 'independent' Northern Rhodesia it will nationalise the Northern Rhodesian Copper mines, the railways and all other public transport. And as to such 'independence' it announced at the second All-African Conference in Tunis that it not only demands the break-up of the "Central African Federation" but that "Europeans in Northern Rhodesia must be evicted."

A correspondent in the local paper wrote well when he said "Mr. Kaunda was allowed to hold a meeting in Matero . . . I hope he will never be allowed to hold another anywhere else. It is obvious he has never seen suppression in force. It is a nasty, cruel hell-let-loose affair with no holds barred. Public statements as given out by Mr. Kaunda are not improving the mind of the European towards the African. Mr. Kaunda, do you think any Government would not . . . protective or aggressive action . . . if trouble came as a result of the mouthings of you and others? I hope that your brother Africans will make sure that all Congress agitators are well in front of the mob when trouble starts, but I suppose your people will take pretty good care to see that they are far enough away to escape the slightest scratch on their inflated heads. I warn you that the police and army as well as the general public are prepared to handle you as you deserve . . . you are shortly to find out that the Union Jack also represents the British Lion and you are twisting his tail just a little too much; a country, like a lion, has just so much patience and then you will know what it really is to be crushed and beaten to the ground, which is what you are asking for." I again comment that in all recent riots the rabble in front, brandishing signs and doing most of the shouting were women. They were those who protested afterwards at police treading on their toes or thrusting swagger sticks into their anatomy. These brave Africans will continue to use their women for their vanguard. I again comment that indeed never in the history of European occupation in this country has there been oppression of any kind. But some punishment is now indicated.

As to twisting the tail of the British lion I say, alas, that the British nowadays seems to have tamed its lion into positively purring when his tail is twisted! The African varies his demand in Northern Rhodesia from Sokota's —tenance that there shall be parity at least with officials in the Legislative Council to Kaunda and others demanding all-African government. And as another correspondent said, The British Government actually "yields to intimidation and lawlessness." It receives Africans freely in London, Africans who seem to have access to plenty of money for these picnics, money which could be better used towards amelioration of the living conditions of their countrymen in the villages. And gradually, one by one, Britain grants 'independence' to all its backward colonies or those which have been advanced entirely by European endeavour and achievement. Britain sheds its responsibilities to her sons and daughters who have left their homeland to make their homes in the colonies and have made them what they are. She is a tamed lion indeed, and takes a very poor place, getting poorer and poorer in standing, amongst the nations and powers of the world. She has lost

her pride, and Englishmen have sorrowfully, and apologetically, lost their price in the motherland. Not so long ago Britain was appalled at the atrocities of the Mau-Mau and now she humbly hands over power to its organisers. Prompt action by the Northern Rhodesian and Federal authorities prevented a similar outbreak in our country, but Britain was now ready to hand us over to the Banda's, Kaunda's, Sokoto's, Chirwa's, Chona's, obedient to their shrieks for "Freedom." Chirwa actually warned Sir Roy Welensky "not to dismiss with contempt the African Freedom movement which would soon be right on the borders of the Federation. The coming independence of the Belgian Congo and the link-up of self-governing African states down through East and West Africa would soon bring Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland into direct contact with the pan-African influence radiating from Ghana and other territories. I am sure we shall be out within a year. Nothing can keep us in except force of arms, and no one can keep a nation (sic) down by force of arms for ever these days. Northern Rhodesia would follow Nyasaland's example within two years. We shall want immediate secession and internal self-government."

You all know the story of the Nyasaland fateful "drum" located outside Dr. Banda's house, which was to be struck as soon as Dr. Banda was arrested and be the signal for a general bloody-rising and massacre of Europeans on the best Mau-Mau tradition. It was thanks to the astuteness and well-organised government security men that this drum was spirited away just before Dr. Banda's arrest. The Europeans of Nyasaland owe a deep debt of gratitude to the authorities for this dramatic action. Banda was arrested in the early hours and seemed quite cheerful, probably fully expecting to see his plans fructify and not knowing they were forestalled. And this is the man whose release people in Britain are pressing for, just as they are pressing for the release of the Mau-Mau bandit leader Jomo Kenyatta! Do they really believe men, women and children of the Europeans in the Federation, or Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will be safe and adequately protected before retribution and suppression is accomplished? And even then, like Cyprus and Kenya, will England hand over territory with both hands to these rabble? The same pattern follows over and over again. Britain even thinks she is doing something generous, statesmanlike, grand and free in calling such submission "granting independence"!

True enough, Musumbulwa warned Africans ". . . In the course of agitating for self-government appreciation should be paid by Africans to the advantages which have been brought about as a result of Colonial rule and European settlement." Very thoughtful and sensible. Unfortunately this gentleman is a Government Minister, and it is doubtful whether he would be trusted by African and European alike. I do not know.

But the U.N.I.P. continues to threaten "bitter strife" unless power is handed over. An African leader in Kenya declares with satisfaction of the London Conference results that henceforth the European, Asian and Arabic and other minorities in Kenya will have to look to the African for "leadership and protection!" In Ghana, on becoming a republic Dr. Nkrumah will not only declare himself president but a president with limitless powers. Then what of the Rhodesias Federation, particularly Northern Rhodesia let alone Nyasaland? John Gaunt prophesies Banda will be Prime Minister of Ghana within three years! And John Gaunt is about the best champion of European rights we have in the Federation and our soundest in Northern Rhodesia definitely. Gaunt remarks: "The world expects us to give the African equality and 'one man one vote,' and in the eyes of the world we are exploiters and the fact that this is false and a lie carries no weight overseas. . . . We are not prepared to live under a Government that will deny us our traditional freedom." To which I would add, as I know John Gaunt really means: Our right to superiority, neither inferiority nor equality!

In Lusaka recently was held a mass meeting which by its unprecedented size alone of about one thousand five hundred people indicated its resentment at Britain's colonial policies and its possible spread to Northern Rhodesia. A number of organisations had been started or mooted in the past, such as the White Council, a European Protection League and others but were not spontaneously developed. There was also the older Greater Rhodesia Association. At this meeting Col. Earl Spurr tried to revive the last. But at a vote a Northern Rhodesia Association took the majority. Unfortunately the well-planned effort did not turn out so well. Faults existed



in the type of many of the speakers. The only fighting speech was that of John Gaunt, and a good speech it was. But Van Eden, usually equally dominant was more of a saporific, and the rest were feeble in type of speaker, with exceptions, and what they said and disturbed the tone of the meeting. By the time they elected some twenty-one ill-sorted committee members the spirit of the meeting as created by John Gaunt rather deteriorated. But the fact remains that if considerably more than a thousand Europeans foregathered in resentment at events our European people can be said to be up in arms against Britain's indulgence of the pseudo-nationalism of Africans and a justifiable fear that Northern Rhodesia may be "sold down the river" in the same style as Kenya and another bunch of Ghanas created. A significant feature preceding this meeting with its unprecedented numbers was the large number of European businessmen coming forward with lavish financial offerings in support. What measures this new body can or will take remains to be seen. The objects are plain: To retain the government of Northern Rhodesia in the hands of civilised people and to resist any lowering of the franchise qualifications and any increase in African representation, and if there is no other alternative and the British Government insists on constitutional changes as set in Kenya and Tanganyika, etc., to require the territory's representatives to demand a withdrawal from any such scheme of the six per cent of land left to Europeans and Asians and the setting up of a self-governing state in the Federation with Southern Rhodesia. There is a definite difference of opinion as to this "six per cent" (or 'line of rail') area, and the common demand is for the whole of the Territory to demand self-government under European control within the Federation. And the spirit is "Do we fight or do we surrender?" to quote the press headline announcing the meeting.

Here I like to quote, with amusement perhaps, a correspondent to a local paper signed "Bushman Survivor." "Sir—Who is this Bwana Stonehouse? Is he paid by the Government? I do not think so, for he must be paid by the Bantu oppressors who drove us from our country, stole our cattle, burnt our crops, and murdered our picanins. My father told me that his father and mother were tied up, cooked and eaten by the Bantu tyrants. How do these people say the country is theirs? How can the musungu Stonehouse say so? It is ours—mine and the few people who escaped from the Bantu. And we want the bwanas to stay here and look after us, for we saw no peace for a hundred years before the bwanas came. Stay, Bwana Mkubwa, stay—don't betray us." Delightful and true, is it not?

But the bwanas are being betrayed! Yes, by Stonehouse, Barbara Castle and all that lot. And locally by Sir John Moffat, Harry Franklin, Revd. Colin Morris, Dr. Alexander Scott and such others of that variety. How much better off we would be without all this lot? Moffat was knighted for some vague statement of policy. I have never understood really why. Franklin after varied jobs has one he has to keep of course. Revd. Morris should stick to more priestly activities and not use his pulpit and lectern for political pro-African propaganda. Dr. Scott is out of action now, except as fairly harmless return to publication of a periodical with an African flavour. We can do without them, indeed. Their activities are merely mischievous, to the advantage of neither black—who do not trust them—nor white who have no respect for them and regard them a nuisance.

As to the parliamentarians and journalists who visit us for a week or two and return to stir up trouble in England they are a positive pest. There should be enough to do in the House of Commons without slandering the White settler. The latest Barbara squeal has been against the policy of the Lusaka Municipality and the Mayor of Lusaka rightly resents interference of this sort in the House of Commons with an overseas municipal Council.

We have also had some bad Colonial Secretaries, and the culminating one is that of Ian MacLeod who would have pleased us better by staying away.

As to the British Prime Minister, we may have a personal liking and respect for Mr. Macmillan, but during his visit and tour, appreciated in principle, he talked and talked and talked and said nothing! His visit was resented by Africans and disturbances took place including a suspected clumsy attempt on his life; by the European it was merely disappointing. One hears on the radio, as I write, a comment by a London newspaper that Macmillan had succeeded

Churchill with his better understanding and support for the European but seems to have embraced the Labour policy of considering the African's interests before the European. But in nothing is Macmillan a Churchill! He spoke out of turn in the Union and was gently snubbed. I like the speech of the Union's Minister of Defence, Mr. J. J. Fouche, at Ladybrand recently: "We agree with the basic economics of Mr. Macmillan's speech. We recognise the necessity to vouchsafe the security and freedom to live of every member of the community. But the white man must also have security and freedom to live and the question is how much time remains to vouchsafe that. There has been no instance where British policy in other parts of the world vouchsafed the security of the white man. *The time had come for South Africa to show the world that it was in earnest with Apartheid . . .*"

Commander Ewen Douglas said in a speech at Kitwe: "The white man and his civilisation are here to stay and flourish in Central Africa." He warned his hearers of a recent statement of Mr. John Roberts, territorial leader of the United Federal Party, in Northern Rhodesia to the effect that no constitutional changes were contemplated in Northern Rhodesia in the next four years. "A similar assurance was given to the Europeans of Kenya not so long ago, but it is now only a hollow mockery," said Commander Douglas, who, by the way, is with others, the founder of another European protection organisation, at Kitwe, called E.R.A. (European Rights Association) which is very live and in sympathy with the N.R. Association founded in Lusaka.

Now, Mr. Roberts is a very capable man, the only outstanding politician we have in Northern Rhodesia since the entry to the Federal field of Welensky, Gaunt and Van Eden. But his statement is nonetheless suspect or a misinterpretation of MacLeod's statements, and suggests a mere bromide to Northern Rhodesian White agitation. We cannot afford to "wait and see."

One of the effects of Macmillan's speech in the Union's House of Assembly was to speed up the plans of Dr. Verwoerd towards making the Union of South Africa a Republic. And a referendum is pretty to have the result he expects and desires, since only European voters can participate and a majority of even one will turn the scale. There is little doubt of the result. To some Mr. Macmillan's speech seemed timely and thought-provoking, but Dr. Verwoerd considered it only complicated the issue and "we have troubles enough without Mr. Macmillan adding to them . . .!" Mr. Macmillan unnecessarily stressed the significance of rising African nationalism, and referred to what he called the "wind of change" in the African continent and then proceeded "gently" to sow a "seed of doubt" that if the Union chose a republican form of Government, even though this was her own affair other members of the Commonwealth might not like to enrol her if she wished to remain in the Commonwealth. (One wonders whether he will apply this to Ghana as well?) But Dr. Verwoerd has more recently said that he would seek membership of the Commonwealth nation with its undoubted economic advantages only under Britain's Conservative Government, and if a Labour Government took over, with its present acknowledged pro-African and anti-apartheid attitude she would withdraw. One expects that, but one wonders whether the present Macmillan Government is any better judging from recent events in regard to Ghana, Tanganyika, Kenya and now the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. And remember the attempted boycott of South African goods by Labour has been an utter failure, and has only reawakened the Moseley organisation which would be welcome in the present circumstances if only Sir Oswald Moseley concentrated on Africans and Europeans and not only other white peoples as well which caused no little bother during the war and later. There are some who doubt the Union's strength to stay outside the Commonwealth. Personally, while I with most would like to see her a Member, I am confident that she can stand on her own feet. I do not favour the Republican movement myself but it seems inevitable, and after all she is virtually that already. I stress all this, although apparently irrelevant to ourselves, because indeed we have a close affinity with the Union, economically and as neighbours, and it may be also be militarily, for we may need and will surely get her help in serious trouble arises. She is capable of dealing with such most competently and would derive grim pleasure in the task. And as said, the Daily Express, considers "Macmillan's African laurels are beginning

to wilt." The paper remarks, refreshingly as a British view: "It is believed he is subscribing to a premature and overswift transfer of power to African politicians. The danger of such precipitate action is clearer than ever today. In Ghana the population were said to demand their freedom. They were given independence and what has happened? It has meant only power for Nkrumah, and, and he alone won freedom by the end of British rule in Ghana. No wonder then that Mr. Macmillan is considered by many to be betraying the trust of the British people. No wonder that, already there are signs of revolt in the Tory party. The signs should increase as the damaging effects in Africa become plainer. The 'wind of change' in Africa must not become a cyclone of chaos." And true and splendid words these are!

And here is a very recent problem, pointed out by the Salisbury Sunday Mail and headed MacLeod's Agonising Dilemma, or a miscalculation of timing. If on his tour of Nyasaland he induced the Governor to release Dr. Banda with the probable result of an outbreak of African "Independence" terrorism this may coincide with the forthcoming visit of the Queen Mother! So clearly either the Governor must stick to his guns, realising his responsibility as Governor over the people, apart from Her Majesty's visit, or either MacLeod must postpone his visit and leave Banda in custody or it will be necessary to cancel or postpone the Queen Mother's visit, for to expose Her Majesty to such a risk would be a terrible responsibility to the Federation. By the time this is read this problem may be solved, but it is given here to show the situation we are placed in by the African threats, and the danger of releasing Dr. Banda. That the man is a threat and a menace to security is seen. Throughout it all we have the fine spirit of Sir Roy Welensky that does reassure us to some extent, but unfortunately not entirely. Speaking in Bulawayo Sir Roy said "believe that Mr. Macmillan would agree with me that the people of the United Kingdom would be the last to be prepared to sell the achievements of the British people cheaply. . . ." But cheaply or not it certainly looks as if by the British people of the United Kingdom attacking and antagonising the white settlers and the attitude of both Mr. Macmillan and Mr. MacLeod a sell-out is imminent. Sir Roy goes on to say "I have tried to follow a policy of partnership with honesty and sincerity. It has not been an easy path to tread. Today the African is less and less likely to accept it, because egged on by his so-called friends outside he is led to believe that he has only to shout loud enough and long enough to see an abject surrender to extremism by the Governments of the African continent." Here we see a great man facing the red light. And Sir Roy is a fighter, and he will show his teeth and claws if and when necessary. His talks with Lord Home may be more encouraging, but we all still harbour great doubts of the issue.

Meanwhile this irritating "colour-bar" and "discrimination" in cinemas, restaurants, hotels and cafes, etc., controversy continues. And it will get us nowhere. One or two big hotels admit Africans, and European guests choose to stay or go. But few Africans enter the fashionable places. In Lusaka restaurants and cafes firmly resisted their admittance and still do. The proprietors held their own referendum amongst regular customers and the results were overwhelming in opposition to entry of Africans but the authorities are still trying to push through legislation to enforce multi-racial service. Strangely enough if Hotels are to become multi-racial they are forced to have special lavatory arrangements for Africans who, apparently, have not yet developed themselves to use European types of conveniences! So the law may say you must admit Africans and Asians on the same level as Europeans but you must erect special lavatories for these non-Europeans! A great deal of fuss was made because some African visitor from another territory who bore the title of a knight was refused service of a cup of tea at a Copperbelt Hotel because he was an African. The Prime Minister sent apologies, the Press were shocked, and there were other recriminations thrown at the head of the proprietor and his Manager who perpetrated this heinous offence. What nonsense that was! The Manager did quite right, for that was the policy of his establishment. The knight apparently made no effort to disclose his identity when in the circumstances some arrangements might have been made, nor did his European companions co-operate either. Nor was the "black knight" such a very V.I.P. really. And knights are two-a-penny nowadays as we all know. One of the effects of allowing Africans to frequent bars and hotels is merely to drive patrons into membership of clubs where, of course, multi-racialistic

laws cannot be put into effect, and the result is degrading of hitherto purely European establishments.

I have already written of the nice little habit of African "political leaders" to use women and youngsters to fight for them, to wield banners and shout their "Kwacha" slogans and shrieks. They also use schoolboys as part of their propaganda. At one African school where a boy wrote an essay in defence of Federation he was threatened and assaulted and when the boys were reprimanded they refused to accept discipline and they were all dismissed and the school closed. Incidentally this was done by order of the African Minister of African Education. It was reopened later after a chastening period had been allowed to elapse. More recently, at another school, pupil-teachers began to quarrel with each other the boys refused to attend classes, the school was closed and the "teachers" were reverted to the ranks! At one other school there was an uproar when it was heard the Monckton Commission were to pay it a visit and disciplinary action was again necessary. So much for our African scholars.

In the Congo with approaching "Independence," as in other African territories, faction and tribal warfare has broken out, with combatants decked in savage battle array and the free use of poisoned arrows. European force had to be used to subdue them, if they have subdued them. It has occurred in Ghana and in Kenya and will continue again and again. It will happen in Northern Rhodesia, you can be sure.

It has been declared that it would be impossible to have a jury system using Africans on the panel. There is the case of the Kenya Africans charged with the murder of an aged European. Three African assessors sat with the Judge. The case was clear but all the Assessors insisted that all the accused, there were ten, should be acquitted! The Judge rejected the Assessors' findings describing them as fantastic and sentenced eight of them to death. The Judge remarked grimly as to the Assessors "When I listened to their opinions I was reminded of the time in 1951, 1952 and the early part of 1953. At that time the influence of Mau-Mau was at its height and in those days it was virtually impossible to obtain opinion from Kikuyu assessors in Nairobi supporting convictions in any case, however strong the evidence of the prosecution might be." And they want Kenyatta released! And we Europeans are expected to come under the yoke of African administrators of justice!

And tension in Nyasaland, indeed throughout the North, too, becomes greater as the months go by and Britain does nothing to get the peril under control. As Mr. E. C. Brown writes, "Fear and uncertainty of what the future holds is breeding bitterness, tension and frustration. . . . No one looks to the Monckton Commission for the answer to Nyasaland's problems." And I say, nor to the problems, more acute, of Northern Rhodesia. An African, writing to a Lusaka paper writes: "Let us build unity and improve on the mess which the fanatic white rulers are making. . . ."

I agree with a Kitwe correspondent that "Africans are not even interested in doing a day's work. All that worries him is his food and his kia—he cannot even perform the duty of keeping a small telephone box clean. Because he is not interested in doing so. As for servants in European homes they are totally unreliable, even if there are a few good ones" (I have never found one you could say was reliable or good). If they so much as get picked out about any job they are doing they waste no time putting in their notice." In my experience they do not even do that but just throw their "situpa" away (they can always get a new one for ten shillings) and walk out. They are quick to seize on town amenities. In Lusaka there is a pleasant avenue of trees in the middle of Cairo Road separating the new dual carriageway from the older street. The Municipality placed out a series of benches under the trees along the route. This was thought to be an amenity for shoppers and visitors on which to rest and relax. Right from the start they have become completely occupied by African loafers, sitting there all day. I doubt whether they have been used to sitting hitherto on anything but their haunches, and I have yet to see a European using them. It is yet another example of African arrogance and proof that social integration will never work. We do not go out lashing Africans—more's the pity perhaps—but we just ignore them and put up with any such inconveniences. The same with lifts which, being automatic, dozens of Africans, picanins and who obviously most of whom have no business on the premises take rides all day long, while European women

are forced to mount several floors by the stairways. These lifts, like telephone booths, are mere toys for idle Africans tasting their demanded "freedom" at the expense of the European.

This "partnership" business! The coining of this as applicable to White and Black relationship was about the most unfortunate piece of minting ever made. It really means nothing, because it means one thing for the authorities, another for the European and another for the African and no one has yet clearly defined it.

A "draft statement" had been prepared by Government and Sir Gilbert Rennie, one of our ablest governors, who said "I commend the draft statement to the consideration of all." He added "It attempts to carry out a very difficult task—to explain the policy of partnership and the method of gradually carrying it out . . . to ensure a fair deal to both Europeans and Africans." Fair enough! "I appeal to all in Northern Rhodesia to have the true interests of the country at heart and to give the policy and practice of partnership a fair wind. . . . Partnership is the only workable policy" and went on to try and define it as "an attitude of mind, a way of life" and he urged that "This country's present situation and its future prospects would be much brighter if we could all adopt it." And the then Chief Secretary, Mr. Williams set it out that: "There can be no question of the Government subordinating the interests of any section of the community to those of another; that the application of partnership imposes on each of the two sections—Africans and Europeans—an obligation to recognise the rights of the other section to a permanent home in Northern Rhodesia." And more besides. And I pay tribute to Sir Gilbert for his sincerity, his forthrightness and shrewdness. I have met him personally and even argued with him on this point, and if I disagreed with him, I nevertheless respect him for all he has tried to do to implement his views and the stand he has taken when he became High Commissioner in London. He has always viewed with concern the problem confronting Government and the people, of Northern Rhodesia. I had written saying so at the time, with admiration at his zeal. I said ". . . The problem is deeper than he knows: a problem that should never have been placed before the country. If only that unfortunate word "Partnership" had never been spoken or put on paper! If only it could be wiped out and forgotten! We should all be happier without it. For years the European settler worked hard, under adverse conditions, achieving prosperity for this country. For years, within the limits of his ability, or disability, the native did his small share, progressing slowly under white tutelage. In that sense and in that degree he always was a "partner." In that sense and in varying degrees all people of the world are "partners." Came the sudden tendency of the native to over-reach himself by artificial development beyond his state. Came "Partnership," from which had arisen on the one hand resentment of the European settler who developed this country, and on the other hand a childish interpretation by the native that "Partnership" meant not only equality with the European, but arrogance and lack of any sense of proportion, creating, as it must do, trouble in its gravest form. Better that the word had never been an ingredient in the crucible of this country's growth towards prosperity. How much has the native yet to learn of the virtues, the graces of life, industry, hygiene, conscientiousness, honesty, truth, humility, self-respect and respect for his betters! I believe His Excellency knows this and will work to achieve some progress. . . . So long as "Partnership" is taken literally and implies equality as the European understands it, with the Native; and superiority (by virtue of numbers and pre-inhabitation) by the native in his present state of evolution, there can be no peace. 'The only satisfactory basis' on which responsible Government can be achieved is that by which the European shall continue to develop this country, the native being subordinate until such time as he is fit to stand on a level with the white man, and thus the native must continue to be subservient and accept tutelage of those who can teach him to be better and more useful . . . and I hold it will be generations and generations before he reaches that level. Without tradition, background, moral virtues and so on as a foundation he must battle "per ardua ad astra" as the white man did. Any artificial political stimulus foisted on him will only make him believe he is already there! He is not ready, and will not be for centuries, for any form of "Partnership." He has never been exploited or oppressed

but given "value for value." Thus we European settlers consider that the 'ultimate political objective' this 'self-government' can only be achieved, and as in the older countries and other colonies, by the European alone.

The Native was set on his feet from the very day European progress commenced. . . . He has a long way to go but he must not be allowed to think he is already there, now, by a "political policy" alone. And I fear that is what he is thinking. The cure is a change of policy, or rescinding the present policy under discussion.

What country has developed by such a policy? United States, Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, New Zealand? Are Liberia and Tahiti examples of the success of native sovereignty? Are natives anywhere near the state of mental conditioning to accept "responsibility"? It is in the best interests of the native that the European shall be predominant politically and in every practical way, for only the European can "do the job" . . . We Europeans resent the veiled threat that we will have to acquiesce whether we like it or not and there is nothing more to be said about it! . . . That 'Partnership' imposes on each section an obligation to recognise the rights of the other . . . seems rather fatuous unless it is a warning to the native to cease his silly 'who asked you to come here?' cry against the European . . . Banal to repeat that it is the European who has made and is still making this country, not the Native. With that fact lies the privilege of superiority and dominant standing of the European, for no nation was made by the native, but by the settler. And I observe that the Southern Rhodesian native (who chased the Northern Rhodesian native up here) is superior to those here; the South African native superior to both, just as the native of Australasia and America and many other countries are superior . . . One cannot speculate how far "ultimately" may be, but European settlers view with consternation and disgust the proposition that there shall be seated in the Legislative houses as many natives as Europeans . . . The promise that this to be a "black man's country" seems clearly made. We Europeans will not tolerate it. It means the rearing of that ugly head a "black proletariat" . . . Natives have always had the opportunity of rising to higher positions within his ability, energy and character. These virtues cannot be easily taught; they must evolve with the passing of time, by regarding the white man as his preceptor, not merely aping him. Natives are not ready to associate with the white man in any shape or form . . . There is nothing more to be said but . . . for Europeans to get together and protect themselves from the state of affairs promised as part of this unfortunate "partnership" policy.

To repeat, the whole fact of the matter is that the native was doing quite well before Government started to introduce 'monkey glands' into their growth. Missionaries, employers, and others gave them a fair deal according to their capacities. There is scarcely a one worth his salt as yet. There may be exceptions, as there are to all rules, but "one swallow is not a whole bottle of whisky" by any means.

The Europeans are in a numerical minority, but have something more; tradition, background, culture, history, ability, energy, enterprise, initiative and brains. Natives are in the vast majority, but what have they to offer? Not even competent manual labour. Is it proposed to enfranchise them and so put them in high places? then, inevitably the minority must be subservient numerically. What a fate for "Greater Central Africa!" (This is a mere extract, and it was written years ago when "Partnership" was coined, and see the results.) The African now claims that HE is the senior partner, that he alone must rule the country, that Europeans are but interlopers. I repeat what was said recently by an African: "The European must now look to the African as his leader and respect him . . .!" I concluded: "You have interfered with the clock, you have tampered with the pendulum. You have caused the hands to rush forward at a pace not intended of a good time-piece. Make the re-adjustment, turn the hands back to the proper register. Turn it back before the hammer strikes all wrong, and jars, and creates chaos in all our calculations of time." Elsewhere I wrote: "We are willing to treat the native justly and reward him for good service with a good return, to help raise his present low standards . . . What more could anyone expect, white or black? But there is Christian goodness and kindness and the virtue of gratitude in the Whites; never, no never, in the native who is insensible of thankfulness. In his present state he is still amoral . . . One must learn to

be a good, industrious, disciplined servant before one can aspire to being a master. Yet we are already teaching him to be a bad politician, rushing him into a franchise before he has acquired the responsibility that goes with this privilege . . . He has become conceited and demanding and far worse morally than he has ever been in his native village a century ago . . ." And so Russia looks on. It is said she will turn her benign attention on Africa in 1960. She is probably awaiting the outcome of the mess Britain is making of her African colonies and then the mess their African successors will make, then by loans, investments, leading to technicians and political military guidance will follow 'liberation.' And modern history tells us what that means wherever Communism has obtained control. It may be a salutary lesson for Kwana Nkrumah, Tom Mboya, Jomo Kenyatta, Wellington Chirwa, Harry Nkumbula, Kenneth Kaunda and all the rest of them. The perimeter of this evil spreads, from Lusaka to Accra and Tunis East and West, North and South and may become greater than we imagine.

The people who should be leading Africans should be their tribal chiefs, not self-seeking so-called politicians or leaders. And it would be best for all these malefactors to be deported back to their own respective kraals and villages and placed under the jurisdiction of their true tribal chiefs, who should, in turn, be held responsible for their conduct. They can then put their talents to the amelioration of their fellowmen in the villages instead of stirring up, as they are doing, in their personal ambitions, trouble in the towns.

And I would disassociate the European influences by summary dismissal of Sir John Moffat, Harry Franklin and a clear warning given to other such including the priest, Colin Morris. And Britain should be told once and for all to mind her own business. Said Sir John Moffat: "This is Africa and it is going to end up black and nothing anyone is going to stop it." Beautiful prospects! The pride of his race! Franklin aims at removing "genuine grievances of Africans." What are these "genuine grievances?" There are none justifiable whatsoever. He wants a "heartening considerable advance in African Political control." But it is gratifying to note he does not support "one man one vote" so cannot be popular with his following. In fact it is doubtful whether the Africans, like the U.N.I.P., etc., want these European leaders at all. Said he too: He would rather see the formation of an honest multi-racial state than the alternative which would be a too rapid obtaining of power by people not yet ready. For which I am beginning to respect Franklin and see a glimmering of sympathy with the true situation. But says L.J. Ngandu, a black M.L.C., supporting Sir John Moffat: "We will not allow the minority to dictate our future here. Northern Rhodesia, whether people like it or not, is an African state." And added: "Whether you bring Canberra jet bombers we shall die for Northern Rhodesia. We are determined to rule ourselves." Charming! I suggest if we brought a commando armed with sjamboks he would be hiding behind a riot of women! Revd. Colin Morris' views are of no importance, but he is abusing the pulpit. It is up to his ecclesiastical superiors to discipline him, that's all. What I admire about Moffat is his supreme impertinence. I refer to his offer to the Federal party to join them if they adjusted their policy to his! And as I wrote at the time: I can imagine Sir Roy convening a conference to adjust his policy according to Moffat's wishes and to replan his chessboard to permit of the moves of the "black knight." I admire Franklin, again, for pointing out that the Federation cannot dismember itself. He must be making a number of enemies amongst the black gentry he represents. But he has the courage.

In passing I remember in a letter to Chirupula Stephenson in which I said "I think the salvation of the European Settled and thus the future of this country depends, not on Federation, but by achieving R.G. by every means possible, even if it means a coup d'etat on the Cromwellian pattern." Well, why not? "Away with that bauble!"

For the fact is now abundantly clear that the bonds of loyalty with the Mother Country has become more and more strained.

Mr. Rodney Malcomson, M.L.C., and now a Northern Rhodesian Minister said on the occasion of the visit of John Stonehouse that this gentleman has had "the opportunity of meeting 'the masses of illiteracy, irresponsibility and profound ignorance of constitutional matters to whom he would give the vote willinilly," continued Mr. Malcomson: "When

I was in the United Kingdom last year attending the constitutional with the Secretary of State I had occasion to address a public meeting and had the hardihood to express the political opinion that I opposed the principle of universal suffrage in Northern Rhodesia. In fact I went further and said I deplored the one-man-one-vote idolatry. This provoked protests from members of the Labour Party and in particular from Mr. Stonehouse . . . We can only visualise the chaotic destruction of all the development which has taken place over the past 30-odd years if we, in an insensate desire to protect Fabian ideals, foisted the vote on the pathetically unready." To which Mr. V. Joyce, M.P., added: "Mr. Stonehouse should not deceive Africans when he speaks. In their ignorance they think he is the whole British Government. His type lowers the prestige of Britain every time they open their mouths."

A rumpus occurred over the order by the Federal Government that Stonehouse leave the territory. I submit that any territory has the right to keep out of its terrain any person, whether he is a British M.P. or anyone else, if it considers that person's presence is not conducive to its welfare. And I go further and declare it is time British journalists-cum-M.P.'s like Stonehouse, Barbara Castle, etc., be stopped from airing their half-baked views in the British Parliament and irritating the Settlers of the country they have the impertinence to criticise after a few days or even week's mischievous visit. In this way respect for the mother country is allowed to deteriorate.

Britain has enough to do checking its multi-racial babies. We are told that at Dr. Barnardo's Homes out of 7,500 children in their care, 654 are of mixed parentage. The association of black men with white women in England amazes the Colonial. A white woman told me in London that she was one of several friends who were proud to have a black "boy friend." A sort of rare trophy! And Africans return to their own countries, openly bragging of their conquests of white women with whom they have slept. That is an authentic fact. Some time ago The Yorkshire Post published a letter from a Rhodesian in which she protested that "decent living people were meant to treat the Blacks as equals." I wonder how long she had lived in Rhodesia. And referring to this, correspondence appeared in the Salisbury Sunday Mail letters appeared in protest. We have been told to let as many people in England know what the true facts were, and one writer pointed out: "If you write to the English papers and say nice things about multi-racial society you are right and the English will approve. If you say the opposite you are wrong and the English will disapprove. But "How little the English know! The business of Britain is to mind her own business, and she has plenty of her own business to mind, at home!" Do not think the African is grateful or loyal to Britain to whom he continually appeals. At a Congress meeting a J. Chimba said: "The Colonial Office is no longer our friend. If we do not protect ourselves we will be slaves for ever." Pity he could not commune with his ancestors to know what real slavery means! "The system of imperialism is to keep the African down, to make him the hewer of wood. . . . I hate Mr. Welensky because he wants my Africans to be slaves. Some of you call him Sir Roy Welensky, but I shall call him Mr. Welensky. . . . If you want freedom be prepared to die. . . ." There is some African mentality for you! Sir Roy's talks in London might not have led to anything decisive, but it was a considerable personal triumph and that means a lot. "Well done, Sir," shouted the large crowd at the airport as he started his return journey. It helped our relationship with Britain a great deal. But the resentment persists and worsens. But what could be more sickening than a broadcast some time ago of a dialogue between a Labour M.P. and a Conservative M.P.? The Labour M.P. (ba goom!): "I agree with you. . . ." The Conservative M.P. (I say!): "I couldn't agree with you more!" The Labour M.P.: "After all, Welensky is one of us, a trade unionist, an engine driver. . . ." The Conservative M.P.: "Ah yes, of course, old chap, quite so. . . ." Or something of that sort, neither knowing the slightest thing about our conditions and our problems. I squirmed. So must have Roy.

I have every confidence in Sir Roy, but we must publicly exert ourselves, and make it clear to those dunderheads in Britain that we have had just about as much as we can stomach. They can try and threaten we Europeans and tell us what they are going to when the Labourites begin brandishing their aitches about, but there is a limit and we have about reached that limit. Let us stop worrying what the British Parliament thinks of us. Perhaps it is more than time that



we got them worrying about what we think of them, that their Government is too far away to tell us how to govern the country we have built up, in spite of, not with the help of, the African, and what we plan yet to do. And let us stop thinking about the African; talking about him, publicising him, pandering to him or even mentioning him. As it is we get enough nonsense, such as this extract: "The European living in the Federation who does not believe that, at some time in the future, a transfer of power to the African will take place is a rarity. But when will this transfer be effected? That is just the sort of 'brainwashing' that is forced on many Europeans until he nearly believes it, and often does, but the greater number are proof against such psychological tactics.

What the Old Country forgets or does not realise when the Mother of Parliament spends £500 a time to send M.P.s to gather scatterbrained ideas in the course of a holiday in the Federation at the expense of the British Taxpayer is that she is in danger of weakening the bonds of loyalty and affection for her by her people beyond the seas, for we tend to lose patience and are irritated when we are told by these casual visitors how to run our country. There was an excellent article in "Overseas" by James Hope entitled "Is British South Africa turning anti-British?" One replies, fervently: "God forbid! But though that article refers to the Union there is some juice in the meat as affecting the Rhodesias as well. Mr. Hope defines: "I do not mean the post-war settlers, but men whose roots are in South Africa, whose families have been in the country for two, three, and four or more generations, men nurtured on the traditions of Rhodes and Kipling, strong Royalists and loyal supporters of the Commonwealth . . . Mr. Hope affirms, correctly, that there is a strong feeling that there is too much uninformed criticism of the treatment of natives. I think we are still proudly loyal but it is exasperating and frustrating of our sentiments to have England continually telling us our business. The African in this country is being treated with free-handedness, generosity, liberality and freedom to an absurd degree, right out of all proportion to his worth. Without the fundamental soundness, tradition, brains and willing and dynamic energy of the European is not qualified or fit for equality. If people like Mrs. Castle would spend say 10 years with us (we'd rather she did not!) meeting Africans as an employee in industry or trade, or farming or in domestic association I venture to think she would change her mind entirely.

Meanwhile, Britain must cease sending people out who only get our backs up. Let us cease admitting them. There is a limit to our courtesy, good humour, patience and tolerance. There was a good editorial in the Northern News in December, 1958, of which I quote some: "Since the war it has become common practice for Commonwealth countries to sever their ties with Britain or to keep only the most tenuous of links. These countries—India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, to mention some of them—have not achieved their aims without recrimination, and in some cases open hostility. Mr. Nehru and Dr. Nkrumah flirts openly with Communism; Ghana threatens to become a republic. In the face of such widespread antagonism to London (an antagonism which only the monarchy prevents from becoming something deeper) it might be supposed that a country such as the Federation, which is staunchly pro-British, might be accorded treatment in accordance with its loyalty. But where politicians, and especially politicians such as Mr. James Callaghan, are concerned, nothing could be further from the truth. Every time Mr. Callaghan opens his mouth these days is it to hurl fresh insult at us . . . "There is no acknowledgment of what the European has done in this and other countries for the African, and no acknowledgment of our rights . . . Loyalty earns a strange reward!"

Mr. Chimba haranged a crowd of Africans at Matero a year ago and screamed to them, of whom about 98% were probably illiterate, that the British were murderers. "Look at Kenya!" he yelled. But in Kenya gangs of fifty or more brave Africans roamed the bush attacking lonely farmhouses and killing the handful of occupants, women and children as well as men and animals. Not murder, of course! But when the authorities hanged the beasts for these atrocities the Europeans were the murderers! "Look at Cyprus!" he declaimed. There groups of thugs very bravely shot soldiers, unarmed civilians and women in the back. This is, of course, not murder! It is only murder when they hang those responsible. This is the sort of talk delivered by "leaders" of blacks

only some fifty years from savagery. Said Mr. S. E. Morris, the Southern Rhodesian Secretary for Native affairs in a message to Africans. "African Congress is now taking its orders in some matters from the all-African conference which was held in Ghana . . . It is clear these self-appointed leaders . . . who come from the towns, are working to get rid of the tribal authorities so that they can take control and force everyone to accept their power. These rabble rousers—some of whom have had little or no education—are very good at talking, but could not even manage a business, an agricultural show or council successfully yet seek to govern the people . . . These men would usurp the place of their fathers and elders and give respect to no one . . ." And the "Observer" says white settlers in Africa should "come to terms" with African nationalist leaders!"

Northern Rhodesian natives, as said, are about the lowest in Africa. Largely diseased and incestuous, they have no background, no tradition, and live entirely for their food and knocking-off time. They know nothing of the sanctity of an oath. In a court of law it is not required that they take an Oath as the European witness must. They cannot do a single job competently or accurately. Ask any builder, engineer, farmer, or employer. What has the negro, with a rare, very rare, exception here and there, given to the world? Pugilists, crooners, a tenor or two? But they retain their witchdoctors and superstitions. Despite all the European has tried, through a beneficent Government and the Mission field, to inculcate into them, Africans have made no tangible progress. You cannot mould bad material! And so I sound a clarion call to brother settlers throughout the country. You came here years ago, married and brought forth offspring to inherit your estate. You made this country grow, with the hindrance rather than the help of the native. You intended this to be a white man's country, and now you find to your consternation that it is in danger of being a black man's country, with the African your master. Is this to be your children's inheritance? Are you not going to do something about it? Are we to break away from the grand old mother country, to whose Crown we have always been so loyal? Yet something must be done, and quickly, and firmly. Do I believe in the so-called "Colour-bar." Decidedly I do. Not so much because of the colour of the skin, and his karoo-type hair, but because I find him generally repugnant socially.

The African is a different type of creature entirely. It is not like the difference between Englishmen, Irishmen, Welshmen and Scots, or to Frenchmen or Italians or Germans, etc. It is just that he is something quite different and below any European or white-man's standards of being. He will never be much different even if freaks spring up here and there. His place is to learn all the European can teach him in the proper way of life and to raise the standards of his own people by the use of this knowledge in his villages and communities. He is not required in the realm of politics. As a Salisbury correspondent said truly: "Before European guidance what where the achievements of these people? Their primary industry consisted of squatting on their haunches, and secondary industry, scratching themselves." The more rapidly the surrender of Kenya to the Mau Mauers the more frequently do we here of fresh murders, outrages, the return of the 'panga' atrocities, men, women and children being murdered, right up to the time I write this. And the culprits have escaped arrest, because their is no co-operation from the African as there should be if he can be regarded fit to participate in the government of the territory. And all Britain does is to support the Black man and surrender the white man to his mercy.

Britain is trying us to breaking strain, as I have said before. It is refreshing to hear the words of Mr. George Samuel Mason, a former Yorkshire mayor who paid us a visit. Said he: "First of all I am going to tell the people back home that the administration here has done and is doing a tremendous job . . . This is the view also of the Africans we have talked with, in their homes, in the reserves, in the native townships and native schools. They all told us the same story: 'We are happy when the Congress people leave us alone' . . . I will tell the people back home in Britain the story of the African school teacher who wept with joy on the day the emergency regulations were made known because for the first time in years, he said, he could get on with his work without going in fear of his life . . . Of the progress that has been made in African education, health and welfare . . . They will tell them that many Africans have for a long time been

going in fear of these Congresses, etc. So you see, it is not the old African in his village but the self-centred African politician, those mad, fanatical "leaders" who are the disease, and who Great Britain is fostering and to whose maws the European settler is being ruthlessly thrown. Macmillan's visit was a mistake.

For one thing he had not the calibre. Said the Union News at Kitwe: "As Prime Minister of Britain he had the opportunity of quieting fears and building confidence, but he chose to fritter the opportunity rather than make clear and authoritative and reassuring statements. At the Press conference in Salisbury Mr. Macmillan was asked what constitutional safeguards were envisaged for the Europeans in the Northern Territories, if, as seemed probable, these territories would eventually have predominantly African governments. Here was a golden opportunity to give us a guarantee of permanence in the country. But all we got were pious hopes." The trouble is that in September, 1959 when the proposed Constitution was published it should have been contested tooth and nail. It was allowed to proceed. It was rushed through with alacrity. The despatch from the Secretary of State for The Colonies was gazetted in a special edition on September 11th, published as a Bill on the 13th, and followed by a Gazetted Order in Council on the 17th which announced that the instrument had been laid before Parliament on the same date and came into operation on 18th! Slick work, indeed! It was not intended to invite criticism. There should have been an outcry.

The various parties, as I appealed at the time, should have got together and walked out. Not a voter would not have applauded. An organisation in opposition should have been started at once to express our resentment and refusal to co-operate. Both the Federal and Southern Rhodesian governments should have banded together to associate themselves with Northern Rhodesia. Had all this been done at once it is probable the situation today might never have developed. Certain European protective organisations did make an abortive start but they were faulty in concept and personnel and organisation unfortunately. But the fact that they did come into being, no matter how ephemerally, is proof of what people thought. The proposed "European Congress" was preceded by Oily's White Rhodesia Council. In fact Alderman Oily was a veteran pioneer for the white man. He deserved a better fate. His organisation failed through lack of numerical and monetary support, or because of the large number of people who really believed Europeans and Africans could really work together. The European Congress did not meet with support because it was regarded as an opposite number to the African Congress and become its opponent and engender enmity. And so it should have.

By superior standing the European organisation could have put the African one out of business and then dissolved. One African imbued with more than average lunacy wrote to the paper describing the European as the African's "guest," received with courtesy, who has abused the African's kindness in welcoming him by now taking over his host's house! That is the sort of muddle-headed idea of the African I mean. Whose guest was he when he scuttled from north and south into Northern Rhodesia? The baboons? Strange that by European money Municipalities and other authorities are building many thousands of new houses for Africans whose forefathers built their houses themselves! I wonder how many people remember the words of Lord Winterton: "No British Government is in a position to force a settlement upon the present Federation if the vast majority of the European settlers are opposed to that settlement." Can we count on that? Continuing and quoting that excellent Colonial Secretary, Lennox Boyd: "Those British politicians who are carrying on a vendatta against the Federation, and the journalists and cartoonists who have attacked the Federation and its Government should do well to realise these facts and further to remember two historic episodes in the history of our country—the Boston Tea Party and the unsuccessful attempt by the Liberal Government before the 1914 war to coerce Ulster."

Is it any wonder that Sir Roy was on one occasion compelled to say bitterly that "Federation will go it alone if" there was any interference. If the Labour party came into power and dishonoured agreements between the United Kingdom and the Federal Government the sequence might well result in the Federation being obliged to declare itself an independent state. What a furore this caused! As Sir

Roy said on another occasion, at Nairobi when he opened the 1958 Royal Show, It was time that the white man was given a little more credit for what he has done in Africa. It was time the White man became a little more assertive in his own achievements, goodwill and achievements. Said he: "When I work as I am doing for the independence of the Federation, my aim is not only the fulfilment of the understandable aspirations of a nation, but also the safeguarding of the achievements of civilisation in our part of Africa." No clearer demonstration of the views of the people on "partnership" and "inter-racialism" could be given than when on the imposition of the twin voting system where Europeans had a vote for a black candidate as well as his own, he usually tore up the paper or left it blank or generally caused a terrific amount of "spoilt papers." And, of course, Africans did the same thing. So a "multi-racial" society, as I have said, will not work!

One of the points often overlooked is that Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia is not occupied by just one black people. In the passing of time there are now innumerable separate tribes, quite distinct from one another. The strongest are the Bemba, without about 600,000, Chewa, 290,000, and there are Tongas, Ilas, Lundas, Lozas, Lungus, Luvalas, the Inamwangs, and the Mambwes. All this rather complicates life when their "leaders" demand Independence and complete rule by the African people. This only goes to show how important it is for the control of the territory to be in the hands of the Europeans as hitherto, and not to be interfered with by the Home Government. Said Sir Roy at Ndola on one occasion: "The Colonial Office has to get out of Central Africa," to a thunderous applause. But he added "At the 1960 conference we have to produce a scheme which would guarantee the obligations she entered into will be honoured, and I think it can be done."

Such obligation does not mean handing over of the European's fruit of achievement to an all-African control. We are supposed to be a Protectorate but whatever is supposed to be "protected" it is not only the African, but also the European. The African never rose to anything for he has not the capacity, but we did not betray our trust to help him along while meantime developing this country into what it is today. We hear "ad nauseam" of so many Europeans and so many Africans, as if mere numbers counted instead of civilisation, calibre, energy and capital, erudition and culture. Africans do not know more about the country—or as much, in fact—that the European old settler and pioneer. A correspondent averred there were 20,000 well-educated Africans. I challenge this statement, but, as a well-quoted philosopher might have said: "it depends on what you mean by well-educated!" Northern Rhodesia must either be self-governing, with a responsible (or irresponsible) government controlled by Africans, or be part of a great Central African Dominion under European control. There can be no compromise, "partnership" or multi-racial state or any integration. There can be no two ways about it. Europeans must not sit back and take current events with equanimity.

We contain too many who have now become apathetic and reconciled to "the shape of things" as they now see them. I have admiration and personal loyalty for Sir Roy Welensky and when he made a dramatic speech warning us against dynamic action that might become a military revolution I detect something more akin to his nature. Is it a warning that we are not to be tried too far? More than once Sir Roy has had to wear velvet gloves and "pull his punches" in his negotiations with the English parliament. He is not used to velvet gloves. He prefers leather ones, or none at all! But he is the man to see us through the present state of affairs. The other day I took a stroll when by came a tall African, very inebriated, declaiming at the top of his voice: "The Queen chose the white man to come here and educate us . . . and then twisting in my direction asked me if I agree with him. I replied "in vino veritas!" and fled. How meaningless is "race relations"! You and I know quite well that we just "put up with it." We do not like the African. We do not like queueing up with him; we just have to. We do not offer him the use of our bathrooms and household lavatories. We dislike him cluttering up our telephone booths, public benches, banks and parks; we "put up with it." How much better off would he be living his own very good life instead of "forcing mixing," aping the white until, as someone said the Federation consists merely of black Africans and white Africans!



The editor of the *Sunday Mail* was right when he said: "The issue is starkly simple: No investor in his right mind would sink money into a country which could not guarantee stability, and, axiomatically, a political climate in which creative ability could flourish." There is a great deal in Field's original idea of a "Central African Alliance." Only the name is wrong and the terrain. For I favour pure Amalgamation of all the three territories—in which later others might join—just simply *RHODESIA*. Travel agents report "an alarming increase" in the number of people buying one-way tickets out of the Federation, people worried about the effect on their future by "African advancement." As to Federation, of course, as said before, Northern Rhodesia gained nothing out of it; quite the contrary. As a special correspondent wrote in the Northern News some time ago: Six years is ample time to prove whether the Federation is a success or not, or whether the "old days" were better. There is ample evidence that Northern Rhodesia had little to gain and everything to lose.

The flow of revenue from the North to the South had become more than monotonous. Before 1953 the Income Tax was negligible. Today Federal taxation is a burden comparable with that in any European country. Cost of living has increased, public service charges such as postage registration, telegrams, telephone charges, the imposition of the radio licence and other charges have all risen. We could have done better by building our Kafue dam instead of footing the Kariba, and could have done it out of our own income, for after all it was our copper that attracted foreign capital anyway. The running costs of federal customs and immigration exceeds the combined cost of such when run territorially. And we have the comic opera situation of four parliaments, four chief ministers, four governors (including a Governor-General) and four civil services. But the Capital of the Federation is in Southern Rhodesia in the same city as their own territorial capital! And the enthusiasm and good spirit, generally, is lacking. It has bred African pseudo-Nationalism and made all the three territories unhappy and the world is beginning to distrust us as a good investment.

One can understand a suggestion of referendum—not granted to Northern Rhodesia when Federation was decided on—as to whether we should return to our pre-Federal status or continue as part of the Federation. And then arises the ugliness of the African "nationalism" and it would be playing into their hands if we did return status-quo. No, we must remain a Federation unless, as I suggest, we become, instead, one amalgamated Rhodesia, with one Governor-General, one legislature and administration, one Force, one police, one country under one name *RHODESIA*, the names Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, fading into history. It should be the death-knell of African "Nationalism." The trouble is one cannot get our politicians interested in this or the idea of change of Capital or my idea of the dual-capital system. You see, they look uncomfortable and betray on their faces a fear of losing their seats or their ministerial appointments, and other jobs. Yet the creation of Lusaka as the other Capital would do our territory a world of good, particularly Lusaka.

Soon we hope Lusaka will be a Cathedral City, or declared of City Status at any way, as the Administrative Capital its importance would be enhanced and it would attract investment and some of the enterprises that seem to be attracted to Salisbury only as the only recognised Federal Capital. It might also expedite the old-mooted but continually defeated scheme of a direct rail link between Kafue and Salisbury. However this is merely one of the fruits we should expect whether we have Amalgamation or a modified Federation with my recommendation that either the Capital be moved holusbolus from Salisbury to Lusaka as the centre of the Federation, or there be the two Capitals I have proposed. Apart from this I have only to add my mede of appreciation and gratitude that we have a leader like Sir Roy Welensky to see us all through. Let us give him our whole-hearted and unequivocal loyalty. In considering the question often raised as to whether we had suitable men to take over the reins of Government, I say this: in the Federal field there is Sir Roy and McIntyre. In Northern Rhodesia we have John Roberts if no one else at present, and on the Government side there is a brilliant officer in Harold Nicholson.

I admit the rest of the material at the moment is not outstanding, but I feel sure they will come, and come quickly,

once they are needed. As I conclude this comes over the radio Mr. Macmillan's rather fine speech at a meeting in London in which he dwelt on his African trip and used these stimulating words: "While the African should be led along the road of progress nothing should be done to take away the rights of the settlers!" I hope Kaunda & Co. heard this.

I conclude with the words of Nicholas Monserrat:

"The pace of the native is the pace of Africa—and you hasten it at your peril—and his."

Conclusion:

The submissions and suggestions I make are as follows:

1. A Declaration by Britain that she will not hand over Northern Rhodesia for either total or partial government by Africans as done in Ghana, Kenya, etc. and make it clear to African leaders that their claim for Independence is not recognised. African political organisations to cease having recognition, and their leaders no longer of any standing.
2. That all detained trouble-makers, including Dr. Banda, after a fair trial, be deported back to their respective villages or kraals and ordered to remain there. That their respective Chiefs be held responsible for their conduct and detention, free to carry on their livelihoods there. That other leaders, although not detained be ordered to cease their activities under pain of similar deportation to the care of their Chiefs. That visits of Africans to London be stopped and arrangements made with the Home authorities to no longer receive or recognise them.
3. That visits from British politicians, other than Ministers, and also Journalists be stopped from entering this territory in future.

If Federation is to be continued it must be re-constituted on entirely different lines, namely:

1. Each territory shall retain its own revenue, its own administrations and its own expenditure. From its revenue it shall contribute equal sums, as necessary, annually reviewed, for the operation of the Federal Government.
2. Representation of territories in the Federal Parliament shall be equal in number for each territory, and the Federal Cabinet shall be equally representative.
3. All public services other than *defence, external affairs and law* and Federal inter-communications shall revert territorially, namely *postal, agricultural* and so forth, *education, health, commerce, mining, public works, etc.*
4. *Franchise* qualifications shall be raised, educationally, financial, property ownership or occupation, etc., with only one common roll to which both African and European shall be eligible, both as to Territorial or Federal legislatures.
5. The offices occupied by Sir John Moffat and Harry Franklin shall cease. Representation territorially shall be by
 - (a) The usual common vote where there are African candidates.
 - (b) Nominees from Council of Chiefs.
 - (c) One European nominee.
6. *Taxation* shall be territorially only.
7. *Capitals*: Two. *Salisbury* legislative; *Lusaka* administrative.

BUT IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AMALGAMATION REPLACE FEDERATION.

All three territories to cease to exist as entities, and the whole to be known as *RHODESIA*, under *ONE PARLIAMENT* and plus a *SENATE*, but representation being in equal number from the original territories henceforth to be called *PROVINCES*. There shall be *ONE DEFENCE FORCE ONE POLICE, ONE GOVERNOR* (Governor-General), *ONE JUDICIARY* and legal code, *ONE TAX AND FINANCIAL* and economic system, but each *PROVINCE* shall receive equal distribution of total revenue and shall operate its own *PUBLIC WORKS*. In short there shall be only *ONE COUNTRY—RHODESIA*, divided into three or four provinces to include Barotseland as the fourth.

Lusaka.

17th March, 1960.

Oral Evidence

G. L. LIPSCHILD

Mr. Lipschild, who left a memorandum with the Commission, said that he had come to Northern Rhodesia in 1921 as an accountant to a mining company, and in 1933 had moved to Lusaka. He was aged 64 and he had three children born in Northern Rhodesia.

He said that he wished to make the following points which summarised his written memorandum:—

- (a) It was desirable that a declaration should be made by Britain that she would not hand over Northern Rhodesia for either total or partial government by Africans, and that she did not recognise the claim of Africans for independence.
- (b) In order to stabilise the present situation, political parties should be abolished, trouble makers should be tried and deported to the villages where the Chiefs should be made responsible for them.
- (c) Visits by Natives to London should be stopped; similarly, visits by British politicians and journalists to the Federation should be banned.
- (d) Representation of the three Territories in the Federal Parliament should be equal.
- (e) A number of functions, including Posts and Agriculture, should be transferred to the Territorial Legislatures.
- (f) The franchise qualifications should be raised in respect of both education and property, and all voters should be put on a single common roll. Once an African had earned a vote, he should have equal status with Europeans.
- (g) The present Federation should be replaced by an amalgamation of the three Territories to be known as "Rhodesia", with a common legal code and judiciary.

Mr. Lipschild added that at the present time the Federation's ties with Britain were being strained. The Rhodesias had no intention of being put into the same position as Kenya. He himself had been brought up as a jingo, and was quite prepared to lose his life for King and country. The only thing which kept the Commonwealth together now was personal contact with the Royal Family.

Memorandum

DR. A. SCOTT

I have lived in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the past 33 years. I have practised both medicine and law and have also been interested in newspapers from time to time. In 1953, I approved of Federation. I thought there was a wide liberal spirit abroad and that Federation would give greater opportunities to Africans as well as Europeans. At that time I was serving on the University Inaugural Board and I was gratified to find a very liberal spirit in the Southern Rhodesian members of that Board. I concluded that this spirit was a great deal wider than it actually was. In 1953 I stood as a liberal independent member for Lusaka. I was opposed by a candidate of Welensky's party, the Federal party and by a Confederate, and I won the seat. This I considered promising for a country pledged to Partnership.

My disillusionment began shortly after I entered the Federal House and in a comparatively short time it was complete. I could detect no intention on the part of the Federal Government to concede more than a semblance of Partnership, if that, to Africans. The old Southern Rhodesian manner of life, with the disabilities and discriminations suffered by Africans continued as before. Federal Ministers became quite cross when they were badgered to make Partnership a little more real. I think it was this persistent refusal to give a little more Partnership that has in the long run, made Northern Africans so antagonistic to Federation. The Federal franchise which was introduced had financial qualifications which were prohibitive for more than a handful of Africans and although more Africans could have registered on the lower roll, they could see that they had little chance of electing an African of their own choice. The number of Africans who went to the poll was very small in both Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Not so long after this there were the alarming announcements by the Prime Minister of the possibility of Dominion status and Independence in 1960. Africans were badly shaken by this. This policy of course, was approved by a majority of Europeans in all three territories. They liked their way of

life, their racial superiority, their privileges and they did not want to surrender anything. Then came the troubles of 1958—the wholesale arrests in Southern Rhodesia; the outlawing of Congress in Nyasaland; the outlawing of Zambia in Northern Rhodesia. I must say this, that, although I was a candidate for Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia in 1959, and depended to a large extent on African support, I did not see any sign of Zambia's interference with the election.

Sometime later we had a visit from Lord Home to Salisbury. He evidently came to ascertain the facts about the situation in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. I think he must have told Welensky and Company that unless they put up a more convincing show of Partnership, the British Government might find it difficult to keep the Federation together. Up to that time, very little had been done by the Federal Government in the way of Partnership. After Lord Home's visit, various steps—very minor ones—were taken, such as common doors in Post Offices; the appointment of Mr. Savanhu to a Secretaryship, the appointment of an African to the High Commissioner's Office in London. Lord Home spoke of a new kind of state in which the dominant note would be Partnership. A partnership, he hoped, which would be acceptable to all. He did not say how he was going to achieve this. By that time Africans scorned any possibility of Partnership.

Quite recently Lord Home has paid another visit to discuss Southern Rhodesia's relationship to the Federation. He probably discussed many other matters as well. He spoke, for instance, of the Northern Territories achieving self-government within the Federation, with African majorities. He was pulled up on this by Mr. Roberts, the leader of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, who said he thought that with a multi-racial constitution, political parties would not be divided on racial lines. Lord Home admitted he had made a faux pas and left it at that. He has declared that these new constitutions will protect the interests of all races.

We have learned from Mr. John Roberts that the Northern Rhodesia Constitution will not be altered for four years. This constitution was a considerable improvement on the previous one, but it is still not good enough. There are features in it which no adult African electorate should be asked to accept for any length of time.

There can be no doubt that the relations between black and white in the two Northern Territories have steadily worsened in the last two years and this has been caused very largely by African opposition to Federation and their constant frustration in their efforts to get rid of it. We who have lived a number of years in the country never contemplated a time when the relations between black and white would be so strained and when it was considered necessary by Government to enact a body of repressive and restrictive legislation, which shocks the conscience of intelligent Europeans. We did not dream that Africans would be shot in civil strife and suffer long terms of imprisonment for offences which are by no means grave. I should like to see the end of our present form of Federation. If there is to be a complete disruption of the Status Quo of 1952, well and good. I could see no possible objection to certain services like Communications being controlled by a High Commission.

I think Northern Rhodesia would develop much faster and on less racial lines under its own Government and a High Commission. There would certainly be the greatest measure of happiness for the greatest number.

If this Federation is going to continue as presently constituted, it is to my mind desirable that certain services be transferred from the Federal Government to the Territorial Governments; the chief of those is Health. No good reason has ever been given why this concurrent subject ever became Federal. In Northern Rhodesia it was a well organised and efficient service. It had been organised by Dr. Haslam in 1935 onward and it remained eminently satisfactory. During the debates in the Federal House on the first Health Bill in 1954, the Minister told me that the Administration would be regional. It became so although the powers of the regional Directors were very limited. The Secretary of Health in Salisbury kept a very close financial control and he interfered in matters which should have been left to the local Directors. There was much discontent among Northern Rhodesia doctors in the Service and this has continued to the present day. Many doctors have resigned. At the moment the Director of Health in Southern Rhodesia is in Great Britain trying to obtain recruits for the service. There was a very efficient service



against Tuberculosis before 1953 and it was in danger of being curtailed by the Secretary for Health shortly after Federation. Fortunately the Minister had better sense in the matter.

I could never learn why European Education became a Federal subject. We had good schools just completed for secondary education and good staffs of teachers. We contemplated building Asian secondary schools and schools for coloureds. We had a very efficient Director of European Education, but he never had an opportunity to show his mettle in organising secondary education.

I hope there is no intention of making the Police a Federal force. I am certain of this, that we should not have required such a large and expensive force in Northern Rhodesia, if there had been no Federation. I regret that the Federal Government has not seen fit to give promotion to qualified Africans in the Defence Force. I think we had better forces in the two Northern Territories when our officers were seconded from the British Army. I should like to see that system re-established, so far as our own soldiers are concerned.

I think that we had a more efficient and more humane prison service. In 1953 we were on the eve of considerable reforms which would have rendered our Prison system much more humane than it is today.

The Southern Rhodesia Service has always recruited the South African Service very much more than a Colonial Service.
Lusaka

Oral Evidence

DR. A. SCOTT

Dr. Scott said that his career had been spent between the law and medicine. He still ran a small African clinic. He had founded the *Central African Post*, and in 1953 had been elected as an independent liberal M.P. for Lusaka.

Dr. Scott said that he supported Federation and had tried to get Africans to support it. He had been much disappointed to see how little the Federal Government were willing to do to implement partnership. If they had taken some decisive earlier steps in this direction, the whole course of events might have been changed. Such tokens of liberalism as had been displayed were too little or too late.

If Federation had not been created, much could have been done in Northern Rhodesia with the revenue from the copper mines.

In his experience, Africans were very much more aware of the issues in the Federation than they had been given credit for. It was significant that African accounts with the Post Office Savings Bank were much more stable than the European. Two years ago African savings had amounted to about £1½ million; now they were perhaps £2½ million.

The Northern Rhodesia Government's Health Department had been very well organised before Federation; after Federation many doctors left the service as a result of dissatisfaction at their prospects, leave conditions, and deterioration and availability of medical supplies. Even now, the Northern Rhodesia Silicosis Bureau was a very efficient organisation. It was far ahead of anything being done in Southern Rhodesia.

Relations between Africans and Europeans had worsened since Federation. There was considerable criticism of the disproportionate amount of money spent on European education, and anything that went wrong in the Government field was usually ascribed to Federation. In his view, it was essential that the police force should never become Federal.

Some form of High Commission on the lines of the East African High Commission might be the answer—this would amount to a withdrawal in order to advance further in the future. Africans should be able to elect their own members to the Assembly—the present franchise, though better than what had gone before, was still not wide enough. The present system of vetting African M.P.s by the Chiefs was a retrograde step. The Territorial franchise qualifications were still much too high with the result that far too few responsible Africans, including school teachers, civil servants, etc., could qualify for the vote. In his view £120 a year plus Standard VI would be not unreasonable—£150 a year was too high. It was also a fact that the salaries of many African employees, notably teachers, were much too low. Teachers should receive a salary which would entitle them to the vote.

Memorandum

LT.-COL. H. F. RANDOLPH

At the present time there is undoubtedly considerable opposition to Federation. Most Africans are against it and a great many Europeans. When Federation was started most Europeans were in favour and in my opinion most Africans were quite indifferent.

The reasons for the change are, I think, as follows. The European has seen large sums of money leaving the Territory for Southern Rhodesia and in return he thinks he has had a bad deal over health Services and Education. He has seen new industries start up in Southern Rhodesia and none here. He has, however, seen firms close down in Northern Rhodesia and leave the country.

As for the African, it is hard to explain Federation to him as there is no word in any of his dialects to translate it. He can be asked how he likes being governed from Salisbury and that is how his leaders put it to him, and that he detests.

Federation got off on the wrong foot when it put the Federal Capital at Salisbury. I do not think either European or African would have minded much had it been placed south of the Zambesi, provided it was not near Salisbury or Bulawayo. It would of course have been a very popular move had it been in either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland. The latter, for administrative purposes though, would have been out of the question.

It is not too late now, I think, to remedy this by moving the Capital. Were this done I firmly believe that quite fifty per cent of the present opposition would collapse.

Further remedies might be suggested. Speaking from the white settlers' point of view they would like assurance that the homes they have made, and many have been born in the country, cannot be taken away from them by a possibly hostile future government. They are not birds of passage like employees in industry or civil servants. They want to see a better deal for their country from the Federal Government.

Most Africans, I think, are not really interested in a vote, only their political leaders. They want and need better housing at economic rents, encouragement to own their own houses and land, better amenities all round and more education. This is what would make them contented and not the vote. On the subject of education, there are a number of Africans who have passed Standard VI. They have returned to their suburbs or villages because there is no work for them. This only breeds agitation. Minor posts as clerks could be found for them at present occupied by European girls just leaving school. European children should be made to realise that they must educate themselves to a higher standard if they want posts.

If the franchise is to be extended I think a first qualification should be that the potential voter must be a Rhodesian Citizen and not a Protected Person. There should also be educational and economic qualifications. Universal suffrage at 21 years does not really work satisfactorily in England where it took some 600 years to attain that doubtful privilege.

Reasonable voters' qualifications are no bar to any African and in time he will undoubtedly be in the voting majority, but this must be by steady progress both for his own benefit and that of the country as a whole.

Lusaka
4th February 1960

Oral Evidence

LT. COL. H. F. RANDOLPH

Colonel Randolph said that he had been in Northern Rhodesia for 10 years, most of that time as a single-handed dairy farmer. He was now Sergeant at Arms in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council.

He was only interested in making some form of Federation work. Tribal loyalties were still very strong and it was difficult to persuade people of various tribes to work side by side. Northern Rhodesia should be divided into a number of self-governing states to take account of the tribal divisions—Barotseland, Bembaland, Ngoriland, etc., and also a European state. These Governments could come directly under the Federal Government and need not have separate Territorial Governments. He recognised that there were a number of arguments against this, of which finance was probably the most serious; but if the need were recognised, money could be found.

Another argument was that it would be equivalent to turning the country into a series of municipal councils. This might be true, but such councils were a good school for gaining experience. One of the main difficulties was the lack of experience in Government at the lower levels. It was essential to give Africans a say in the Government of the country.

On the Federal capital, Col. Randolph said that this should not be near any of the larger existing towns—cf. Washington and Canberra. An area of virgin Federal land would not be difficult to find in a convenient central position.

In such a set-up the states of the Federation would have confidence in the Federal Government and would know that they would get a fair deal. But it was essential to make a start on a Federal capital at a very early date, even though it could not be completed for some years to come.

Memorandum

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF LUSAKA*

The Federation as constituted at the moment will never work. This is so because of the settler attitude which is coming up from the South. Settlers with South African mentality would like to drive out the Colonial Office from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland so that they can rule by oppression. The Colonial Office was driven out of S. Africa and later from S. Rhodesia, the outcome of all these unhappy events can easily be seen. Africans have no say in those countries, they can be moved from good places to the worst.

It is because of these settlers that Africans are opposed to Federation and because of the way in which the Colonial Office has peacefully led other African Colonies to self rule. Africans here find it difficult to accept Federation, where, it is true, they will always be ruled with force. The only best way of running this Federation is to cut out Southern Rhodesia and leave the Federation of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which at this moment have the same type of governments.

Partnership

Partnership on which theme the Federation was built will never work. How could this work if you have a two colour ministries of education, health, agriculture and so on.

Just recently Hotel and cafe owners in Northern Rhodesia were protesting against a recommendation of the race relations committee that colour bar be abolished in public places, is this partnership? Any chief who speaks against Federation is either sacked or power withdrawn, is this partnership? A survey conducted by the Rhodes Livingstone Institute recently showed that many Africans were living below the Poverty Datum Line in Lusaka and of course everywhere, which now contradicts the statement made by the Federal Prime Minister at B.H. when he said wages in N.R. were too high.

Because of most of the unskilled Europeans brought to the Federation, it has been difficult for any government to implement the advancement of Africans in industry. This is shown by the way in which European Unions have rejected any proposals to advance Africans. It is also useless to speak of advancement when you are talking of people with the same academic qualifications, first class bricklayers, black and white, let them get the same pay and treatment.

Settler

The attitude of a settler government is shown by the way in which Local Governments are run. An African has no representation there, locations are run in a way to please employers and not residents, no resident is allowed any visitors. He who loses employment, even if he has money to pay rent, loses accommodation too. Rents are so high which only encourages unauthorised compounds. This is so because many employers would not like to pay rent for their employees which they think is too high. Houses are so small and the number of people put in one house makes it impossible to get even a little fresh air. No matter how educated one may be, so it is difficult for him to do any reading.

Health

The Ministry of Health besides putting up one big hospital at Kitwe have done nothing in rural areas and nothing for smaller towns, and as a result of bad treatment given to doctors, all the best doctors have left the service and hospitals are now short of doctors. Ambulance services are very poor and are being paid for and for this reason and many others I am sure health services should come to the Northern Rhodesia Government. This country should be allowed to secede from the Federation so that we, the Africans, can be sure we are

*Name withheld at the request of the witness.

to rule ourselves. It is important, therefore, that the government of Northern Rhodesia should train more people to do administrative jobs. There should be room for the training of doctors, lawyers and many other people.

Franchise

The franchise system was brought about so as to force the African people not to work against Federation. It is not the franchise we would like: we want to get a vote, all of us. You will understand that many European parties were against any system to put Africans on the voters roll. It is again these very Europeans who turned and started recruiting African stooges to their parties.

It is, Mr. Chairman, because we are against Federation that the British Prime Minister, the Secretary of Commonwealth Relations, your Commission and many other very important people including Mr. Macleod should be wasting unnecessary funds to come here.

Lusaka

Oral Evidence

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF LUSAKA*

He had been in Lusaka six or seven years, and was of Standard VIII education. He was a special voter on the Federal roll. He had been born in Southern Rhodesia. He read his memorandum. In amplification of it, he made the following points:—

- (a) Some South Africans would like to push out the Colonial Office so that the people of the Northern Territories could not determine their future. Africans in Northern Rhodesia wanted to stay under the Colonial Office until at some future date they could take over the government of the country.
- (b) If the existing Federation broke up, it might be possible to establish a Federation between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with some separate link with Southern Rhodesia.
- (c) Europeans and Africans should be able to work together. But it did not seem that partnership could be made to work. European hotel owners had protested against the recommendation of the Race Relations Committee that the colour bar should be abolished. This was not a good sign for the running of the country.
- (d) Many African people were living below the poverty line, and yet Welensky had said at Broken Hill that wages in Northern Rhodesia were too high.
- (e) Africans were not represented in local government and African locations and townships were run in a way to suit employers and not employees. Rents were too high and houses were far too small and overcrowded.
- (f) Since Federation many good doctors had left the Northern Rhodesia Health Service. Ambulance services were now very poor.
- (g) The franchise qualifications were kept high in order to prevent the African people working against Federation. If everyone had a vote, it might be possible to reconstitute Federation with the consent of the people. Meanwhile people who only wanted to be ruled peacefully have been killed.
- (h) The vote should be given to people at Standard IV who could read and write English, and had an income of £75 a year.
- (j) In Southern Rhodesia much had been done by the Government to improve the African locations, and the roads had been greatly improved. The political situation was dangerous, however.

Memorandum

C. J. W. FLEMING

The basic problem is a minority problem. It is doubtful if a democratic form of Government on western lines is the best form of Government for Africa. This is particularly so where there has been any considerable white settlement. Nonetheless it seems that some form of democratic Government is inescapable in this part of Africa, and all answers to the problem are based on this assumption.

The problem accordingly is circumscribed to a matter of devising some form of Government which, on the one hand,

will prevent the white man from dominating the African by reason of his superior talents, and, on the other hand, will preclude the African from dominating the white man by reason of his superior numbers.

Broadly speaking two main kinds of solution have been advanced, the one the "partnership approach" and the other the "partition approach".

There is no doubt that a majority of the citizens (of all races) of the Federation are in favour of some form of partnership, but there are widely differing views as to how far partnership should go and what form it should take. The majority of the Europeans take the very understandable view that Government should remain in the hands of reasonable and responsible people, and that the way to effect this is to limit the franchise. They hope that such Africans as do qualify will act reasonably, that is that they will vote for a sound policy rather than be carried away by the dictates of race. A great majority of the members of the United Federal Party fall into this group: there are also a few Africans.

More advanced and, as they say, more liberal in their outlook are those on the left wing of the United Federal Party and also members of the Central African Party. They hold that keeping the franchise qualifications so high is unnecessary and that even if there are African majorities they are quite capable of running an efficient western form of democracy. They also advocate the speedy abolition of all forms of discrimination in the social and economic spheres.

On the extreme left are the African nationalistic parties who, with considerable logic, urge that if there is to be a democratic form of Government then it must be based on the democratic principle of one man one vote. Most of these parties are openly racial in their approach and make no secret of the fact that if they get their way there will be substituted black domination for the present white domination. In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland they oppose Federation for obvious reasons.

The other school of thought advocates some form of partition. Because the Nationalist Government in South Africa advocates partition this view is always regarded as being reactionary. In point of fact just as with the multi-racial groups there are many shades of opinion among those who advocate partition. The most conservative and reactionary views are those held by the right wing of the South African Nationalist Party who believe that there should be complete segregation of the two races, and that the white man's rule has, in some ways, divine sanction. This extreme view is hardly represented in the Federation. There are many, however, who would like to see the present set up continue, particularly the paternal form of Government which has been in vogue in Southern Rhodesia for some years past.

There are others again who think that partition should take a milder form, and that it is legitimate to consider the problem on three planes, the social, the economic and the political. They believe that because of African fears, and also because of the potential danger of the European being swamped by sheer weight of numbers, that there should be political partition for the present but that nothing should be done to check the process of integration in the economic and social spheres.

Insofar as the above is a just appreciation of the situation I favour the last of the solutions. While appreciating that the problem is probably insoluble I yet feel that the most hopeful line is to have some form of Government which will allow both racial groups the greatest possible measure of local self-government without jeopardising the racial identity of either.

Broadly speaking this would entail a loose form of Federation—and the ultimate balance of power concentrated in the hands of an independent multi-racial senate.

Lusaka,
14th January, 1960.

Oral evidence

C. J. W. FLEMING

Mr. Fleming said that he had been born in Southern Rhodesia at Plumtree, and had then been to England as a Rhodes Scholar. Subsequently he had spent nearly twenty years in the Provincial Administration as a District Officer. He had retired because he was not altogether in accord with Government thinking. After leaving the Government service,

he had taken up practice as a lawyer and was now Vice-Chairman of the Dominion Party in Northern Rhodesia.

What had happened in Northern Rhodesia was what had happened all the world over throughout history—the country had been conquered. If this had taken place in Elizabethan times, no one would have raised any objection; and the virility of the European settler would have carried him on until the whole country had been integrated under white leadership. Unfortunately, these natural processes were now blocked through the growth of international sentiment and international organisations. The policy was not that bloodshed must be avoided at all costs. There were local and global reasons for this which were fully appreciated. Indeed, in most of Africa, particularly the West Coast, it raised no problems, since white men had, for climatic reasons, only come to the country for their working lives. In Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, the establishment of African rule would mean putting the conquered back in the saddle over their conquerors. It followed that a *modus vivendi* must be worked out under which the natural processes of integration could go on.

This would provide a difficult problem at the best; unfortunately, they were not starting with a clean sheet in Southern Africa. The need of Europeans to work under a democratic system placed them in a serious dilemma. This was to avoid domination by either white or black while still keeping some element of democracy. He therefore agreed with Sir John Moffat's first and second resolutions in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council.

There were two alternative solutions: either partnership in one form or another must be implemented, or the country must be partitioned. The latter course should not be confused with apartheid; it was quite possible to have a liberal form of partition. Indeed, it could be so liberal that Europeans would not accept it.

In current terms, democracy was taken to mean an ultimate aim of "one man, one vote". The United Federal Party advocated a limited form of partnership and this was supported by the vast majority of thinking Europeans. There were very few Africans who supported such a limited aim—or were likely to do so.

In these circumstances, there was very little chance of partnership succeeding, and some form of partition seemed to provide the logical solution. Democracy needed a very special kind of genius to work, and he did not think the African possessed this particular quality. This was not a matter of culture, education or property—it was a matter of tradition which 90 per cent of the world did not possess. Moreover, there was another argument against a strict application of democracy; it needed a homogeneous population. He knew of no case where it had worked with a mixed population. It had failed in Palestine, India, Pakistan, and seven years of partnership in the Federation did not suggest that it was likely to work in Central Africa. There were very few Africans in multi-racial political parties in the Federation; nationalism was on the up and up. Both Africans and Europeans tended to vote on racial lines, and at the present time the franchise was the sole check on the swamping of Europeans at Federal elections. The only hope of keeping a stable Government was to keep the franchise high; this sometimes led to an accusation of hypocrisy and to the suggestion that a system of "rotten boroughs" was being maintained.

The alternative was partition. Views on partition varied from the extreme right wing view of the Nationalist Party in South Africa, which was designed permanently to entrench the white population as overlords. But this would by no means be the effect of other possible forms of partition. Indeed, on this principle African states could be set up with great potentialities linked only in a very loose form of union with the European areas. Whatever system emerged must, in his view, make some provision for eventual integration; such integration must be neither retarded nor accelerated by what was done.

The régime in Southern Rhodesia before Federation was widely labelled "paternalism". Nevertheless, it was a remarkable fact that not since 1897 had a drop of blood been spilt in disturbances in Southern Rhodesia in spite of considerable industrial disputes, such as the Wankie strike. But paternalism could not have gone on for ever—the pressures in the world at large were too great.

The Dominion Party's plan for a Central Africa Alliance would get over the problem of swamping the European

population and of compartmentalising voting. He personally agreed that the plan could be made to work with modifications. The idea should be to give white and black the greatest possible degree of local self-determination. This could be incorporated in a Federal system with very rigid safeguards. These should include a senate of elder statesmen who could hold the balance between the races while integration was going on. In the process no voting rights should be taken away from anyone. Africans could have the right to live in the European areas provided they came up to the necessary qualifications (cf. the Portuguese "assimilado" idea), and would be treated in every way as a European.

He recognised that there were serious drawbacks in the plan as well; he was not producing a cut and dried solution, only the lines of a possible advance. It was alleged that such a plan would break up Federation; in practice, not

even the Central African Alliance plan envisaged a complete breakdown. It was also suggested that the African areas would degenerate into black slums. It was true that there would have to be a period of adjustment; but no European community would want to have a slum on its doorstep. It was true that, in Northern Rhodesia at least, the Europeans would remain in occupation of one of the main areas producing the wealth of the country—the Copperbelt. But there was no reason why a proportion of the income from the Copperbelt should not go to the African areas.

There was only one cure to all these difficulties—time. While integration was being carried on in the way he suggested, it was essential to devise some *modus vivendi* to avoid bloodshed. This should not be impossible.

18th March, 1960

LUSAKA

18TH MARCH, 1960

Resolution

THE ZAMBEZI BRANCH OF THE BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

F. A. Donnolly—President

I have to advise that the Zambezi Branch of the British Medical Association wish to submit the following resolution to your Commission:—

"The Federalisation of Health Services has resulted in over-centralisation, with resultant unsatisfactory medical services locally, and that the answer lies in effective decentralisation."

"Should your Commission wish the Branch to give verbal evidence in support of the above resolution we will be pleased to arrange for a small sub-committee to do so."

Lusaka,

2nd March, 1960

Memorandum

THE ZAMBEZI BRANCH OF THE BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

In support of our submission that there has been over-centralisation of Health Services since Federation, with its resultant delays, frustration and a general lowering of medical services' efficiency, we wish to put forward the following general and specific points.

General Points

- (i) The disturbing and damaging unbalance resulting from over-centralisation in the economic, social and health fields in communities as a whole, is evidenced in a number of countries, for example, in Bangkok City in relation to Thailand, and similarly for Singapore City as compared with the island itself—two of the countries which were reported on, by me, as Consultant on Urbanisation, to the World Health Organisation, an agency of United Nations. The systematic and rational measures adopted by the Government of Puerto Rico to stem, stop and reverse this process with reference to its capital, San Juan, are also quoted.

In this overall field the instance, locally, of Salisbury vis-a-vis the Federation, is a glaring example. This observation, I must hasten to add, is made without any parochial bias at all.

- (ii) We, the B.M.A. branches in Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, are at present negotiating for the formation of a Central African Medical Association, in the draft Constitution of which Federal body, we have been very careful indeed to allow a good and necessary measure of autonomy to Branches of the proposed C.A.M.A.
- (iii) Even in the organisation of the Municipal Health Department of Lusaka, it has proved essential, for reasons of efficiency and economy, to adopt effective de-centralisation and those valuable administrative principles of delegation of authority and fixation of responsibility onto, for instance, the Inspectorate Staff of the Department.
- (iv) It seems that the drafting and application of a Federal Public Health Act is proving difficult on account, partly, of markedly differing grant-aid conditions in the three Territories of the Federation—surely a pointer—in itself, for greater de-centralisation of health services to assist in meeting local conditions more adequately.

Specific Points

- (v) Yet, in the field of Federal Health Services, there appears to be an almost fanatical desire to keep all, or nearly all control of both policy making and execution in a Central Headquarters, situated in Salisbury. Were a similar Headquarters to be established in Lusaka, our criticisms, which we hope are constructive, would also apply.
- (vi) Our submissions then, may be summarised by stating that policy must, of necessity be formulated and controlled by Federal Medical Headquarters, wherever situated, but that executive responsibility within approved financial block grants, should be largely Territorial, through the Territorial D.M.S. and via him, through his P.M.O.s and Hospital Superintendent, and so on.
- (vii) It is most likely that the immediate and probable criticism of any such scheme will be raised on financial control aspects particularly. Here, we would suggest that a Territorial Minister of Finance could possibly provide as effective control and supervision of public funds as could an accounting or financial officer in Salisbury.
- (viii) We are amazed at the minimal responsibility apparently accorded to the D.M.S. in Northern Rhodesia, in many spheres, and understand that he is unable to authorise the spending of more than extremely small sums, or engage a temporary typist or even a labourer without recourse to the administrative octopus of Salisbury. Worse, perhaps, even than having to refer these trivia elsewhere, is the *delay* in answering them, occasioned by this over-centralisation. An example of this is the proposal to convert a dwelling house in Matero African Suburb for use as a sub-clinic. The only Government capital costs involved (£100) took some 13 months before approval was finally given, and this, as I understand personally, was one of the "straws that broke the camel's back" and assisted in bringing about the regrettable resignation of a previous and well esteemed D.M.S. in Northern Rhodesia.
- (ix) The Policy of Centralisation, since Federalisation of Health Services, in our opinion, warrants the following further observations:—(tabulated for convenience of comparison). Although Centralisation has not been the only factor in some of the situations referred to, under the "After" group, it has been one of them.

TERRITORIAL DIRECTORS OF MEDICAL SERVICES

Before	After
(1) Possessed power to expend, with few restrictions.	(1) Now restricted to about £50 for any item. If more required, reference to Salisbury apparently necessary.
(2) Decisions and rulings made by local Directors of Medical Services, with whom most doctors have personal contact.	(2) Now no or few rulings made without reference to Salisbury — with resultant interminable delays.
(3) Almost invariably consulted their Government Medical Officers and other	(3) Important decisions continually being made unilaterally without reference to



TERRITORIAL DIRECTORS OF MEDICAL SERVICES—(continued)

<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
doctors before bringing into effect rulings and decisions concerning them.	those whom the decisions vitally concern.

DOCTORS

<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
(1) Experienced co-ordinated team with sense of security and with esprit de corps.	(1) These have, to a degree, been replaced by inexperienced doctors and interns with little sense of security and with little team spirit possible within an almost autocratic and remote "set-up" in Salisbury.
(2) Spent life-time in service.	(2) Spend average of two years in service.
(3) Resignations rare.	(3) More than half the entire complement of general medical officers resigned recently—within 12 months. Deplorable lack of ability of service to keep its medical personnel.

SALARIES

<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
Fair and comparatively better than Railway and Mine doctors.	Lower than Railway and Mine doctors; and now further reduced by abolition of private practice.

PROFESSIONAL INCENTIVE

<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
(1) Study time and courses for higher degrees freely allowed.	(1) Only recently reinstated.
(2) Private practice allowed.	(2) Private practice abolished in most centres with a minimal (£200) p.a. allowance in lieu.
(3) Remuneration from Workmen's Compensation cases allowed.	(3) Withdrawn for some years, but now again permitted.
(4) Post-mortem fees allowed.	(4) Disallowed.

SATISFACTION WITH SERVICE

<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
Civil Servants largely quite satisfied with service.	Much dis-satisfaction.

DRUGS

<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
First-class and obtained from reputable firms.	Poor quality obtained from unheard-of factories in Israel, Italy, Eire and Belgium. Policies of false economy pursued.

AFRICAN CLINICS IN LUSAKA

<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
Reasonably staffed with medical personnel.	Now, largely conducted by European Nursing Sisters in charge.

Lusaka
17th March 1960

Oral evidence

THE ZAMBEZI BRANCH OF THE BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Representatives :

Dr. F. A. Donnolly
Dr. E. A. Keith
Dr. L. Molk

The witnesses spoke to their memorandum.

They said that their branch of the Association covered the greater part of Northern Rhodesia, excluding the Copperbelt, which was covered by the Congo Border branch. Their membership was 49, and potentially more. Non-members in their area numbered 41.

The area covered by the Zambezi Branch was as follows :

Northern Province (excluding Kawambwa and Fort Rosebery), Eastern, Central, Southern and Barotse Provinces.

Dr. Donnolly said that before speaking on their memorandum, he wished to apologise for the absence from the delegation of Dr. R. E. Dunn and Dr. P. R. Oliver. They were Medical Officers in the Federal Medical Service, and had received instructions from the Director of Medical Services in Northern Rhodesia not to appear. This had happened although they had been invited by name by the Commission. They had been told that they might appear in their capacity as Government Medical Officers. He then handed in the two letters which are attached as an annex to this note. Dr. Donnolly wished to register his grave concern at the veto which had been imposed.

He then turned to the memorandum, and described it as a general submission in support of the resolution contained in his letter dated the 2nd March, 1960.

Dr. Keith made the following points in amplification of the memorandum:—

- (1) The Federal Government had some time ago issued a circular to the effect that if any European presented himself at a Government hospital, he should be given treatment at a standard charge of 6/- (but not drugs). This was to be done without even enquiring as to who his medical practitioner might be, although this part of the instruction had been subsequently modified. This instruction had been given by the Federal Government without any consultation with the medical profession locally, including the private practitioners who were affected: although the instruction was tantamount to the unilateral setting up of a state medical service.
- (2) The civil servants in Northern Rhodesia had always had free medical attention as part of their conditions of service. Under the Federal Health Department, the Medical Officers were found to be less efficient, and this had forced the civil servants to go to private practitioners at their own expense.
- (3) A place like Lusaka should have a really up-to-date hospital, but under the Federal Government, the hospital Harari at Harari and Bulawayo had been favoured instead. Even Livingstone had been more favoured, possibly because it was represented by a U.F.P. member in the Federal Assembly, while Lusaka had been represented by an Independent.

Dr. Molk supported the views of Dr. Donnolly and Dr. Keith. He added that the Federal Public Health Laboratory did not seem to know what services they could properly give, notably in respect of tuberculosis. This was due to remote control.

Dr. Donnolly gave various examples of delays due to this remote control, such as the fact that new entrants into the Federal Medical Service had not received their first pay cheque for three months, and one of which he had heard (he thought a nurse) for even five months. He also complained that the confidential problems of the staff were now dealt with by clerks. The whole system was affected by over-centralisation. There ought to be de-centralisation within the limits of fixed financial grants.

In reply to questions, Dr. Donnolly supported by the other two doctors, made the following points:—

- (1) Dr. Donnolly had not been entitled by his branch to express a view in favour of Health becoming again a territorial service. But his *private* view was that Health should have been retained as territorial. Dr. Keith observed that Health seemed to have been slipped into the Federal list at a late stage. Dr. Molk thought that Public Health should be a Federal subject, but that other medical services, such as hospitalisation, should be territorial. Dr. Donnolly stated that he was ready to accept this view as a modification of his own. He thought that preventive medicine and schemes for tuberculosis or bilharzia treatment could be under a national policy.
- (2) In the section of the memorandum headed "Doctors" (3)—conditions of service, including pay and the matter of home leave, have deteriorated. For this reason many doctors would not join the Federal Service. But what was worse was the lack of any feeling that they were in a Service—there was a lack of the previous family feeling.

- (3) The witnesses assumed that private practice had been abolished in the Medical Service purely to protect private practitioners: and also because doctors in the Public Service were assumed to have enough to do in their own jobs. Their complaint was that the compensatory allowance of £200 was quite inadequate in such a place as Lusaka. They had not heard that any allowance greater than £200 was being granted.
- (4) Under the Section on "African Clinics in Lusaka" Nursing sisters were entirely running the clinics. These sisters diagnosed. They simply had to do so. There were five clinics, and there had been no medical officer at all for a long time.
- (5) The facts stated in the memorandum had been derived from members of the Federal Medical Service who came to meetings of the branch B.M.A.
- (6) All Africans had free medical treatment. Northern Rhodesian civil servants were entitled to free medical attention, but not Federal civil servants. The Territorial civil servants now had to go to a Medical Officer who was Federal and less good than in the past.
- (7) The former Territorial Medical Officers (of whom Dr. Keith was one) felt that they should have been allowed to finish their service with their old Territorial privileges.
- (8) The grant-aid situation was different in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and this made for difficulties of co-ordination. Lusaka had a very small rate-paying population as compared with Salisbury. For this reason the grant-aid given in Southern Rhodesia was much less than in the north. It was true that these differences should be accepted because related to the peculiar circumstances. But it was better that they should be dealt with on a local basis.
- (9) The question of travel services for patients had also made for difficulties, and this again was largely due to over-centralisation.
- (10) On the Section headed "Doctors" in the memorandum, point 2—stated that since Federation "Medical Officers now spend an average of two years in the Service." Recruiting was still largely from outside the Federation, from the United Kingdom and South Africa. Only a very few local people had been abroad for training and then returned for service in the Federation. It was true that a locally-based service would have an appeal, but there was still not enough people locally qualified to achieve this end.
- (11) In this connection, there was the hope of having a medical school at Salisbury. It would have to be Salisbury. But students should be enabled to make use of the clinical material in Lusaka and the north generally.
- (12) The delegation felt that the conditions which prevailed in Southern Rhodesia were being imposed on the whole Federation.
- (13) The delegation was unable to give statistics of the shortage of doctors. But they were firmly of the opinion that there was a shortage. They admitted that the situation was constantly changing and fluctuating.

Annexures to oral evidence

THE ZAMBEZI BRANCH OF THE BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

A. Letter from Dr. R. Oliver to Dr. Donnolly

Dear Dr. Donnolly,

I should be most grateful if you would convey to the Monckton Commission my sincere apologies for my apparent discourtesy in having to refuse their invitation to give evidence. Although it was explained to my Department that I had received a written invitation, they have refused to give me permission to give evidence as a member of your sub-committee of the British Medical Association (Zambezi Branch).

If, however, there are any questions the Commission wishes to put to me, I shall be allowed to appear before them in my capacity as a Government Medical Officer; and I shall be more than pleased to do this. I shall be available at the Hospital at any time if required.

Lusaka

17th March 1960

B. Letter from R. Park (for Director of Medical Services) to Dr. Oliver

Dear Dr. Oliver,

I understand from the Medical Officer of Health, Lusaka, Dr. Donnolly, that you have been invited to appear, together with other members of the Zambezi Branch of the British Medical Association, before the Monckton Commission, to give evidence on Friday, 18th March.

Although it appears you have been invited by name, nevertheless I regret you are not permitted to participate in this delegation.

Government Medical Officers are only permitted to give evidence before the Monckton Commission when invited to do so, and in an individual capacity.

Lusaka

17th March 1960

Memorandum (i)

A. O. R. MITCHLEY

The Administration of Justice in Northern Rhodesia

Although the subject matter of this Memorandum may not be strictly within the terms of reference of the Commission, a knowledge of the administration of Justice in Northern Rhodesia will, I think, assist the Commission in its enquiries and may also lead to reforms in the passage of time. It is also of use to compare the systems in the three Territories comprising the Federation, and to consider the application of the rule of law, both in relation to the everyday administration of justice and in the consideration of any "Bill of Rights" the Commission might consider desirable in preference to or in addition to a second chamber or Constitutional Council.

The system of law in force in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the English system, whereas Southern Rhodesia (although a British Colony) practises the Roman Dutch system of law, brought from the Union of South Africa by the early settlers. This difference in legal systems is not so great as one might imagine, as many English decisions have been adopted in South African Law and a large number of such decisions are quoted in their text books. Problems do, however, arise in Federal statutes as to which particular law should be applied in the interpretation and construction of that Federal statute. The Dutch system of law has its limitations in that it is a rare system and has fewer case precedents to support it, rendering necessary a continual reliance on writings of old jurists whose pronouncements were made in a day and age long past.

The substantive law in force in Northern Rhodesia is that in force in England prior to 1911. The practising lawyer here is consequently burdened with the older text books. There is no certainty in this position, because some English statutes, after 1911, have been specifically applied to Northern Rhodesia. Local Ordinances—often very badly drafted—in some cases modify the pre-1911 laws, and in a number of branches of law the one applicable is the up-to-date English law. Where local statutes do "cover the field", there are so many gaps that recourse must be made to the English law, thus necessitating a reference to two sets of statutes. The procedural law is likewise covered by inadequate local Rules of Court which are supplemented by, where not divergent to, English Rules of Court.

In short, in the administration of Civil law (and often Criminal law), the lawyer here must first determine which law is applicable, then look to any local enactment, see how this enactment is influenced or made complete by English law and, finally, in putting this law into practice in the Courts, try to ascertain—subject to local Rules of Court—what the procedure would have been in England had that law been applicable there now. This myriad of laws is made worse by the existence of a branch of law outside the mien of Northern Rhodesia lawyers, namely Native Customary Law administered by the Urban Native Courts and Chiefs' Courts throughout the Territory. Native Customary Law often pays scant regard to the established principles of English justice and excludes all local lawyers from appearing before its Courts for the valid reason that no local lawyer is qualified in the complicated and varied native laws and customs prevailing in this Territory, even if one or two have the linguistic capabilities. In passing, it should perhaps be pointed out that recently the High Court was called upon to determine whether Africans in their commercial dealings could avail themselves of the English law or whether they must rely upon Native Customary Law; and it is apparent that they do in fact have two sets of courts and two systems of law available to them—Native

Customary Law, as practised in the Native Courts, and English Law as practised in the Subordinate and High Courts.

The Courts (other than Native Courts) in Northern Rhodesia consist of the High Courts at Lusaka, Livingstone and Ndola and the Subordinate Courts. The latter consist of qualified Resident Magistrates in all the main towns throughout the Territory, who visit the smaller centres periodically. In addition there are subordinate courts with unqualified magistrates, usually the Provincial Commissioners, the District Commissioners and District Officers who all hold their own courts in their areas. It is here that the judiciary and the executive join hands, for the Provincial Commissioners, the District Commissioners and the District Officers are responsible for the administration of their own areas and sit to try infringements of that administration's laws. Although these personnel are of the highest calibre, they are greatly handicapped by their lack of legal knowledge or experience in the trial of serious offences, and must perforce often have prior knowledge or even experience of the matters in issue before them.

The prosecution of offences in the High Court is in the hands of the Attorney General who is also an official member of Exco and concerned with the day to day running of the Court and the drafting and enactment of statute law. In Subordinate Courts the prosecution is handled almost entirely by the Police. Although some Police prosecutors have, through long experience, become proficient, the continual postings, leave requirements and promotions leave the prosecution of offences in the Subordinate Courts much to be desired. Magistrates are often left without any assistance at all of legal argument from the side of the prosecution. In smaller centres, the prosecutor must perforce have a personal knowledge of the circumstances of the case and may even give evidence for the Crown.

For the most part, the judges and magistrates are recruited from the British Isles and the Colonial Legal Service. These are men of the highest calibre and as far as the administration of the criminal law is concerned, in the qualified courts the application of justice is of a high standard. However, with the development of commerce and industry in Northern Rhodesia, the deficiencies in the civil law administration have become apparent for the reasons set out above. Most judges (prior to their appointment here) have had little or no experience of civil law. It is too much to expect a newly appointed judge to deal with the complete range of criminal and civil cases, including Divorce, Bankruptcy, Company, Chancery and Common law which are not usually assigned to a single judge even in England, where he has had years of experience in the rough and tumble of private practice; neither do the judges receive the same assistance as judges do from the Bar in England. The roles of barrister and solicitor are combined in Northern Rhodesia, and there are few firms large enough to allow one member to do nothing else save Court work. In consequence, appearances in Court may often be rare and the roles of barrister and solicitor overlap too closely, with the barrister seeing and taking proofs of the witnesses and, in fact, preparing the case from scratch. There is little likelihood of a split in the profession as the solicitors, by far in the majority, are reluctant to relinquish their dual capacity. A healthy independent Bar, principally concerned with appearing before the Courts, is I think, a substantial asset to a young country.

The qualifications for admission to the practice of law in Northern Rhodesia are the same as those in existence in England and either a barrister's or a solicitor's qualification in England will suffice, subject to a local examination and a period of time in a Solicitor's office in Northern Rhodesia. At the moment there are no African lawyers in practice. This is certainly a great pity, as there is an enormous amount of work to be done, especially in the field of Native law and custom. If these Courts were opened to practitioners, a great need would be filled. At the moment local practitioners have great difficulty in handling cases of Africans, in many instances either because of language difficulties or because of lack of knowledge of African laws and customs.

One must remember at the same time, the enormous expansion in the volume of work and in the development of law in the last decade. Ten years ago there were 15 practitioners of law and 1 judge in Northern Rhodesia; there are now 60 practitioners and 4 judges here, coping with an ever increasing volume of work. The expansion has been rapid and great. The judiciary has been able to cope with it despite many handicaps. It is, however, to be hoped that recruitment to the judiciary will be made locally and that the law applicable to Northern Rhodesia be made more in line with that prevailing

in the United Kingdom. It would certainly simplify the judges' and practitioners' task if the law applicable in Northern Rhodesia were the same as that prevailing from time to time in the United Kingdom.

The different legal systems prevailing in the Federation tend to segregate the Territories. It is, perhaps, a forlorn hope that uniformity be reached in the not too distant future. The problems militating against such uniformity are great, but, taking a broad view, the English system of law, as practised in England with its wealth of precedent, evolved in a far more complicated and developed community than has existed in South Africa, is the obvious choice. The Federal Supreme Court has the unenviable task of adjudicating with both systems of law. It is perhaps unfortunate that this Supreme Court is located in Salisbury. It would do a great deal to alleviate suspicions against Federation if the Court were to be permanently established in one of the Northern Territories. This was the recommendation of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Decentralisation which, although mooted on many occasions, has never been complemented. The objections to it are few—the benefit great.

A word should be said about the Rule of Law in Courts of Northern Rhodesia. As indicated, there are points at which the executive and the judiciary coincide. These should be eliminated. The judiciary is subject to influences from the Attorney General and the Provincial Administration acts too often in a dual capacity.

Memorandum (ii)

A. O. R. MITCHLEY

Land Rights in Northern Rhodesia

Northern Rhodesia, with its vast expanse of land and small population, is perhaps one of the most fortunate countries in the world in its land availability. Although the vast majority of the land is under-developed and requires considerable preparation before cultivating, there is no such thing as land starvation, except that problems have been created in some confined areas e.g. Gwembe Valley in the area of Kariba Lake.

Native agriculture has for a long time been based on the subsistence system, with scant regard to good husbandry, and the plentitude of land has enabled the villagers to move from one piece of land to another after working out an area, leaving the ravages of bush fires and erosion to destroy the soil. Native law and custom does not recognise Title in the individual, a factor tending against rural stability which has its analogy in the Feudal system of the Middle Ages with its commonage and servitude.

The European settler, on the other hand, places great store on title to land. Without title, no real development or investment is worth while. Consequently the majority of development has taken place in the "European Areas". Ninety-five per cent of Northern Rhodesia is restricted to Africans, being either Native Reserve or Native Trust Land. The greater part of this area remains undeveloped bush. Here lies a great challenge to the country. If a stable African agricultural community can be built up in the rural areas of Northern Rhodesia, based on property and development, not only will the wealth of the country be increased but also the African, who is for the most part a property-less nomad with ties only to his old village through tribal and family connections, will be given a stake in the economy of the country rather than being drawn to urban areas to seek work.

The division of land in Northern Rhodesia is perhaps the most stringent of colour bars working in reverse; whereas the African can acquire title to alienated Crown land, the European has no access to the ninety-five per cent Native Reserve and Trust lands.

In addition, whereas Africans frequently settle and squat on alienated Crown land, causing a considerable problem to European farmers which the authorities are unable to solve, no European is allowed in the Native Reserves or Trust land without special permission, and no title is available to him. The advent of the European farmer results immediately in an influx of labour and squatters to his farm and presents a problem not only to the farmer but also to the local authorities which must militate strongly against the rapid development of agriculture on alienated Crown land. The small percentage of land available for alienation to European farmers also makes the farming population very sensitive to any encroach-

ment on to their rights, and they can be extremely proud in that they produce far more than the rest of Northern Rhodesia which still, for the most part, remains bush.

These restrictions on Native Reserve and Trust lands stem from the Orders in Council which form the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia. The restrictions, so long as they last, are bound to perpetrate the division of the community into European and African areas, with a continued suspicion of any attempt to diminish the small percentage available for alienation.

Memorandum (iii)

A. O. R. MITCHLEY

Partnership

A great deal has been said and written about the concept of Partnership which has been enshrined as one of the principles of existence in the multi-racial community of the Federation in the preamble to the Federal Constitution. People make the word mean what they wish it to mean. A definition is perhaps impossible in a few trite words, and if we tried to define partnership too closely we would only shackle the growth of racial harmony in the Federation, and it should, perhaps, be emphasised that racial harmony can only be developed by slow growth and education over the years and by mutual respect between the races. This cannot come about by the encouragement of either African or European Nationalism. This is the great challenge of Central Africa today.

It is, perhaps, of assistance to analyse and consider the social structure of the two main races in the Federation. The African, in the vast majority of cases, comes from his village where he and his forbears have led a semi-nomadic life with an economy based on subsistence agriculture and a way of life still unenlightened by the wheel. He is a newcomer to the town, which is not his home and where he must work for the European. In most of the towns the vast majority of African men are employed as domestic or menial servants who would normally be female in developed societies. The womenfolk are often left at home in the village to bring in the crops. One of the greatest tasks facing the future Rhodesians is to stabilise the African in rural areas and to establish in the towns a "middle class" African society. The African, both in the villages and in the towns, is to all intents and purposes propertyless. His tribal system does not recognise property in the land, his mode of life does not place a value on his house, and his belongings are no greater than can be carried on his head.

In contrast, the European is, in the majority of cases, highly skilled and educated in his particular field. He must be so before he can enter the Federation. The Immigrants' Selection Boards turn away thousands wishing entry every year. Immigration of European unskilled labour does not take place. Consequently, the initial difference between Europeans and Africans is an educational one, and there are few points at which their interests coincide. This difference is made the greater by the fact that initially the Africans only came to the towns (as these became established) to work for the European as servants, and have failed to compete with either the European or the Indian in the commercial field—even in Native trading. These differences would not be so great if there were a large European community of unskilled labour, although whether such a community would be sympathetic to its fellow workers is doubtful.

There has developed from early days a colour bar in public places which everyone took for granted as there were then no Africans able—or, indeed, eager—to avail themselves of the European's amenities. This colour bar has become more apparent as the African has evolved and advanced—the progress of which advancement the Commission should not lose sight of; it is easy for one coming from England to assume that the conditions now existing have existed for years, whereas in fact ten years ago bush covered areas presently highly developed. Legislators are loth to put the social way of life of the inhabitants in a straight jacket—nor does a young country wish to restrict private enterprise by limiting the rights of proprietors to reserve admission. However, in Northern Rhodesia, the United Federal Party has, after pressure from its rank and file, suggested legislation to end discrimination in such places as the cafes and restaurants—a move unparalleled in any country in the Commonwealth as well as the United Kingdom. This development of the African over the last few years must, and will, continue, but the development both socially and economically takes place primarily in the towns, where the employers remain European or Asian; the development is development by Europeans and Asians, and Government—both local and Central,

—is European and Asian. The economy of the towns and, indeed, the country as a whole, is completely divorced from the subsistence economy of the African in his tribal area—except for the labour coming from the area. As the African develops, he must be given an outlet for his talents in the community, either in a stabilised rural economy or in the urban activities of commercial life. At the moment there are far too many semi-educated Africans in the towns with no jobs available to them, either because the types of jobs suitable to their attainments are few or because they are no longer interested in anything near manual labour. In addition, European employers are suspicious of African clerks and prefer to pay European Secretaries £40 or £50 per month. The African of this calibre all too often drifts into a "Spiv's" life in the compounds, and is soon caught up by political activities, engendered by a personal frustration directed against the European way of life. The provision for legitimate outlets for the African school leaver is of prime importance, and only a growing, prosperous economy, fanned by outside investment, can create the conditions necessary for the attainment of this end. The European is in the forefront of this endeavour. There is a wealth of goodwill in Northern Rhodesia towards the African, but this goodwill has become severely strained and checked by the activities of Nationalist leaders here.

It is hard for a person who has not lived here to appreciate the anxiety engendered in people's minds and the unsettling effect caused by the disturbances in the Federation during the events of the past year. Rather than furthering the African cause, they have resulted in a hardening of certain European opinion, which has recently given rise to the formation of the Northern Rhodesian Association—a body expressing the dissatisfaction and uncertainty of the times. There has also been an exasperation at the continual demands unconnected with the African's present abilities or shown worth.

The United Federal Party will be hard put to retain the solid support it achieved at the last election. During the past year there have been, nevertheless, definite signs of an attempt to extend the hand of partnership to the African peoples by Europeans of all parties. The European is prepared to make the effort to make partnership work, provided he remains for as long as is necessary the senior partner. He is committed to the concept of a multi-racial state which will, in the passage of time, result in a preponderance of African members in the Government, but by the time this occurs it will not matter what race a particular person belongs to. African nationalism or European nationalism has no place in this plan for the future, but African nationalism has shown quite clearly that it is not prepared to accept the concept multi-racialism. This is evidenced by the meetings of their leaders and their consistent refusal to co-operate with such bodies as The Select Committee on Racial Discrimination. They do not wish to see race relations improve. This attitude has some measure of support because of the prizes such a policy promises for the ignorant masses, the apparent strength of their leaders which always appeals to the mass of people and by a concerted course of intimidation in the towns and villages. The worrying part of it is that signs of African nationalism are apparent in the African schools in this Territory which can only emanate from the teachers. This movement must be stamped out if the ideas we stand for are to prosper so that less robust but more reasoned courses can prevail. I am sure that if it were clearly shown that there was no future chance of success for such people or their policies, the more moderate courses would prevail. There can be no compromising with African nationalism for once African nationalism comprises it ceases to be African nationalism.

At the same time the progress of the African should be firmly established, not only for the sake of the African but also for the European. The Franchise should remain unchanged, as it signifies the economic balance of the peoples in the country. Only those who have a stake in the country should be given the vote and thereby a responsibility is engendered. There is everything to lose and much to gain by making the Franchise immutable so that economic and social progress is unimpeded by political uncertainty. However, this entails a restriction of political activity amongst those not on the Voters' Roll, for those not on the Voters' Roll must for a long time far outnumber those on the Roll, leaving the former only a physical outlet for an expression of their wants, but this is implicit in any system embracing a qualitative franchise and leaves open the way for demagogues not only inside but outside our borders. It is here that one can see that accepted



system of democracy cannot survive and some more robust form of government must prevail; for the acceptance of the former must inevitably lead to the latter for the very same reasons; but to put this hypothesis to the test must involve in this part of Africa the probable sacrifice of much that has been achieved during the past fifty years.

Recent events clearly show that extremism breeds extremism, and the consequent mistrust between the races results certainly not to the advantage of the African. Stable conditions engender economic prosperity. A comparison of the economic position between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia is revealing in the obvious advantage to Southern Rhodesia, and this is made the more astonishing when one compares the economic advantages of the two countries. In this respect it is perhaps of assistance to analyse the demands and the speeches of the African Nationalist leaders. Their speeches relate solely to political advancement, to the concept of one man one vote, to the idea of Africa for the Africans and so forth. This type of talk requires little ability, but has an immediate appeal to the masses, which is probably why it is used not only by African leaders but by Labour Party politicians in England; but seldom if ever do you hear of any plan or policy directed at better Government or economic benefits for the African peoples.

Therefore let us develop our political social and economic institutions upon lines best suited to conditions in this part of the world. Is it too much to expect the African to co-operate with the European in every field and advance himself to the European's level of education and standard of living rather than expect the European to give way and lower his standards to the level of the African in the name of African nationalism and democracy?

Oral Evidence

A. O. R. MITCHLEY

Mr. Mitchley submitted three memoranda to the Commission:

- (i) Administration of justice in Northern Rhodesia
- (ii) Land Rights
- (iii) Partnership

Mr. Mitchley said that the best way to deal with the papers was for the Commission to ask him questions which he would do his best to answer. In answer to questions he made the following points in amplification of his papers:—

(i) Administration of Justice

- (a) The present system of law in Northern Rhodesia was distinctly rickety, though steps were being taken at the present time to rationalise it. This was relevant to the arguments for and against the transfer of responsibility for law and order to the Federal Government. Although he thought that there would be advantage in obtaining uniformity in the law between the three Territories, he thought that centralisation of the police force would increase the difficulties of Federation, because there would be local suspicions of the Federal police force. Nevertheless, on purely technical grounds there would be advantage in having a Federal police force who could assist the local police in administering technical Federal laws, particularly on the commercial side.
- (b) Although he spoke without firsthand experience of Native Courts, he felt that there should be greater uniformity in the administration of justice by Native Authorities. Although he thought that these courts were generally acceptable to Africans, very rough justice was administered in them. Many Africans came to him for advice on appeals; the facts which came to light often made his hair stand on end. It was theoretically possible for cases from the Native Courts to be taken by the High Court on appeal but there were practical difficulties, particularly as there was no detailed record of cases taken in the Native Courts.
- (c) There were strong arguments for siting the Federal Supreme Court in Northern Rhodesia instead of Salisbury. This had been recommended by the Select Committee on Decentralisation. There were valid arguments against this taking place—it would do some harm to local practitioners in Salisbury, and it was true that the majority of work for the Supreme Court originated in Salisbury. But Federal agencies should be shown clearly to be outside the influence of Southern Rhodesia,

and the administration of justice was one of the most important of these.

- (d) There was great scope for an African lawyer to set up in practice in Lusaka; there was a requirement both in the African Urban Courts and in the High Court. Although there were a number of budding lawyers now taking their law exams, it was unfortunate that no African lawyer was yet in practice.

(ii) Land Rights

- (a) The Northern Rhodesia Minister of Lands should be given greater powers over land, including Native Reserves and Native Trust Lands.
- (b) He did not suggest that land should become Federal; but national parks, most of which at present formed part of the Native Trust Lands, should become Federal. He recognised that there were political objections to this, in that it would appear that land was being permanently alienated from African ownership. Only a relatively small area was involved, however, most of it virtually uninhabited.
- (c) It was at present extremely difficult to make the best use of land particularly in the Native Authority areas. An example was the Chirundu Sugar Estates which should have been established on the Northern Rhodesia side of the Zambezi on land in the Gwembe Tonga Reserve, but had been lost to Southern Rhodesia because the Northern Rhodesia Government had no power to allocate the land for this use. In this way Northern Rhodesia had lost a very valuable agricultural enterprise to Southern Rhodesia. [Note: It was pointed out by a Commissioner that the land in question was in an area which was being used for resettlement of the Tonga tribe who were already very short of land as a result of the encroachment of the Kariba Lake.]
- (d) It was important to permit individual ownership of land in African areas to enable Africans to build up economic farms.

(iii) Partnership

- (a) The majority of Africans had no direct personal contact with the Federal authorities or with Federation, except through the post offices or the hospitals. It was only the 2 per cent of African intelligentsia who were opposed to it.
- (b) The alternative to Federation was the balkanization of the three component Territories. The fact that until 1954 a passport was required for travel between Northern and Southern Rhodesia was to nobody's advantage.
- (c) There should be more unification of the civil services in the three Territories. He recognised that the present resources for recruitment of civil servants in the two Northern Territories were inadequate but they were improving. The important thing was that any civil servant should make the country his home wherever he had been recruited from.
- (d) Broadcasting was an extremely important medium for African enlightenment and the Federal Broadcasting Corporation since 1958 had been trying to take advantage of this.
- (e) Time was now too short to "sell" Federation to the masses of the people. What was needed was a feeling of Federal loyalty, and local loyalties tended to work against this.
- (f) The record of the Federal Government did not substantiate the accusation made against them from Africans in the Northern Territories.
- (g) He supported the idea that the Federation should be given Dominion status. The fact that the United Kingdom had not exercised the present powers in relation to the Federation demonstrated that these powers were no longer needed.

Memorandum

MRS. R. J. SEAL

I believe that some form of co-operation between the Territories north of the Limpopo is desirable. Assuming that Federation continues, my views are as follows:

- (1) Federal Powers. I consider that anything approaching amalgamation should be avoided. The Federal Government has, in my view, taken over too much power from

the individual Territories. I should like to see the power of the Federal Government reduced to a considerable extent. I should be glad to see Health and European Education restored to the Territorial Government of Northern Rhodesia as a start.

- (2) The Capital. I do not agree that the Capital of the Federation should be at Salisbury. I think it should be at a central place quite apart from the capitals of the three Territories. The Fort Jameson area would be a good place geographically.
- (3) The Federal Franchise. I do not believe that "one man, one vote" would be a good thing for these Territories, at the present time. However, I consider that the standards of income and education are set too high, and that it should be made possible for many more Africans, both men and women, to have the vote at once.
- (4) Finance. Since Federation, development in Northern Rhodesia has been slowed down instead of being accelerated as was forecast. Being the youngest of the three Territories, and having furthest to go, Northern Rhodesia might have expected a much larger proportion of available funds (most of which came from this Territory in any case).

"Big business" has been attracted to Salisbury, and Lusaka and other towns in Northern Rhodesia have been, to a large extent, starved.

Much of this inequality could have been avoided had the Federal Capital been situated away from Salisbury and outside Southern Rhodesia.

- (5) Education. Although Europeans and African Education were separate in this Territory before Federation, the continuation of that separation in the Federation was a great pity, and further, the fact that European Education was regarded as the special care of the feared Federal Government only served to underline the discrimination already existing.

I consider that European and African Education should be brought together under one Ministry of Education in the Territorial Government.

At present there does not appear to be much feeling of unity between the races at school level.

- (6) Health. There is a great need for a satisfied medical staff in Northern Rhodesia and Federation appears to have resulted in little continuity in staffing and much discontent among the members of the Federal Health Department working in Northern Rhodesia.

I consider that Health, like Education, is so much a matter of close contact between the Government and the people that a Territorial Government would never have been allowed to dilly-dally about the provision of an adequate African Hospital in the Capital town.

Federation

- (1) The Word "Federation" is hated and feared by the majority of Africans. In my opinion there is ground for this hatred and this fear. The policy and attitude of South Africa are to be found, to some extent, in Southern Rhodesia. Africans of the northern Territories at least are afraid of that policy.
- (2) I do not think the Federal Government and the Government of Southern Rhodesia have done very much to try to dispel that fear since Federation was established. The Preamble to the Constitution does not appear to have meant much to those Governments.
- (3) Lastly, I should like to express something which is difficult to put into words. The relationship between Africans and ourselves, once easy and friendly, is changing. One "feels" a different atmosphere. I have heard this expressed by more than one European. I believe this to be important. Instead of there being an improvement in race relations, there is no doubt there has been deterioration since 1953.
- (4) For these and other reasons I should like to suggest an alternative association of the three Territories. I suggest that the word "Federation" be forgotten, and that we return to the idea of the *Central African Council* of pre-Federation days, with or without a change of name. If that body were to have certain executive powers, such as responsibility for Customs, Main Roads,

Defence and External Affairs, there would be no need for a separate fourth Government (with the heavy expenses that entails).

- (5) A just and reasonable assessment of each Territory's contribution to the common financial pool would be necessary and this could be undertaken by the "Council". I do not believe the difficulties would be insurmountable. The best brains of all three Territories would be needed on the "Council" with a proper proportion of men and women, of any race, chosen specially for their character and integrity and others chosen specially for their close contact with and knowledge of the ordinary people. These representatives should, I think, be chosen by the Territorial Governments not by a General Election.

Lusaka

21st January 1960

Oral Evidence

MRS. R. J. SEAL

Mrs. Seal had come to Northern Rhodesia in 1938 with her husband and family. Her husband had been Assistant Director of Education until his retirement last year. Both her sons were working in Northern Rhodesia, one as an African Education Officer, and the other as an African Personnel Officer, Nchanga Mine.

Mrs. Seal had the following points to add to her memorandum:—

- (1) *Point 5. Education.* The suggested polytechnic at Lusaka was getting into a muddle. Both the Territorial African Education Department and the Federal Department were considering a polytechnic. The African Education Department's proposal was for a non-racial polytechnic. She had also heard that separate schools were being built for Asians, and that seemed to be wrong. There was already a secondary school for European boys in Lusaka and two for girls. In Southern Rhodesia private schools were already admitting Asians, and the girls' convent school at Lusaka admitted Asians. She felt strongly on the point that European and African education should be brought together under one Minister of Education in the Territorial government. If they were both under one department there would be the possibility of having voluntary non-racial schools.
- (2) *Point 6. Health.* Under the Federal Government, the leprosy centre grants to Missions had been stopped. They had been restored, but not retrospectively.

In answer to questions, Mrs. Seal made the following further points:—

- (1) She was in favour of some sort of federation or association, but not in its present form.
- (2) Referring to the statement in paragraph 3 under "Federation" in the memorandum "instead of there being an improvement in race relations there is no doubt there has been deterioration since 1953", this judgment was based more on a feeling than on any definite misadventure. She was accustomed to visiting several African compounds. There used to be a real friendship from Africans when she did so, but now there was a slight difference. The deterioration was more between the racial groups, not so much as between persons. As between persons again relations were possibly better, but there was a definite group feeling.
- (3) With regard to her suggestion of having something like the Central African Council, she agreed that before federation everyone had thought in terms of amalgamation. For that reason, the Central African Council had not been well run. What was needed was a more loose joining of the Governments with parity of representation, certainly as between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. The organisation she had in mind would be a separate body with representation of all three Governments. It might have to be called a legislature. She did not exactly want the old Central African Council back, but wanted it to have more executive powers. It would probably also have to have some form of legislature. But she would make a very small assignment of powers to it. She had not considered whether some special power would have to be given

for the implementation of treaties in the territorial spheres.

- (4) Referring to the statement in paragraph (1) under "Federation" in the memorandum that "the policy and attitude of South Africa are to be found, to some extent, in Southern Rhodesia," she agreed that she had not lived in South Africa, but had only visited there. She did not know about the attitude in South Africa towards the education of African women, but she had known some well-educated African women from South Africa. In her memorandum she was referring to general feeling in South Africa to the effect that Africans were of different quality. She agreed that African education in South Africa was more or less ahead. She also realised that opportunities had been given there in the nursing profession.
- (5) Mrs. Seal was accustomed to visiting African compounds for welfare work and girl guide work. She felt safe there in the daytime, but would not walk about there alone at night. She had no feeling that trouble was coming soon. They heard of unrest in the country, but they did not feel afraid. She could not say whether or not she feared a general uprising.
- (6) On non-racial schools, she felt that they should at first be organised privately. This was because there was too much feeling amongst Europeans on the subject; they did not want their children brought up with African children or Asians.
- (7) On the site of the capital, she agreed that Fort Jameson might be a suitable central place.

Memorandum

P. T. S. MILLER

A. Some Causes of Friction

- (1) The underlying irritation is not the clash of two races but the misgivings which an advanced society has of submitting to the unreasoned will of a primitive society.
- (2) The relative wealth of one section of the community as compared with the relative poverty of the other.
- (3) The refusal of a few African leaders to accept the Federal concept and their hold over the illiterate masses.
- (4) The colour bar as it affects the more educated African in conflict with the less educated European.

B. Factors Affecting the European attitude toward the African

- (1) The great majority of Africans have little to lose directly by unrest since they are either employees or live under the tribal system.
- (2) His interpretation of compromise as weakness.
- (3) He "speaks a different language". Many Europeans with years of direct contact have often failed to understand the primitive African outlook.
- (4) Lack of contact between highly educated people of both races.
- (5) Racial prejudice.

C. Southern Rhodesia and Political Facts

- (1) The country is prosperous and generally well run in spite of no special mineral wealth to assist economically.
- (2) A strong sense of responsibility exists among administrators and politicians in their attitude towards the African race generally.
- (3) More schooling facilities, less unrest and generally a more contented society than exists in either of the two Northern Territories.

D. Northern Rhodesia and Political Facts

- (1) Unbalanced economic development has led to unnatural movements of both African and European communities.
- (2) Colonial Office "Umpire Policy" has led to unnecessary suspicion developing between the two "sides" and between the "umpire" and his "teams".
- (3) There has never been a figurehead or a leader. The Governor's position is becoming more and more untenable and onerous.
- (4) Long tradition of European participation in Government has kept the country from being a pure colony.

E. Nyasaland and Political Facts

My knowledge is not wide enough to express an opinion.

F. The Federation and Political Facts

- (1) Federation was introduced with the watchword "Partnership" and described by responsible people as an experiment. Nobody likes being a guinea pig.
- (2) Partnership has been rejected in clear terms by African leaders.
- (3) Partnership was accepted with reservations by the Europeans and a genuine liberal spirit has flourished until recently.
- (4) Like any new enterprise, Federation has suffered from teething troubles associated with administration but this has often been interpreted badly. e.g. Health matters.
- (5) A definite hostility exists among territorial civil servants towards the Federal Government. This attitude has an undermining effect especially when conveyed to the more illiterate of the population.
- (6) Colonial Office responsibility in the two Northern Territories and the Federal African Affairs Board have created the atmosphere of split loyalty.

G. Britain and Political Facts relating to the Federation

- (1) Britain's best interests will be served by a stable political entity in Central Africa with which she can continue trade.
- (2) Britain's political actions are controlled by her electorate which is ignorant of the facts about conditions in the Federation and unable to understand them without first hand experience.
- (3) Too much reliance is placed on the democratic system of government which immediately provides a simple theoretical answer to any society but really only applies to a homogeneous community.
- (4) The tendency is to ignore and even malign the "Settler" who has gone through considerable hardship (disease, isolation and economic depression) in developing the country and reaching his present position. Few have become rich in these pursuits.
- (5) Much goodwill and loyalty to Britain exists here emanating from all sections of the population, but this is being sorely tried by the "holier than thou" attitude of a minority in Britain.

H. Suggested Principles for a Solution

- (1) The continuation of the system of division of responsibility between the Colonial Office (or any successor) and the Territorial Governments must be rejected.
- (2) Emergent African politicians must be given real responsibility but affecting their own areas and their own people. Only in this way can they learn "the hard way" that real ability is required for good administration and government.
- (3) The existing developed areas or, by inference, the European areas must be maintained under a stable government *free from outside interference*, for the benefit of all. Heavy responsibility should be accepted by this entity for the development of the more backward areas.
- (4) The Federal system should remain and consideration given to the formation of an Upper House guarding the interests of all and consisting of elder statesman of all races.
- (5) Territorial boundaries should be revised in the interests of political stability.
- (6) Under the new delimitation of boundaries it may be advantageous to designate territories where African interests will be given priority and those where European influence will remain the deciding factor, though the ultimate aim would be to run the whole Federal area in the interests of all inhabitants.

The above points are offered in a sincere attempt to help provide the best solution in the interests of all inhabitants. It is earnestly recommended that a radical change be brought about and it is hoped that a mere adjustment of existing checks and balances is not attempted.

Personal Information

Born: Lusaka—May, 1926. (Age 33 years).

Educated: Ruzawi School and Plumtree School, Southern Rhodesia.
Cape Town University, South Africa.

Married: Wife from Seychelles Islands.
 Children: Three sons.
 Occupation: Consulting Civil Engineer.
 Other Interests: Landowner and farmer.
 Chairman, United Federal Party, Lusaka Rural Branch.
 (Views expressed are personal and have nothing to do with Party policy).
 Committee Member, Agricultural Show Society.
 Parents: Father—Civil Engineer Rhodesia Railways and Shire Highland Railways. Arrived in Northern Rhodesia 1908. Occupied farm near Lusaka on retirement in 1919. Died 1936.
 Mother: Nursing Sister. Arrived in Lusaka in 1919 to take up appointment as Matron of Lusaka Hospital (then consisting of 4 corrugated iron huts).

Oral Evidence

P. T. S. MILLER

Mr. Miller said that he was a farmer, and also an engineer.

In commenting on his memorandum he stated that he had come before the Commission as a settler to put the settlers' view. That view was not always appreciated in England. He agreed in principle with Federation. He regarded it as most important to maintain the Federal system as the means of maintaining prosperity. Federation had been the cause of great prosperity in Northern Rhodesia in the last six years, . . . the Federal Government had organised a fine conservation service which had completely changed the whole aspect of farming. He had no strong views about the division of agriculture into Federal and Territorial.

Referring to Section 4 of his memorandum "Suggested principles for a solution", point 1,—only people who have lived with the problems could see them in their proper perspective.

There was a political divergence between the Line of Rail in Northern Rhodesia and other areas. Those other areas, such as the Northern Province and Barotseland, had never really been settled.

Referring to point 5, he preferred to avoid the word "partition" as a political word. He was in favour of Federation, but some other division of boundaries within the Federation would be a convenience. There should be something like Provincial Councils.

He thought that there should be an Upper House for the purpose of putting forward more mature views and protecting minority interests. It would have to be nominated and composed of elder statesmen, highly reliable people. Nominations would have to be by the Governor-General on the advice of the Party in power, although he might not be bound to act on that advice.

He would like to get entirely away from the idea of Territories. Too much was heard of the division between north and south. He would like to allow the Federal idea to grow.

Representation in the central Legislative body might be on a population, or possibly some other basis. The Canadian regional scheme for representation might be considered.

In reply to questions, Mr. Miller made the following further points:—

- (1) In Section 4, point 5, the reason for revision of territorial boundaries was that there were different political groups in the various areas. He did not want amalgamation or a unitary government, and he would not divide the states or provinces on the basis of black and white. His idea was to cut up the Federation into small compartments or provinces, e.g. Barotseland might form one. They would all be separate components of a separate state.
- (2) On Section 4, point 2 of the memorandum, he considered that the Native Authorities would gradually have to merge into the political system. Similarly, the idea of voting would need to be brought into the Native Authorities.

Memorandum

FATHER FLYNN

Sec. to the Catholic Bishops' Conference, N.R.

Member: African Education Advisory Board
 European Education Advisory Board
 Medical Missions Advisory Committee

Education Secretary General (Catholic Missions)

STATEMENT.—"To insure the more speedy and effective implementation of the official policy of racial partnership three subjects presently Federal should revert to Territorial control, viz. non-African Education (in particular), Health and European Agriculture."

I. Agriculture :

- (1) Agriculture the one sphere easily multi-racial.
- (2) Present dichotomy causes double expense, division of minds, increased African suspicion.
- (3) Yet Land and Natural Resources remains Territorial.
- (4) N.R. is a distinct agricultural entity—soils, climate, rainfall, etc., and sufficiently vast to need its own specialised development jointly for white and black.

II. Health :

- (1) Large proportion of curative work in the three Territories provided by the Missions (in N.R. nearly 50% of total; more than 75% of the total rural). Yet no effective consultative machinery on regional or federal level; policy dictated by Salisbury regional Director has discretionary spending powers limited to £50.
- (2) Lack of effective liaison between the Federal PMO and the mainly Territorial Provincial Development Teams.
- (3) Alarming decrease in medical staff.
- (4) African advancement in medical employment retarded.

III Education : (Surely our youth should be educated to partnership.)

- (1) The glaring disparity between European and African Education finances; this disparity cannot be attached in Federal or Territorial Assemblies. (Over 30,000 Af. children in Copperbelt and Lusaka no schools at all; big majority N.R. Africans get only 4 years school.)
- (2) Federal control of Higher African Education unwieldy.
- (3) The teaching of Civics—race-relations.
- (4) Development of Technical Education—separate plans.
- (5) Multi-racial schools: No Authority exists for registration, grants, inspections; example: Lusaka plans, Catholic Church.
- (6) Lack of Federal understanding of African educational needs, e.g. Immigration Dept. ban on more than 6 alien Africans p.a. of higher teacher qualifications.

Lusaka

Oral Evidence

FATHER FLYNN

Secretary for the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference for Northern Rhodesia. Father Flynn circulated a short written memorandum. This had been approved by the Bishops' Conference.

The witness considered that the social services should be under Territorial control. This applied particularly to health and education; although agriculture was not strictly a social subject, it provided a good chance for races to get together amicably on common ground. The present dichotomy caused farmers of the two races to think and work differently. There was no reason why agricultural research should not remain a Federal subject.

With regard to the health service, he felt that it could be dealt with more effectively on a unified basis. At present there was a danger of bias as between African and European health services. It would also enable the health services provided by the mining companies, missions, etc., to be co-ordinated on a Territorial basis.

There were a number of shortcomings in the present health service, particularly from the point of view of African advancement. No African, even with standard IV qualifications, was eligible for appointment as laboratory technician or assistant. The argument used was that Europeans with the same quali-



cations were more reliable; the witness denied that this was in fact the case. It was necessary to move towards multi-racialism in the hospital field as in all other fields. Positive steps towards this could best be taken on a Territorial basis. If progress were to be made, the extent to which African suspicions on the racial issue were genuine must be fully realised.

As for education, Father Flynn said that amenities provided for European children often appeared too luxurious when many Africans were not even able to get school places. The present separation of technical education was entirely artificial, and Territories should have more control over the allocation of their own bursaries for higher education.

The Catholic community felt strongly about the establishment of multi-racial schools. Under the present division of responsibility no Government Department, whether Federal or Territorial, could authorize grants for multi-racial schools. Moreover, since the two Education Departments were quite independent of each other, the regulations governing African and non-African schools could not both be applied to any one school. These arrangements did not affect Asians, who were now in suitable cases being admitted to girls convent schools. This had not caused any revolution among parents.

The African schools were at present desperately short of teachers, but Federal immigration regulations prevented the missions from bringing in suitable teachers from the Union or from East Africa; only six "foreign" Africans were admitted annually, and each school had to fight for its own nominees.

Summing up, Father Flynn said that, even if adjustments were made, he doubted whether Federation could now be made to work. Time lost during the past six years could not be regained.

Memorandum

M. M. ASHTON BUNDU

I would like to point out some of my points to the Monckton Commission, although some people behind me here, are bullying me. And these are true points. On the other hand, I would like to thank the proposal of the Federation here in Central Africa.

And this is a big job they have done to the African people of Northern Rhodesia and the other two territories.

These are my few things I can assure the Monckton Commission with:—

- (1) Before Federation it was too hard for Africans and Europeans to meet each other in the very same Hotel or any Public entertainment; but today will find them together.
- (2) Federation has offered responsible jobs to African people, such as: Railway Guards, Bank Tellers, School Principals, Builders; but before Federation all these jobs were not in books of Africans.

I will assure the Commission that, the people (may be) he has heard about talking against Federation and the people who have failed to encourage themselves in education and get also, or reach, to the stage of their brothers who have that kind of jobs: of failing to do so, now going on streets, barking here and there that "Federation is NO GOOD".

The very same Africans are the people who caused a lot of the troubles on their African people. Once they learn that one of the Africans is running with a big job in Federal Government, they have to approach him, and stone his house and sometimes they burn.

I am quite pretty sure that I have proved nothing wrong in Federation. Federation is surviving.

The Partnership is well accepted in the true sense, to the people who do understand really the meaning of Partnership and Federation.

Lusaka

16th March 1960

Speech to the Commission by M. M. Ashton Bundu

Although I have not going through with my points, as a question from the throne of the Monckton Commission. I have pressed nothing on this article which is already in the hands of the Monckton Commission, but I would like it if the Monckton Commission can give me their ears that I may deem more on those points he has at first.

Africans in the Federation have given every opportunity for the political advancement under franchise laws, which enable them to enrol as voters and stand as members of Parliament on an equal footing with Europeans and peoples of other races.

But this platform has denied by these people (the Africans) by no reason. The fact is this, these people are fearing this, that, if we accept the Europeans as our keepers for ever, they will take this country as theirs, and if I come to the question it says—Why did you receive the Europeans in the beginning? and took them as our leaders? (Answer)—We needed them to lead us and to teach us, and another hand, the country has made not to only for one particular race (—Africans only) but to all races.

I am now running to the old age, before Europeans came in this country, Africans were far away from civilisation, but today you will find Africans running with bibles in their hands which our forefathers had not. Today will find Africans that with other race, outside of this country, because of the education has brought by the whites and why not being free to govern us?

I am quite pretty sure that the Monckton Commission have gone around the all these parts of N. Rhodesia and may be learn the unimproved living to the African people of this country, this matter cannot be on the heads of this Government which is in hands of Europeans today, but to the African people of this country. We, the AFRICANS have weakened the power of whites, who are trying their level best on us.

Boycotting the Monckton Commission

As it is in sense of the Monckton Commission that these people of this country have entirely refused to give evidence, it is thus not the party of boycotting him, but they have found no reasons to give against Federation.

I am not biting the bush, but I would like to make it clear that, when the Federation was proposed, the Africans of the country were afraid that this Federation shall keep the African people as it is in South Africa. They talked about colour bar to be abolished and partnership to be achieved; today you can find Africans entering hotels, cafes, eating with whites, drinking together, we have our African Ministers in Legislative Council. And again for all these show that Federation is not one-sided.

In Federation there is strength.

Oral evidence

M. M. ASHTON BUNDU

Mr. Bundu produced a memorandum and now read from a document "Speech for the Monckton Commission" which he subsequently handed in. He was in favour of Federation, which had brought benefits to his people. Although he had been born in Northern Rhodesia he had worked in Southern Rhodesia, and had just returned from there. In Southern Rhodesia Africans had their own businesses, just like the Europeans. He could not see in what way they were suffering.

Mr. Bundu stated that he was 29 years old, of the Bema Tribe. He had worked for nine years in Southern Rhodesia, where he had been employed by the United Tobacco Company as a clerk. He had then been a teacher under the government of Southern Rhodesia. He had then sold patent medicines made in Southern Rhodesia. He was now working in a publications office in Lusaka.

Memorandum

M. GERSH—Companies Director

1. The views expressed in this Memorandum are those of an individual who has spent practically the whole of his working life in Northern Rhodesia, where he has been permanently resident for a period of 36 years, arriving in this Territory from Cape Town in the Union of South Africa in 1924 at the age of 18. Of this period the first six years were spent by him in the Livingstone district and in Southern Barotseland and from 1930 to date on the Copperbelt.

2. Members of his family crossed the Zambezi River in 1900 by ox-wagon on trading expeditions to Barotseland and in 1902 become permanently resident in this Territory. For nearly sixty years they have been engaged in and pioneered in this country many types of commercial, industrial, agricultural and

other activities and many years ago also mineral prospecting. Their children represent the third generation in this country.

3. In my own case I am Chairman and Managing Director of Companies engaged in retail distribution, farming and ranching, engineering and foundry, lumbering and sawmilling, cinemas, real estate, motor engineering and distribution, textile manufacturing and other industrial concerns. I have practically no investments outside of Northern Rhodesia and the earnings of our various Companies over a period of thirty years have all been ploughed back into this Territory. Since Federation I have also been instrumental in encouraging the investment in this country of considerable capital from the United Kingdom in private enterprise, and my Group is connected with a well-known English Investment House whose Chairman is amongst the leading financial figures in the City of London and whose Group has invested many millions of pounds in Southern Rhodesia since Federation.

4. My own Group's and associates' investments in Northern Rhodesia total in the vicinity of £1,500,000 so we are very much concerned with the future political evolution of this Territory, the stability and soundness of its present and future form of Government and its future association as a member of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

5. I have from time to time been a member of a number of Government Boards, Committees or Commissions and other public bodies. I was one of the two Northern Rhodesian members on the Federal Tariff Commission which laid the basis of the Customs Tariff for the Federation and whilst on this Commission I had the opportunity further of studying economic conditions in all three Territories. I have also served for many years on the Kitwe Local Authority and I had the honour of leading a delegation from this Local Authority to the Witwatersrand to study African Housing and Administration in the industrial areas on the Rand. As a member of the Brown Committee I was a subscriber to a Report which made recommendations, subsequently accepted and implemented by Government, by which African residents in Municipal Areas should be enabled to take an appropriate part in the administration of these areas.

6. As a citizen therefore of this Territory of over 36 years' standing, engaged and having played some part in the economic development of this Territory as well as participated in its social and public life, I feel that I have some little knowledge of its many problems which are never-ending and continuously changing, more so perhaps than in most other parts of the world.

7. I make no claim to being an expert. Experts cannot solve the complex problems of a multi-racial society where there is such a vast difference between the races in their economic, educational, social and cultural standards, unless by a drastic surgical operation. The bridging of such a vast gap can only resolve itself in the course of time and too hurried a construction can quite easily result in the collapse of the whole structure.

8. My background as a businessman and industrialist has trained me in realism and hard facts, and my long association with local government and working with Africans in many fields convinces me that it will be many years before the African can take a much larger share in the Government of this country, that is, if it is to be a responsible, efficient and stable government. It is so easy for people living 6,000 miles away, who after all do not have to implement or live with the consequences of any specific policies, to express solutions which mainly emanate from enthusiasm, starry-eyed idealism and wishful thinking and propaganda, and, even more dangerous, from political opportunism. Perhaps therefore the views I am expressing, which are dispassionate and stem from practical experience over many years, may make some small contribution to finding a solution which is realistic, practicable and fair to all the people in the country.

9. Race relations between the men in the street, between African and European, are good in this Territory. They will only deteriorate if there is a surrender to the extreme viewpoints and demands of the extremist nationalist leaders and politicians of either side. As the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has rightly expressed, the wind of change is certainly sweeping Africa, but whereas a hurricane could easily wreck the boat, a breeze would enable it better to finish the course.

10. I subscribe to the viewpoint that in the development and advancement of mass illiterate people, as is to be found in the

Federation, the emphasis should first be on the improvement in the economic, educational, health and social planes, with political advancement to follow, when such people are qualified and able to take such greater responsibility. I am further of the opinion that such development will be more favourable and orderly and be quicker under a positive and stable Government on the spot, elected by and answerable to an educated and responsible electorate within the country.

11. A brief study therefore of the evolution of Northern Rhodesia since the granting of Responsible Self-Government to Southern Rhodesia in 1923 would, it is felt, be of value to the Commission.

12. Until 1923 the two Rhodesias were one entity, being mainly controlled by the British South Africa Company under a Charter, responsible to the United Kingdom Government. In 1923 Southern Rhodesia secured Responsible Self-Government, responsible, that is, to the people electing it. Northern Rhodesia fell under the immediate control of the Colonial Office and was administered for the next generation by an administration with no stake in the Territory, and during the first two decades without or at the most with very little reference to the people within the country, and particularly the European whose enterprise, capital, brains, tenacity and "know how" created and made possible the present high degree of development and progress which is enjoyed by all races in the Territory.

13. Of the two Rhodesias, both starting from scratch it soon became apparent that as a country offering opportunity and security for white settlement, Southern Rhodesia, with its own Government drawn from the white people, who had made their permanent home there and who were responsible for bringing law and order and European civilization into a land of savagery and warring tribes, offered greater inducements for economic expansion and progress than its Northern neighbour. Until the end of 1930 the European population in the Northern Territory was relatively stationary and development and expansion practically non-existent. The European population at that time did not exceed 3,000 to 4,000.

14. Practically no form of economy existed. There were a few settlements on the line of rail which had been constructed in about 1910 to serve the Broken Hill zinc and lead mine, the small Bwana M'Kubwa copper mine and the copper mines of the Belgian Congo. Most of the European population were Colonial Civil Servants: there were a few farmers and ranchers, a number of prospectors and some hardy traders who were responsible for the cattle trading and other insignificant commercial activities in the Territory. With the possible exception of Barotseland, the country was poor and harsh to European and African alike. Malaria, blackwater and other tropical diseases were rife. The African population existed under the most primitive standards, disease-ridden and suffering badly from malnutrition. To the Colonial civil servant, who had very little interest in the country, it was merely a job of work, to spend a tour of two to two and a half years, enjoy six months' leave in the United Kingdom, returning for possibly a further tour or being transferred to some other part of the Colonial Empire, and after 20 years' service to retire to his home in the United Kingdom on a pension payable by the Colonial Territory.

15. With the opening of the Copperbelt from 1927 onwards, the development and expansion of Northern Rhodesia commenced, and this was followed by the expansion of the overall economy of the Territory from which all the races have benefited.

16. The extent of this expansion can be gauged from the fact that the Government expenditure for the five years 1936 to 1940, averaged £1,000,000 a year and during the year 1952 immediately before Federation, the expenditure was £23,000,000.

17. The advent of Federation was well received by the European in this Territory and did not bring forward, certainly not on the surface, any strong views from the African masses. Whilst it was appreciated that economically Northern Rhodesia would be the loser in the initial stages, it was felt that in the long run, being a member of a larger unit with a more diversified and spread economy, Federation would give greater economic and political stability and security.

18. I believe that opposition to Federation by the man in the street, as opposed to that of the African nationalist leader or politician, is over-estimated or exaggerated. If it is possible to obtain evidence from the average individual African urban

or rural worker, it will be found that the majority of the African population has very little understanding or conception of the meaning or function of Federation and most extraordinary explanations will be received.

19. In the case of the more responsible and advanced African engaged in commerce and industry, great reticence will be displayed to offer any opinion for fear of subsequent intimidation. These are the views that have been expressed to me by a number of more advanced Africans, and generally the viewpoint is that they are far more concerned with opportunities in the economic field than in the political spheres.

20. There is no doubt that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland created a wave of confidence overseas and within the country itself in the economic and political future of the three Territories and this was followed by an expansion in investment and development throughout all the Territories from which all the races have benefitted, with the major concentration, however, being directed towards the South.

21. Its impact, however, in the economic, political and social spheres has not been uniform in each of the three Territories and its repercussions and effects have varied in each Territory. These have been influenced by each Territory's form of Government, before and after Federation, and by the social, educational and economic standards of its African population. The geographical situation of each Territory in relation to each other, to the South, and to the country's ports of entry are also major factors in their economic progress. Political and national thinking are also influenced by their situations in relationship to other countries in Africa.

22. When it is considered that Northern Rhodesia was able to contribute to the Federation as a whole a basic industry providing over £120,000,000 a year in copper—approximately half of the total gold produced by the Union of South Africa—why has this Territory not enjoyed its share of the ancillary secondary industrial expansion and a greater share of the outside investment that the Federation engendered? The Copperbelt has the second largest concentration of population and purchasing power in the Federation but in spite of this large market, ancillary secondary industrial expansion has been relatively of no consequence in this Territory either before or since Federation.

23. Whilst undoubtedly Southern Rhodesia enjoys a favourable geographical advantage by being situated at the beginning of a long railway haulage system, its secondary industrial development mainly stems from having its own Responsible Self-Government, able to carry out its own policies, entirely for the benefit of its own people and operated by a Civil Service mainly recruited from the Territory, living and making their permanent homes in the country and responsible to the people of the country who employ them.

24. It is through being entirely responsible for its own affairs that one of the first steps taken by Southern Rhodesia to expand its economy was the establishment of secondary industry which was only possible under a tariff wall. In Northern Rhodesia, for example, until joining the Federation, this country was freely open to the imports of nearly every country in the world, and in the case of manufacturers from Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, imports from these countries were duty free. In fact the Northern Rhodesian Customs authorities used to receive a fiscal payment from these two countries for the privilege of not levying duties. How could any secondary industry be established in this Territory under such conditions?

25. Investment capital and industrial development will prefer a political climate where there is stable, sound and mature Responsible Self-Government with a consistent and permanent policy dictated by the people who elect the Government. Such stability, consistency and confidence cannot emanate from a colonial or quasi-colonial form of government, whose policies are implemented by a civil service which owes little allegiance to the country in which they work and where they have no permanent stake. Practically every amenity during their temporary sojourn in the Territory is provided by a paternal Government, even to the extent of free passages back to the United Kingdom every two and a half to three years.

26. It would be interesting to ascertain the amount of investments in fixed assets made by the civil servants in Northern Rhodesia within this Territory in comparison for example, with similar investments made by civil servants in the Southern Rhodesian Government in Southern Rhodesia. After all, as the people primarily responsible for the conduct of

government in this country and the implementation of policy, surely, an indication of confidence in a country is the desire of the worker to take root and make his home therein.

27. That outside confidence still exists in as far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned, in spite of the recession, is amply demonstrated by the continuous investment flowing into that country and by the establishment of large new private industries. In Northern Rhodesia, apart from Federal and Territorial Government spending, the influx of new investment money has come to a stop during the last twelve months. In fact, with the uncertain political situation that has been created, there is an actual tendency for money to flow out of the country.

28. In my opinion the whole system of Colonial Government which dates back to the Victorian period, implemented by a colonial civil service whose employer is outside of the Territory, is outdated and particularly in the case of a Territory such as Northern Rhodesia where rapid primary industrialisation has been brought about through the mining industry.

29. The conclusion is therefore evident that one of the major reasons for Northern Rhodesia not receiving its share of secondary industrial expansion, as well as more of the other benefits of Federation, as has taken place in Southern Rhodesia, is to a large extent due to the dislike of the industrialist and investor of the form of government which exists in Northern Rhodesia where the Constitution is uncertain and subject to continual changes by influences and pressure from both white and black within the country itself as well as from the Colonial Office in London.

30. The present policies of a Colonial form of Government which are relics of outdated Colonial paternalism, have also had a retarding effect on private development and investment in comparison with Southern Rhodesia. I would quote the form of land tenure in the North, which is on a 99-year lease basis from the Crown, as against freehold in the South. Conversion into freehold title has since been agreed to by Government during 1959.

31. The existing system (by law) under which employers are compelled to house their African labour is also outdated and no provision exists to enable the African to own his own house or property in the urban areas. This is only now, however, under consideration by the Territorial Government.

32. The country as a whole has also not advanced commensurate with its natural wealth and resources. This is due to a large extent to the fact that it is already divided into two distinct parts. The major portion which contains about 94% of the land mass is either Native Reserves or Trust Lands, in which, with very few exceptions, European settlement or investment is not permitted and where the Provincial Administration of the Northern Rhodesia Government is in full control. It is interesting to compare how little progress and development has gone on in the 94% of Northern Rhodesia during the last 30 years when compared with the development and progress of the remaining 6% of Northern Rhodesia, where European settlement and investment have been unrestricted.

33. The European has also been discriminated against in the Urban African Housing Areas under the jurisdiction of the Local Authorities. As a result, the lack of amenities and consumer and other services in these areas is very pronounced with such amenities and services as are offered being of a very low standard. These areas are reserved for development by Africans, who, with very few exceptions, have neither the capital, nor the ability or knowledge to provide the standard of services that the urban African requires in a modern industrial urban society.

34. As with the other members of the Federation, the problem of the future is to find gainful employment for the Africans who will be leaving their schools in their increasing thousands. In Northern Rhodesia up to a few years ago, the numbers have been such that the Mining Industry has been able to absorb the greater number but this has now reached saturation point. Avenues of employment for the increasing emergent African can only be found provided there is a greater degree of industrialisation and commercial development and a greater absorption in the public services, local authorities and particularly in the provision of opportunities in the rural areas. I understand that in Kitwe-Nkana alone, over the next five to six years, approximately 10,000 African children will have left school with a Standard IV to VI education, for whom the possibility of employment under present conditions is remote.

35. The necessary capital and investment will however be attracted to provide additional avenues of employment only if it is assured that in the foreseeable future the government of the country remains in responsible and civilised hands.

36. That no territory can develop or thrive under an outdated Colonial Office rule can be assessed, for example, by the lack of progress and development in Nyasaland until the advent of Federation, and by the backwardness of the protectorate territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in relationship to other parts of the Union of South Africa. In Northern Rhodesia itself, the difference is clearly marked when one sees what little progress has been made in Barotseland in sixty years since the first white trader set foot in that country, and which has been and is a Protectorate closed to European penetration.

37. Whilst therefore supporting a Responsible Self-Government for Northern Rhodesia, within the Federation, the present popular cry of "one man one vote" or universal adult suffrage at the present state of African civilisation as the panacea of all ills in the country and as the pre-requisite for future progress and stability is not the answer. For many years to come the British type of democracy, which functions well in Britain where there is a reasonably educated and homogenous society, cannot be transplanted overnight and be expected to survive in the relatively primitive and elementary social conditions that exist in the greater part of Northern Rhodesia. One need only look at what has happened not only in Africa but in other parts of the world, when so-called "independence" and universal adult suffrage have been granted at one and the same time. Ethiopia and Liberia are "free" but there is no democracy. Recently Ghana, Libya, Morocco and Sudan have followed, but in every instance freedom has been marked by the government suppression of any opposition party. All the unrest and disputes across the Northern Rhodesian border in the Belgian Congo, amongst the various tribes are a warning of the results of a so-called "independence".

38. Is the statement of one of the leaders of the Northern Rhodesia Nationalist Party, Mr. Mainza Chona, representing Northern Rhodesia at the All-African Peoples' Conference in Tunis in January last, when he told delegates there that Europeans were trespassers and must be evicted from Northern Rhodesia, an indication of what would happen in Northern Rhodesia if Africans were given majority Government right away? In fairness, these extreme opinions were condemned by other responsible African leaders within this country. Nevertheless, from experience elsewhere, one usually finds that where there is no true democracy it is the extremists' viewpoint that inevitably prevails.

39. My views that a universal suffrage is not the answer are substantiated by my experience on the Kitwe Local Authority and particularly as a past Chairman of its African Affairs Committee and as a past Chairman of its African Housing Area Board. Whilst these African Housing Boards were established with the object of enabling the African to take a greater share in Local Government, it is quite obvious that such Boards can only serve as a training ground for many years to come.

40. Although most of the members of these Boards are elected by the residents of these areas, and very wide publicity given to such elections, the average poll has been under 10%. At such elections, cases of intimidation, boycott of elections, threats and malicious political pressure have been experienced, which have also subsequently been found to have an unhealthy influence on discussions and decisions of the Board. With very few exceptions, the candidates offering themselves for election are of low intellectual calibre and with very limited educational qualifications.

41. It has become obvious from this experience that it will be many years before the fundamental essentials of reasonable local administration will be understood and learnt. Their powers of logical reasoning are very limited and there is an almost complete lack of comprehension regarding financial matters. This is also borne out at the paucity of successful African business men in those areas which have been reserved entirely by the Local Authorities for African private enterprise.

42. If at the present stage of the African's progress he is not able to absorb or conduct the lowest level of Local Government or operate successfully the smallest type of business, what assurance have the 80,000 Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, who have made this country their home and developed it to the advantage of all races, that the conduct of the country's affairs on a much higher level by an African controlled majority, will be better?

43. The question therefore of a universal adult franchise can only be considered when the African masses, and that particularly includes the African women, who with few exceptions are still living in the primitiveness of the 1920's and before, have reached a stage of educational standards and levels approximating those of the European minority. It is felt that whatever is the future form of Government, the emphasis must be towards that aim. In the meantime, it is therefore inevitable that the Government must lie with the European minority, but the present qualitative franchise means that at some time in the future there will be an African majority.

44. Summary of conclusions.

- (a) There can be no question of Northern Rhodesia seceding from the Federation. The Federation offers to the outside world as well as within the country, a means of stable and responsible Government and security for investment capital and free private enterprise. This has been amply demonstrated by the economic progress made in all three Territories of the Federation; by the confidence expressed therein by the World Bank and others through the tremendous capital projects launched which will benefit all races, and by the substantial advancement in all spheres that has been made by the African population.
 - (i) This confidence has up to now to a large extent been directed more towards Southern Rhodesia. Therefore to enable Northern Rhodesia to continue and to accelerate its progress, the present form of a quasi-colonial government should be substituted by a Responsible Self-Government which for the foreseeable future must be under the control of the more advanced, educated and civilised European minority, if such outside confidence is to be maintained.
 - (ii) The general composition of the present Legislative Council is sound. It was only agreed and approved some eighteen months ago, between Her Majesty's Government and the Local Government, and up to now has functioned satisfactorily. Its transformation into Responsible Self-Government could in the first stage be effected by reducing the official members from say eight to three. The five additional members who would be elected are to be divided amongst the present different categories of constituencies.
- (b) (i) There can be no debasing of the present franchise qualifications which are not unduly high if Government is to remain in the hands of a civilised, educated and responsible people. Up to now, although on the Ordinary and Special Voters' Roll of the Territorial Legislature, approximately 25,000 Africans were qualified to register, only approximately 7,500 were sufficiently interested to do so.
 - (ii) Even under the present Constitution and franchise, African opinion is able considerably to influence the elections and therefore the composition of Government. Furthermore, if the rate of African economic and educational progress continues as it has done in the past, in the not too distant future, by virtue of their numbers, they must inevitably control the Government.
 - (iii) Entrenched clauses should be written into the Constitution, protecting the rights of any minority, although from experience elsewhere their value may be problematic.
- (c) (i) The Northern Rhodesia Civil Service should be removed from the control of Her Majesty's Overseas Service and become entirely responsible to and be employed by the Northern Rhodesia Government.
 - (ii) Uniform conditions of service should be applicable to all the Territories in the Federation, and future recruitment as far as possible should be within the Federation. One Federal Public Service Commission may be desirable to attend to all these matters of both the Federal and Territorial Governments.
 - (iii) A far greater emphasis should be laid on training the top strata of educated Africans for more

responsible Government administrative posts. It is significant that after nearly 40 years of Colonial Service administration, to the best of my knowledge, there is not a single African District Officer in the employment of the Service.

- (d) In order to accelerate Northern Rhodesia's expansion and development and to provide for a more rapid programme of African advancement in all fields, it is suggested that certain orientation in the functions of the Federal and Territorial Governments should be made.
- (i) European and African Education (apart from higher education).
These should fall under the Territorial Government and co-ordinated into one department as Education. Primary education in this Territory should be segregated in separate schools but the higher classes of secondary education might be integrated within a few years' time.
- (ii) Health and Hospitals.
These could be removed from the Federal sphere and made Territorial.
- (iii) African Agriculture.
This should be brought under Federal control and there should be no differential between European and African agriculture, as exists at present. The same already applies to most aspects of Veterinary Services. Grain and cattle marketing are already a Federal matter.
- (iv) Rail Transport.
Outside of the main railway system in the Federation, supplementary internal rail transport should be Territorial or concurrent, as are roads. This would enable the Territorial Government, if it can afford the finance, to accelerate development in the rural areas, without having to depend on overall Federal railway policy.
- (v) Law and Order and Police.
These should be Federal. From experience gained during last year, the ultimate responsibility rests with the Federal Authorities. Far greater efficiency must surely result from a unified command and control. It is a paradox that in this Territory, members of the Police are unable to enter into the Reserves without the prior approval of the District Commissioner of the area. I understand that this is being reviewed.
- (vi) Mines and Labour.
These should be a Federal matter as are Trade and Commerce and Finance, and as now recommended, African Agriculture. All these economies are closely inter-related with each other and depend on one another. There should be a uniform labour policy throughout the Federation so that wage levels are relatively constant in all three territories for each type of industry. This should also enable the policies of African economic advancement being applied and implemented on a more uniform and rapid basis.
- (e) As the emphasis in the Federation and the respective territories is on the removal of colour and other discriminations, the restrictions which exclude the European from the Native Reserves and Trust Lands should be considerably modified. The problem of future African employment cannot be solved unless there are greater opportunities in those areas in which the greater portion of the African population resides. Increased avenues of employment in these areas will only be provided if European capital and "know how" is freely permitted. There are no restrictions on the African acquiring land in the urban and rural areas under European occupation. Why should not the reverse apply?

Oral evidence

M. GERSH

In amplifying his written memorandum by oral evidence Mr. Gersh said he had endeavoured to express his opinions arising out of 35 years' residence in the country. Mr. Gersh wished to elaborate one point that while he decried the Colonial Service as a system he in no way laid the slightest accusations or allegations against any individual member of the Colonial Service who worked in Northern Rhodesia.

The witness considered that the present Legislative Council was as good a system as possible through which to obtain the

views of the responsible mass of opinion. He considered African responsible opinion was very well heard and submitted to the present Legislature.

Mr. Gersh considered European and African education, health and hospitals should be Territorial subjects. It was necessary to have an African educated class so that they could take their full share in government. The subjects of European and African education, health and hospitals were two main functions through which there could be greater acceleration and greater impetus to raise African standards.

The witness explained the point in his memorandum concerning his opinion that the Northern Rhodesian Civil Service should be removed from the control of Her Majesty's Overseas Service and to be entirely responsible and to be employed by the Northern Rhodesian Government. He said that the Government must honour its obligations to any employee under its original contract. In future anyone joining the Northern Rhodesian Civil Service should come under different conditions.

From the point of view of railway policy the witness said that the geographical position of Northern Rhodesia, being situated at the extreme north of the railway line, had possibly unintentionally given it the poor end of the stick. As the railways were now completely under the control of the Federation and as a tremendous amount of money had been involved, Rhodesian Railways as a body were hardly likely to encourage competitive transport systems within the Federation. Before the Lourenco Marques railway link was established the witness considered it would have been far more practicable to have taken a line from the Copper Belt to join the Ndola system out to Lobito Bay. At the present stage of economic development we should not embark for many years on the Sinoia cut off. A prior railway line for consideration was possibly somewhere from the north through the Northern Province, as that would open up the territory. That should be the prerogative of the Northern Rhodesian Government without reference to the Federal authorities.

Concerning the power in government today which rested in the hands of people elected by the European electorate, if Colonial Office control were eliminated, it would automatically eliminate those members who were able to express African opinion. Mr. Gersh stated that at the moment there are 12 ordinary constituents in the urban area. That could be increased to 16, giving two to the special constituencies to total eight purely African representatives and giving one each to the African reserved seats and one each to the European reserved seats. African opinion influenced the last election very considerably.

In regard to labour in mines, as all trade unions are not conducted responsibly, Mr. Gersh did not favour trade unionism but suggested industrial boards.

In response to a question that the influence in the Federal Legislature exercised by Southern Rhodesia was too great, the witness thought the elections of the members within the Federal Parliament should bear a close resemblance to the economic contributions made to the overall Federal exchequer for each of the three Territories. As a gesture of faith Southern Rhodesia should offer Northern Rhodesia one or two additional seats in any revised form of constitution.

Mr. Gersh stated that he was a member of the U.F.P. and had been on the executive for many years. The policies initiated in the Northern Rhodesia Legislature were policies emanating from local thinking and local sources, they were quite independent, and the members of the Legislative Council would not be subject to pressure from any party members in Southern Rhodesia.

If there were a lowering of the franchise qualifications leading ultimately to an African majority in the Territorial Legislature, Mr. Gersh considered the value of any entrenched clauses in the form of safeguards would have a problematical value. He did not think you could through the Constitution protect the minorities. The only way was to see that the power remained in responsible hands. Once the masses had reached a stage of development, expansion and education equal to that of the European there was no reason to have any entrenched clauses. He would not support any debasement of the present franchise. We should try to raise the standards of the African to our level.

Memorandum (I)

I. R. MONTGOMERY

What Federation has meant to Northern Rhodesia

1. Immediate increases in the cost of many commodities in Northern Rhodesia and decrease in Southern Rhodesia.

2. Immediate customs tariffs where previously most commodities entered Northern Rhodesia from the Union of South Africa duty free.

3. Under representation in the Federal House in relation to heads of population giving Southern Rhodesia overwhelming majority.

4. Cessation of work on the Kafue Hydro Electric scheme on which 1½ million pounds had already been spent despite the Document bearing signatures of Sir Gilbert Rennie, the then governor of Northern Rhodesia and now Federal High Commissioner, Sir Godfrey Huggins now Lord Malvern and Roy Welensky now Sir Roy, to the effect that this project would carry on. The reasons for this certainly did not hold water and much less now in the face of Federal Government admissions. This led to NORTHERN RHODESIA being forced to pay in Belgian francs for power which could have been supplied from Kafue for Sterling and which project would have cost a mere 30 million pounds for the first stage.

5. Very much increased taxation and Postal Services.

6. The placing of artificial freight and rail charges on the Lobito Bay route by Federal Government to force traffic through Southern Rhodesia with the excessive rail miles.

7. The Federal income is made up of an average contribution of approximately 60% by Northern Rhodesia and Federal expenditure approximates 15% in Northern Rhodesia, 70% in Southern Rhodesia and 15% in Nyasaland.

8. Health and education standards have been so disgracefully lowered in Northern Rhodesia that a monster petition is being presented to the Federal Government.

9. African unrest has only been evidenced in Northern Rhodesia since Federation because their leaders have consistently stated Federation means running Northern Rhodesia by Southern Rhodesia for Southern Rhodesia and the majority of the non-African population now feels and expresses the same opinion.

10. Lusaka, the third biggest town in the Federation, has no income tax office and had to firstly deal with Bulawayo, 600 miles away and latterly Livingstone 300 miles away. The excuse—lack of staff—but Gwelo 100 miles from Bulawayo has a tax office, Umtali 161 miles away from Salisbury has a tax office. It has no railway station or platform—just a shack like a small village in Southern Rhodesia. It has the most disgraceful hospital in the Rhodesias. Its airport has been relegated from a main line airport to a small town airport whilst a new and costly airport was constructed in Salisbury and all traffic diverted there.

11. The mining companies and many other concerns have removed their offices to Salisbury since Federation because of Salisbury's boom on Northern Rhodesia's money. No industries have come to Northern Rhodesia—all to Southern Rhodesia and the Federal Government states costs in Northern Rhodesia too high, see 5 and 6.

12. The concept of Federation is very good indeed and it could go from strength to strength if :

- The seat of the Federal Government is moved to Northern Rhodesia wherein the geographical centre is situate. This would inspire much more confidence in the whole populations of both Northern territories.
- The heads of Federal Governments must be impartially Federal minded and not as at present Southern Rhodesia minded.
- The Federal Income is spent in the territories pro rata to their contributions.
- Northern Rhodesia has equal representation in the Federal House with Southern Rhodesia.

Northern Rhodesia has had no visible benefits of any description from Federation and is far more unstable economically, politically and in every other way than pre-Federation and, I am of the opinion, will be sacrificed to save Southern Rhodesia's skin unless the 4 above changes are made. These changes will also definitely offset the unrest and unemployment since Federation and which same unemployment is the forcing ground of Communism.

Please remember the population of Northern Rhodesia had absolutely no say whatever about being included in Federation and, as far as I can make out from the White Paper, will only have their say 10 years later in the form of a referendum.

Lusaka
28th January 1960

Memorandum (ii)

I. R. MONTGOMERY

My name is Ivan Reginald Montgomery, aged 52.

My paternal grandfather, Henry Martin Montgomery, settled near what is now Bulawayo in 1869, and was buried there in 1884.

My father, Thomas Adrian Martin Montgomery, lived the greater part of his life in Rhodesia and was buried in Bulawayo in 1936.

I came to Northern Rhodesia in 1924, went away again and came back in 1926 to work on the Bwana Mkubwa Copper Mine. I worked at Nkana from 1929 to 1931 and settled in Lusaka in 1947.

My maternal grandfather came to Rhodesia with Cecil John Rhodes, and is buried in the Bulawayo district.

I can claim to be anything but a settler, and have probably a longer broken line of ancestry in Rhodesia than any politicians, European or African.

The Architects (the real ones) of Federation envisaged an association of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, with Southern Rhodesia in control of the "Federal Government" and the aims and objects, the using of Northern Rhodesia's Income to overcome Southern Rhodesia's Bankrupt state, and to boost the Economy of Southern Rhodesia, to such an extent that there would not again be any question of Bankruptcy: whereafter Southern Rhodesia would secede from the Federation, leaving Northern Rhodesia with a very heavy national Debt, inherited from the Federation, and Southern Rhodesia, with a very solvent economy and heavily industrialised. The inclusion of Nyasaland was not contemplated, and its inclusion was made a condition by the Home Government (at that time Labour).

Immediately Federation came into being, the prices of various commodities in Northern Rhodesia were increased, and, in Southern Rhodesia, decreased, and Southern Rhodesia Customs Duties were imposed on goods for Northern Rhodesia, as against Northern Rhodesia's almost nominal Customs duties. Southern Rhodesia removed the £10 per annum Poll Tax from its Citizens. Northern Rhodesia's Income Tax was put onto the existing Southern Rhodesia basis. This had the effect of increasing the cost of living in Northern Rhodesia immediately by some 35%. Following on this, the Telephone, Post Office Box, Telegram and Postage Charges increased, and Protective Tariffs were imposed to protect Federal Industries. There were no industries in Northern Rhodesia, and there are still none.

Before Federation, Northern Rhodesia had started a Hydro Electric scheme on the Kafue River for the purpose, mainly, of providing Power for the Copper Mines, and the only condition imposed, on behalf of Northern Rhodesia, was that this scheme would carry on and be completed.

The Federal Government, however, decided otherwise and pushed through the Kariba project. Sir Gilbert Rennie, then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, was a signatory, as were Sir Godfrey Huggins, then Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and Roy Welensky, the then leader of the Unofficials in Northern Rhodesia. This document was dishonoured, and Monsieur Coyne was called in to decide which would be the better proposition—Kafue, which was started and had Consulting Engineers and was to cost £30 millions; or Kariba, which still had insufficient detail about formation. Kariba was decided upon. Coyne's firm are consultants at, I think, 6% on about £150 million: Rennie is the Federal High Commissioner: Huggins became Federal Prime Minister and Viscount Malvern: Welensky became Sir Roy, and is now Federal Prime Minister. The residents of Lusaka held a meeting of 1,300 voters who sent a petition to Her Majesty the Queen through the Governor, and have not yet had an acknowledgement, much less a reply. This was forced through because Huggins, in all his 21 years as Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister, had not troubled to make sure of the boundary, and thought it would be in Southern Rhodesia.

A High Commissioner's Proclamation of June 10th, 1891, refers to Southern Rhodesia as "The whole of the Territories South of the Zambezi which fall within the Sphere of the British South Africa Company."

The Southern Rhodesia boundary regulations of 1897, use the words "Along the Zambezi River".

An Orders-in-Council speak of "Provinces South of the Zambesi, now or hereafter placed under the control of the Company being known as Southern Rhodesia": and an Order-in-Council, signed by Queen Victoria in 1898, refers to the River Zambezi as the boundary. This blatant attempt to grab everything for Southern Rhodesia failed, and then the "Federal Government" printed maps showing the boundary on the North Bank of the Zambezi, in an attempt to place the Kariba Wall and Waters in Southern Rhodesia. The Boundary is, obviously, the South Bank and, because Southern Rhodesian interests, in the guise of Federal Government, swindled the project to the

Zambezi, the *South Bank* is now further south than it would otherwise have been.

The Federal Government, once again, discriminates against Northern Rhodesia by forcing the Benguilla Railways to so load Rail Rates that Northern Rhodesia is obliged to use the Railways through Southern Rhodesia, which means 600 extra miles via Beira, Salisbury and Bulawayo, instead of there being a Salisbury-Kafue short cut. The object is to make Southern Rhodesia the Workshop of the Federation, to quote Mr. John Roberts (leader of the Opposition in Legislative Council).

The unexpected state of affairs today makes our outlet to the North useless, because Congo Belge will be hostile in June, and Angola not long after. With Angola going hostile, Portuguese East Africa will follow suit, and even the long uneconomic lane via Beira, will be of no use because the hostile countries will hold us to ransom, and the cost of exporting Copper will be too great. To have it through the Union of South Africa means terrible Rail Charges through a possible hostile Republic. Or, if Southern Rhodesia secedes from the Federation, they will hold us to Ransom to provide some of the millions that will no longer be their's from Northern Rhodesia.

We have got to demand a Corridor (remember Poland after the 1914-18 War) through the Caprivi Strip and South West Africa to the West Coast, so that we can build our own Port and Rail Link to Livingstone. This could well be the only life-line of Southern Rhodesia, as well as Northern Rhodesia. The Union of South Africa will, no doubt, oppose this corridor; but will soon enough support it when told that the only alternative is to make propaganda amongst the whole of the South West Africa population for a removal of the Union's Mandate, and a Federation of South West Africa and Northern Rhodesia.

In 1953, before Federation, the Northern Rhodesia Government had spent millions in the Country, kept numerous big and small contractors busy, and labour was at a premium for the 1952/3 year. Taxes had produced over £30 million, and £14 million still had to be spent. All sorts of Improvements were on the Drawing Boards and, thank goodness, far-seeing Officials had committed the Northern Rhodesia Government to the building of Schools, School Hostels, etc., by the time Federation came into being. After Federation came into being, very little money was made available for Federal Projects in Northern Rhodesia. Contractor after Contractor had to close down and leave. Unemployment became rife and, like any other country in the World, unemployment proved a good listening ground for agitators who did not lose the opportunity of stressing the fact that, although warned, the Federal Government made Salisbury the Capital and proceeded to run Northern Rhodesia from Southern Rhodesia, by Southern Rhodesia for Southern Rhodesia, and to impose the Southern Rhodesia Government standards on the Africans of the North, who had always opposed the Southern Rhodesia African Policy. Latterly Southern Rhodesia has made a few changes, to try to bluff the world that their African Policy is not a stringent Apartheid. The very constitution of the Federal Government, Southern Rhodesia the majority of seats, shows that as far as they were concerned population meant non-African. The actual population, as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, is the number of Inhabitants, and the difference between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia is the difference between 2.86 and 2.36 millions: and the difference in representation in the Federal House is 29 for Southern Rhodesia's 2.86 million, and 19 for Northern Rhodesia's 2.36 millions; whereas if based on non-African population, it would be more or less even. Add to this the fact that in the last published figures, year ended 1958, Northern Rhodesia produced £28 millions in Income Tax, Southern Rhodesia £13 millions, and the Northern Rhodesia Government received as its share £7.99 million, roughly a quarter, while Southern Rhodesia received £6.21 million, a half? The Federal Government retains £27.52 millions from Income Tax, plus all Customs Duties, of which Northern Rhodesia contributes as much as Southern Rhodesia. Don't forget, too, Customs paid on goods imported by the Southern Rhodesia Industries and re-sold to their best customers, i.e. Northern Rhodesia, is Customs derived from Northern Rhodesia. Figures are not available, but I estimate at least £7 million from Northern Rhodesia, making a total of some 35 millions derived from Taxation in Northern Rhodesia. £7.99 million reverts to the Northern Rhodesia Government. The Federal Government does not spend more than an average of £5 million on Northern Rhodesia, which means at least £20 million leaving Northern Rhodesia, and not one penny returns. Federal Government also raises monies by way of Loans and spends the greater part in Southern Rhodesia. So, in effect, £20 million of our money, some £6 million of Southern Rhodesian money

and the greater part of Loan monies, is spent in Southern Rhodesia to build it up, whilst the economy of Northern Rhodesia has gone to pieces and unemployment is rife. A mere £10 million per annum ploughed back into improvements in Northern Rhodesia would provide abundant employment and satisfied inhabitants and, like the recent United Kingdom Elections, the public or population would not worry which party was in power.

Industries :

We have long felt that the Federal Government has been advising Industrialists to open in Southern Rhodesia and not in Northern Rhodesia because Northern Rhodesia would be handed over to the African, and, in fact, we have heard as much from many quarters. Only last week a Municipal Councillor at Kitwe publicly stated as much, and also stated that he had been told so by prospective Industrialists who had approached the Federal Government Department.

I now suggest that, whilst Federation has not been a success, there is still a chance to make it work along these lines. The Federal spheres should be External Affairs: Defence and Security, Transport and Communications, and should be controlled by a Council or Senate made up of 4 representatives from each territory, which would include the Minister of Finance, or his nominee, the Governor and two others. The Governors could, in turn, each hold office as President of the Council for one year.

All other subjects to be territorial, including Income Tax and Customs Duties; and each territory to contribute its Pro Rata Share of the costs or shares agreed by the Council. This Council and its Departments to operate from Northern Rhodesia.

OR, alternatively, the Seat of the Federal Government be moved to Northern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia to have equal representation with Southern Rhodesia in the Federal House, and Northern Rhodesia to receive the same percentage of its contribution by Taxes as Southern Rhodesia receives: and that the Federal Government immediately demands the Corridor via Caprivi and South West Africa builds a Port and Rail link to Livingstone.

If this is carried out, there will be employment for all who desire it in Northern Rhodesia, and prosperity.

In the meantime, this new deal can be properly publicised throughout Northern Rhodesia and, I am sure, will settle the unrest amongst the Africans, who are only being swayed by the few, because they are hungry, homeless and have nothing more to do than listen to Agitators.

Northern Rhodesia must, of course, have Self-Government within the Federation, and the Federal Government must be pledged to press for this immediately.

Lusaka

Oral evidence

I. R. MONTGOMERY

Panel Beater, Garage Owner, Undertaker, etc.

Mr. Montgomery handed in another memorandum amplifying his first.

His general theme was that the Federal Government paid scant regard to the needs of Northern Rhodesia and he had numerous complaints to make about the exercise of government by the Federation in the north. On the question of the Dam construction he repeated that the proper course would have been to have proceeded with Kafue; he agreed it was debatable as to whether Kariba or Kafue should have been proceeded with first.

In regard to the Federal Legislature he said this was clearly over-weighted in favour of Southern Rhodesia. Each country should have equal representation as the members in the Federal House should be related to the populations in the three territories, which were approximately similar in number.

He objected to the imposition of customs duties and suggested that as a result of these the cost of living had advanced by as much as 35 per cent. In 1953 when the Federal Government applied the Southern Rhodesian rates to the north. It was pointed out to the witness that this and certain other parts of his evidence were demonstrably incorrect.

In response to certain questions Mr. Montgomery said that he had no "cold hard facts" to support the figures that he had given in his memorandum but he indicated that he had had to estimate these by what he termed a "visual appreciation" of what the Federal Government had done in this country. He mentioned that at no time had he suggested that Northern Rhodesia should stand on its own. He did consider, however, that more Northern Rhodesian money should be spent in Northern Rhodesia.

Memorandum

EUROPEAN FARMERS' GROUP

E. R. Grindley-Ferris

The following memorandum is submitted by a group of farmers and landowners from the South West Area of the Lusaka District, and confines itself to the needs, views and fears of the Agricultural industry, with particular reference to the European farmers in Northern Rhodesia.

2. It can be stated that since European Agriculture came under the control of the Federal Government, that the farming industry in Northern Rhodesia has received excellent service and encouragement. The very high standard of Technical Assistance and Specialist service provided by the Department of Conservation and Extension has helped to overcome many of our problems. We wish this service to continue, but with more emphasis on the Marketing side of our produce, and would suggest that the United Kingdom could help in absorbing more of our agricultural produce.

3. Farming in Northern Rhodesia is a very young industry; most of the development taking place in the post war era. Very considerable capital, energy and enthusiasm has gone into developing thousands of acres of virgin bush. It can be rightly stated that the farming community are true settlers opening up this great country, providing employment to the rural African, encouraging trade to expand, and in almost every case have demonstrated, and proved modern agricultural methods to the African farmers' immediate benefit.

4. Farming in any country is a long term project and farmers must have faith in the country before they will develop farms to the stage required in Modern Agriculture. This fact is particularly poignant in Northern Rhodesia to-day. The young first generation farming industry is apprehensive about its future, its investments, its future development, and rightful place in the country's future. In short we as farmers request stability and have a right to demand a stable constitution and Government that will enable us to get on with our share of developing the Federation, and to continue to invest capital, knowhow, energy and love of the land into our homes.

5. It is submitted that unless the farming community can look forward to a stable Government, and security of tenure that the correct and desired standard of continuous development and conservation on our farms will not be forthcoming. Furthermore a state of uncertainty could lead to the adoption of a "mining of the Soil" policy, that would have disastrous results.

6. It cannot be over emphasized that to develop a piece of virgin bush in Northern Rhodesia, costs a large amount of money, and takes a lifetime to accomplish. Northern Rhodesia requires more Land Settlement Schemes, and encouragement to individual farmers to take up and develop land. A favourable climate to encourage this desired confidence and development is essential.

7. We feel that, in general the present Federal Government's constitution will provide the security needed. We would most strongly oppose any devaluation of the franchise, which could only lead to government by Nationalistic Groups mainly composed of people not yet fitted to govern.

8. The farmer is not opposed to genuine African Advancement, and within our industry we have helped towards this end. We do however consider that not sufficient attention has been paid to the general education and uplift of the African women.

9. It is of the greatest importance to agriculture, both European and African that encouragement is given to the establishment of a Fertilizer Factory capable of producing cheap Nitrogen. The Federation is short of several Agricultural products—particularly protein foods and Nitrogen is a must towards this goal. We consider that it is vital to the well being of the Nation that malnutrition is overcome, and that ample supplies of reasonable priced foods are available to all.

10. From past experience and present knowledge it is known that African Agriculture will not, in the foreseeable future, be able to supply more than a fraction of the Country's food requirements. It is therefore urgent that the stability so necessary for sound European farming development be written into any Constitutional amendment your Commission may advise.

Lusaka

2nd February 1960

Oral evidence

EUROPEAN FARMERS' GROUP

South West Area of Lusaka

This Group was represented by:—

E. R. Grindley-Ferris

A. H. Duff

B. H. Taylor

In elaboration of the memorandum submitted, Mr. Ferris stated that the area represented approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ m. acres; There were 142 families owning and occupying land; there were 78 farm managers and approximately 3,500 Africans employed on the farms. In addition the area embraces 980 peri-urban sections of from 5 to 10 acres each. £ $\frac{1}{2}$ m. per annum was paid out in African wages and rations. The farm managers received on an average £7/800 per annum.

All in all about £300,000 per annum was being spent in Lusaka and as a unit the area was important to Lusaka and the Federation as a whole and it represented capital development approaching £5 m.

In regard to the marketing the area could well stand a very much intensified development. This, however, would require considerably more capital immediately and in addition better quality labour; only this would equate increased productivity. In the present economy, however, saturation of the market was always likely to be just round the corner. It had to be borne in mind that this area, like all other farming areas close to urban centres, had to compete with outside products. The farmers represented would welcome any help that they could receive from the Commission in the direction of orderly marketing.

The area was very definitely in favour of all agriculture becoming a Federal subject. There was a very good case for African agriculture to come under Federal control because various specialist services, conservation and extension which represent the "know-how", advice and encouragement, water advisory services, tsetse fly eradication and marketing advice, would all become available to the African as well as the European. Federal control was the only control likely to provide all the farmers with a common policy which would avoid their undercutting each other. This control was what was needed to secure a proper balance in the agriculture of the country. The individual Territories could not afford the specialist and research services. Northern Rhodesia had not had these before Federation, Nyasaland did not have them even now. It was basically wrong to divide the functions. Planning under European agriculture was dealt with on a regional and thereafter unitary basis. Although they were not obliged to do so farmers were advised to follow the advice given to them. Unfortunately this country had no basic history of the farms such as was available in older countries.

As far as the Africans were concerned and particularly the tribal areas the Group thought that the integration of these people into the general agricultural scheme was very necessary. The response, however, was more often than not far from satisfactory. One found, for instance, that where a river divided a European from a reserve area, proper farming conservation methods were applied on one side of the river while on the other one often saw nothing but denudation, stream bank cultivation, etc. etc. The African often destroyed works that have been constructed. Disease and epidemics among crops and livestock knew no boundaries, even river boundaries, and some sort of order was absolutely essential for the future success of both European and African agriculture. Of course, in all this land tenure was a major factor. A large number of African farmers appreciated that the European methods were the better and they thought that notwithstanding opposition at first once the African could see the improvements in his crops and livestock he would tend to follow the sound farming practices advocated. If African agriculture were to improve it was only likely to do so under an overall Federal control.

The African in Northern Rhodesia was worried about any alteration of land tenure; he felt that the Government was following Southern Rhodesian policy of which he was suspicious. If it could be pointed out to the African, and if he could be convinced of the great advantages and advances of African farming in Southern Rhodesia a different approach might well emerge. The better class African farmer realised his difficult position and the Group thought it was important that he should have title to his land for this in itself would remove the fears he had of Southern Rhodesia. It was so important that Northern Rhodesia should grasp the nettle of land tenure, and the sooner the better. The African farmer was a very different proposition from the politician. Many farmers had a genuine interest in agriculture, and they often



wanted to leave the reserves and live on European farms, but even these better farmers were still suspicious about land although they were not politically minded.

The Group complained that at the beginning of Federation not nearly enough guidance was given by the officials to the African. They were used to being directed and they understood this particularly when it showed results which indeed were being shown in Federal and for that matter Southern Rhodesian agriculture. It is true that matters would have to be discussed with Native Authorities, headmen and farmers, but such discussions would have to take place with a firm approach and not merely at request. The attitude of the European farmer in the beginning had been very much the same as the African reaction was likely to be at first. The European was simply told that this or that had to be done and the job was got on with at his expense. He was reaping the reward today as the African would also in the course of time.

In regard to the suggestion that the application of intensified conservation and extension methods in African areas was regarded by the African merely as a move to let in the European the witnesses stated that this was intimately bound up with the question of land tenure—why not let the African have title to his land.

Memorandum

E. F. ANGIER

Occupation :

- Director of Kee's Limited, Lusaka (1934)
- „ „ Campbell Booker Carter (Central Africa) Limited, Kitwe (1948)
- „ „ (Managing) of Central African Motors (Midlands) Limited, Lusaka and Livingstone (1952)
- „ „ Central African Motors Limited, Ndola, Kitwe, Mufulira, Chingola, Bancroft (1958)

Period of Residence in Northern Rhodesia : 28 years (March, 1932) (excepting War Service : 1st Bn. Northern Rhodesia Regiment—British Somaliland 1940, Abyssinia 1941, Madagascar 1942, Ceylon 1943, Burma 1944, Kenya 1945).

Past Appointments :

- Chairman, Lusaka Chamber of Commerce (1947-49).
- President, Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Northern Rhodesia (1948-49).
- Director, Land and Agricultural Bank of Northern Rhodesia (1956-58).
- Member of Race Relations Committee (1956-58).

The Evidence I wish to submit is chiefly contained in two articles by Earl Winterton which appeared in the issues of the "Northern News" of the 10th and 11th February 1959, cuttings of which I attach.

I endorse the views expressed by Earl Winterton and wish to underline the importance of not permitting the pace of African advancement to be forced beyond their reasonable aspiration, allowing for international pressures on the African Continent.

That is to say, I advocate a policy of "Make haste reasonably slowly" in the African's own best interest : it would be doing him a grave dis-service to allow his advancement to be much quicker than his preparedness for it. I know the African as well as most Europeans (having fought with him in the war in addition to meeting many hundreds in commercial life before and after the war). He is mostly a simple, pleasant person, but clay in the hands of extremists.

The astonishing thought, that 70 years ago there was probably no African in the Federation who knew the wheel, should be remembered, but I am wholeheartedly in favour of furthering African Advancement and Education towards Civilization, so that Africans can take their place and responsibility in a partnership with Europeans and other races in the Federation. This advancement must include the women.

It is imperative in my view that the Government in the Federation always remains in the hands of civilized men whatever their colour, race or creed.

Should I be required to give further evidence orally, I shall be pleased to attend.

Lusaka

Annexure A

HOMELAND OF BOTH MAIN RACES—I
BY
EARL WINTERTON

Europeans have a legitimate fear regarding nationalism.

A substantial portion of our Press and a number of politicians, not confined to the Left, are stressing almost to

the point of hysteria, the question of the future of African governance. One would suppose from this attitude that the issue is more vital than that of the likelihood of the avoidance of a third world war resulting from the Summit conference of the spring, and that, compared with it, the terrible slaughter on the English roads is a minor issue.

This over-stressing of the importance of African problems would not necessarily be a bad thing if the case were being presented fully and fairly, but it is not.

There is too little mention in speeches and articles of the fact that Africa is not an entity. The position in a country where there is no permanent European settlement is quite different from that in which there are Europeans to whom that land in which they reside is their home.

Quite rightly, for both practical and ethical reasons, the policy of the British Government is to abandon its control over the territories in which there is no permanent European settlement and to allow them to be independent under the form of constitution that they want.

Ironical

So far, this independence has not produced, either in Sudan or in Ghana, the kind of democracy to which Western Europe is accustomed, and it is an ironical commentary upon the mentality—one might almost say the moral outlook—of those in this country who are so indignant about the suppression of liberty of expression in Nyasaland and Kenya, that they have not uttered a word of sympathy for the Opposition in Ghana (Africans, of course) who consider they have been and are being oppressed by their Government.

There are deep ethnological rifts between the Africans in various parts of the continent. Memories of cruel and sanguinary tribal wars in the past are by no means extinguished, as is shown by the recent outbreaks of murderous violence between different tribes in the Congo.

Dr. Nkrumah, who is in favour of a Federation of African States, received, during Mr. Macmillan's visit to Nigeria, a severe snub from the Premier of Nigeria about this concept of policy.

Nevertheless, as I have stated, the past and future granting of independence to various purely African territories is justified, and everyone hopes that it will provide prosperous and progressive states in the future.

Different

In Northern and Southern Rhodesia and, to a lesser extent, in Kenya, the situation is completely different. The term "settler" for the European inhabitants is a misleading one because a large proportion of them are not immigrants, but native-born Rhodesian or Kenyan Europeans of the second or third generation, Afrikaners whose ancestors have lived in Africa since the 17th century and British South Africans whose forebears of several generations ago, emigrated to what is now the Union.

There is another fact bearing on that position which is constantly ignored in this country. A hundred or more years ago, the native Africans of the two territories, were themselves invaders.

They drove out, exterminated, or made slaves of, the African tribes whom they found there, such as the bushmen of Kenya. The moral right of these Europeans to treat the territories in which they live as their homeland, in which they are entitled to remain is indisputable.

Same views

The unsolved problem is how to reconcile their interests, and the views they hold, with the interests and the views of the Africans.

It is certain that if Britain's 51 million inhabitants, instead of occupying a small island, were set down somewhere in a territory inhabited by 400 million Africans, they would have exactly the same views on the relationship between them and the Africans as have Europeans of Rhodesia and Kenya.

They would say, "While we appreciate that certain humiliating features of the colour bar must be abolished, as they are being gradually abolished, we resist strongly the idea of complete social contact with Africans.

"We must do so because that would lead to mixed marriages, which are seldom a success and which the best type of African himself dislikes ; we cannot accept, even as an ultimate goal, the principle of one man one vote because that would mean complete African domination over us through the power of an electorate which is ignorant, mainly illiterate and duly removed by a couple of generations from savagery".

Good qualities

They would add, "We respect many qualities of Africans, their courtesy, sense of humour and the loyalty they display when they like the people for whom they work, but not only

the Mau Mau rebellion but other outbreaks in various parts of Africa, show the appalling power exerted over the mass of Africans by the witch-doctor, with all the wickedness and obscenity of his craft.

"Thus to allow Africans to control us, and to control the Asian minority as well, with no safeguards, would be to imperil our very existence.

"Therefore, the transference of political power to Africans must be gradual and always contain a real guarantee against their power to oppress us.

"Two wrongs don't make a right, and the fact that Africans have not always been treated well in the past, and suffer from certain wrongful disabilities today, is no reason for putting us in a position where Africans could oppress us; indeed it is an argument against that course".

This opinion of the moderate-minded European in Kenya or Rhodesia would be that of the average Briton if he were placed in the position I have described.

Annexure B

REALITIES OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM—II

BY

EARL WINTERTON

Vital that multi-racialism should succeed in Federation.

In my previous article I showed the contrast between those African territories in which there is no permanent European population and those in which there is, I said that where no permanent European population is found, self-government had, quite rightly, been conferred or was about to be conferred, but that in the other kind of territory the problem of how to allay the fears and fulfil the hopes of the different races had not been solved in any tentative scheme for a future constitution.

It will probably be easier to find a solution in Kenya than in the Central African Federation. Kenya has only a small European population. Thus it is more vulnerable to both African pressure and the will of the British Government than the much larger European population of the Federation.

Moreover, the African in the urban areas in Kenya can earn higher wages if he has the skill, than can Africans in Rhodesia, where there is a white trade union ban on the use of skilled African labour in certain capacities.

The 250,000 Europeans in the two Rhodesias have probably little reason to fear native terrorism (like that of the Mau Mau in Kenya) or a native rising, because they have an efficient security system and well-equipped armed forces. No British Government could compel them to accept a new constitution against the will of the majority, for compulsion depends ultimately upon the use of force.

No British Government would send British troops into the Federation for this purpose and thus risk civil war with the likelihood of men and munitions coming over the frontier from the Union of South Africa to the aid of the Rhodesians.

The Leaders

Having known as friends for many years both Mr. Macmillan and Sir Roy Welensky, I am convinced they will avoid a head-on collision.

This relationship will involve a compromise. Both men enjoy great prestige and power in the Legislature and with the public of their respective countries. Neither has ever feared unpopularity, which is the usual result of a compromise, at least among enthusiastic partisans of varying points of view.

In a big issue of this kind these two principals, and not any subordinate Ministers, will be the ultimate negotiators.

To grant full dominion status to the Federation would be to break the promise given to the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that their interests would be safeguarded by the British Government. This course would be quite unacceptable to British public opinion.

If Nyasaland were granted independence, Dr. Banda would be the dictator of a country which would soon be bankrupt and which has only a handful of trained African administrators.

If it were excluded from the Federation to become a crown colony, the British taxpayer would have to find the money for development which is at present coming from the Federation. This would give Right-wing Conservatives in Parliament a formidable weapon of attack on the British Government.

Colour Bar

Within the federated territories, the colour bar is being gradually lowered. A striking example of this is the multi-racial University College.

African education in general and the housing of Africans are being progressively improved. Africans are being given an increasing opportunity of public service and of participation in legislative activities; but the biggest barrier of all to real multi-racialism has been only slightly lowered.

That barrier is the refusal of the white unions to allow skilled African artisans to do certain jobs and to receive the same pay as Europeans.

Here is probably the major grievance of Africans in the Federation today.

In Britain, the Left which claims to be so solicitous for African advancement, tends to be silent on this question. Apart from the fact that the ban is imposed by trade unionists, it has an exact parallel in the refusal, some time ago, of a section of miners in Britain to allow Italian workers to work beside them.

It resembles, too, the many strikes that have occurred because one union does not want members of another union to do the work (with higher pay) that their own members perform. The root cause is the same in all these cases—self-interest.

Moderate Success

The Federal and Northern Rhodesian Governments and the employers in the mining industry have done their best to induce the white trade unions to be more reasonable, but with only moderate success. Even so, if multi-racialism is to be a reality, they must persist in this effort until, ultimately, they succeed.

White Rhodesians are very properly indignant at what they regard as the anti-European attitude of a section of the Press and of public men in Great Britain. They need not worry too much about this situation, as I stated in my previous article, it has very little influence upon the electors.

The majority of the British people, if questioned on the subject, would say, each in his own way, that they were neither pro-African nor pro-European but supported the efforts of men and women of moderate views in both races who were carrying out the difficult task of making multi-racialism a success.

They appreciate that there is a vast difference between this policy and the doctrine of apartheid in South Africa; they admire the great economic progress that the Federation has made in recent years, and hope that the Federation will have a happy and prosperous future.

Oral Evidence

E. F. ANGIER

The witness had produced a memorandum. He thought that the African could advance only as fast as he could take it. There was to be no lowering of standards. He was not thinking at the moment of the franchise. He meant that there must be no lowering of the standards in any particular situation. The Europeans should not be patronising or stooping down to the African. The Africans must come up to the European standards. Promotion should be on merit and not on colour. In fact he was not interested in this connection as to whether people were black, white or khaki. In employment, he was interested in only two things, first as to whether the man could get on with his job, and second as to whether he could get on with his colleagues.

He considered that the development of Federation had been astonishing. He referred not only to the visible development in buildings and so on, but to the better relationships which had grown up. He was also struck by how much was done for Africans in the Federation. He remembered discussing this matter with Mr. Msumbulwa at Livingstone in 1956. The Europeans, with their advanced civilisation, had come in and exploited the mineral resources of the country. This had provided the basis on which the Africans were climbing the economic ladder and would eventually come up the social ladder. Mr. Msumbulwa's comment had been that the Africans did not expect to have to take so long as the Europeans had taken in reaching the present level of civilisation.

Mr. Angier spoke of the advancement of African women. Some of them now wanted to advance. But he thought that there was a prejudice among African males about having their women educated. For centuries women had done all the necessary jobs in life "the lot". This gave rise to an inherent prejudice against the advancement of women. But more evolved Africans agreed that women's education was now essential because it was they who inculcated their ideas into their children. There must be secondary schools for African girls.

871

Mr. Angier stated that he was absolutely in favour of Federation. When asked if he thought that any of the functions of government could be reallocated, he said that he would need notice of such a question. But he felt that the police probably should be Federal. The B.S.A. Police and N.R. Police all worked on the same lines and he considered them an efficient force.

In reply to questions, Mr. Angier made the following further points:—

- (1) He considered that there might now be a tendency among African men to agree to the education of their women, since they were beginning to realise that they could not advance themselves unless their women were also advanced.
- (2) On the point of not lowering standards, he thought there was a great temptation to advance Africans prematurely. His own view was that since the merits of British education and civilisation, particularly in science, was acknowledged by the whole world, the Africans should have the benefit of it. In these spheres the Africans had so far themselves made no impression on the world at all.
- (3) Mr. Angier illustrated his view on standards from his own motor business. In that business a sense of responsibility was essential. There was an analogy with the responsibility required of the medical profession. His trade was to diagnose all mechanical ailments. It was essential for mechanics to be fully qualified. This was not the case at present. In his works the "Factory Man Hours Schedule" was employed. If the African mechanic could conform with that schedule he came up to standard; otherwise he did not. The fact that, for example, a man had passed matriculation did not necessarily make him a reliable mechanic; but he agreed that there was too much generalisation that "all Africans were not reliable". He illustrated his point further by referring to difficulties which he had had through the constant changing of European women in his Accounts Department because of marriage, transfer of their husbands and so on. He had broken through this by getting the South African woman superintendent of the department to accept an African clerk for the job under her; and this had in fact worked out extremely well, simply because the man was able to do it. Another example was that in his business CAMS every spare part was issued by an African, despite the fact that the staff were predominantly South African.
- (4) In respect of advancement, he agreed that many Africans thought solely in terms of reaching Legislative Council or a high post in the Civil Service. Many were childish in their thinking, but certainly not all.
- (5) Stories told about the terrorisation of European women by Africans were rubbish. He agreed, however, that it was probably true that the African Minister Msumbulwa had had to take special precautions against intimidation. There was certainly an element of extremism in the country. The extremists found it necessary to work fast against the moderates.

Letter

MRS. BUCHANAN

An open letter printed as an issue of the "GOTHIC REVIEW", and written by the Editor, Mrs. Buchanan, dated March 1960, and addressed to Lord Shawcross, Q.C.

Sir,

I address you as the judicial member of the Monckton Commission with especial knowledge of the undermentioned subject, and ask that it may be dealt with by the appropriate authority on the Commission or elsewhere. Experience in dealings with "Authorities" makes this open letter a necessity.

2. I wish to establish that the members of the Monckton Commission are free from private and personal bias which, in the light of British tradition and legal ethics would cause their impartiality to be challenged, and the findings prejudiced in the eyes of the general public.

3. Of all people, you, Sir (of Nuremberg fame (?)) would know that the policy of enforced multi-racialism in this Federation, (involving mixing of black and white races at ALL levels eventually including intermarriage), is part of a world-wide campaign, organised, financed, administered and fanatically pursued by its prime movers the World Zionist-Communist political movement, for the wiping out of the European peoples.

4. If you choose not to admit this, I refer you to your revered war leader Sir Winston Churchill's public declaration, *before* he learned the lesson that for power he must hunt *with* the Zionists, and to hunt *them* meant death. In the illustrated Sunday Herald, 8th February, 1920, he said—"The International Jews . . . have become undisputed masters of the enormous Russian Empire; the principal inspiration and driving power of Communism come from Jewish leaders". Sir Winston may be knave but is certainly no fool!

5. Further, there is ample evidence right here in Rhodesia, of what is now a recognised fact in many authoritative quarters in most countries today, the Zionist policy is being secretly and arduously furthered, and where possible, openly implemented by their *main* Servant Body the Society of Freemasons, and other subsidiary associations.

6. It is learned that many of the members of the Commission appear to be either members of Freemasonry and/or may be considered to be not unconnected with Zionist movements, and sympathetic to Zionist aspirations and activities, which are known to be contrary to the continuance and safety of Her Majesty's reign, realms and the existence of the British nation and its peoples.

7. Therefore, many members of the Rhodesian public wish to be assured that the circumstances mentioned in para. 6 do not, in fact, exist, and would welcome a declaration by the Head of the Commission, that each and every member has stated on oath that the following disqualifications do not, in fact, apply to him.

- (a) Past, present or suspended membership, covert, overt or affiliated associations with any Zionist Societies or activities in any country.
- (b) Connections through marriage or relationship with a member of *that* race whose political aspirations are furthered and enforced by *Zionism*, as it is recognised by Government Intelligence Services of many countries that marriage partners (legal or otherwise) are among *Zionism's* most active and skilled Agents.
- (c) Persons not third generation Britishers, as it is now common knowledge that a "Naturalised" British Subject is more open to communist "pressure" and foreign allegiances; for example the Jew atom spies, Fuchs, Pontocorvo, Nunn May etc.,—all Jews, all "Naturalised" Britishers, all secret communists!
- (d) Past, present or suspended membership of the *Secret* Society of Freemasons who, by their subservience to Zionist political policies, give consistent public proof that their *Secret* Society IS the Servant Body (willing or otherwise) of its Master Organisation—*Zionism* (present day Freemasonry is commonly known to have come out of Judaism); *Zionism*, as you must be perfectly aware, being the bid for world rule by the so-called "chosen race" of Zionists over a Multi-racial world race of lower mental development than the white.

8. Our present form of Federation is inseparable from the Zionist/Communist policy of multi-racialism, as the African is to be politically bribed to exchange his "Reserve Status" (and naturally, his tribal lands for American Zionist Bankers' exploitation) for multi-racial Federal Citizenship, with the opportunity of equal Franchise, and the chance to rule the white Bwanas, with, of course, the assistance of the Zionist World Bank Loans, and the Zionist/Communist United Nations Organisation's multi-racial troops to keep us Europeans in order. Most political students know that Zionist/Jew New York Bankers advanced over 100 million dollars first, for the financing of the Russian communist revolutions, and then for setting up the League of Nations and finally the United Nations Organisation. It is *red* money that is pouring into the Federation, and to which we are mortgaging ourselves!

9. If Her Majesty's Government is willing to make available to me somewhat similar facilities as those granted ordinarily to Commissions of Enquiry, I would be willing to undertake the organising of a fact finding committee, to establish the presence of, and collect evidence of the extent of subversive activities extant in the Rhodesias today, and elsewhere. This offer is made in spite of the late Senator McCarthy's unnatural "death".

Notice:

This publication claims exemption from the effects of all legislation appertaining to the laws of Sedition, Libel, Defamation, Internal Security, etc., based upon the requirements of the *over-riding* sections of the Penal Code at 44 (1), and (2) which reads:—

"Any person who knowing that any persons intend to commit treason . . . and does not use reasonable endeavours to prevent the commission . . . or does not give information thereof with all reasonable despatch . . . is guilty of the felony . . . and is liable to imprisonment for life."

Exemptions provided for the public presses in the course of their duties for public benefit, in section 3G (1) (b), (c), (d), of the Penal Code of Northern Rhodesia, are also claimed for this publication, for the same reason.

If Her Majesty's Northern Rhodesian Government permit the Zionist Anti-Defamation League to operate against this paper, without first investigating the truth of matter of conspiratorial and treasonable activities being indulged by International societies, then, the public can only conclude that the legal department concerned is "protecting" the Zionists and making themselves party to the treasonable conspiracy.

Editor

Here is the answer to multi-racial Federation.

Israel Cohen, "British" Communist, writing in his book "A Racial Programme for the 20th Century" says . . . "We must realise that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races, that for centuries they have been oppressed by the Whites, we can mould them to the program of the Communist party. While inflaming the Negro minority against the Whites in America we will endeavour to instill in the Whites a guilt complex for "their exploitation of the Negroes". We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige the Negro will be able to INTERMARRY with the Whites and begin a process which will deliver America (and other countries) to our cause."

In Britain and the Colonies exactly the same policy is being carried out by secret communists in very high positions, who outwardly pretend to do one thing, whilst assisting the multi-racial, one man one vote policies of their secret brotherhood at every opportunity. *One black vote in your Government is the first nail in the white man's coffin.*

Oral Evidence

MRS. H. M. BUCHANAN

The witness handed in a paper with the heading *Gothic Review*. This was an issue of the Review dated March 1960. She said she came before the Commission as editor of the *Gothic Review*, which she had been for about two years. It was an anti-communist paper.

Mrs. Buchanan asked if she could treat the meeting as an interview with the Commissioners. She was informed that she could not ask questions but, if she wished, she would be asked to answer them to help the Commission.

Mrs. Buchanan then read out the terms of reference of the Commission, and said that not 5% of the European population wanted multi-racialism, and had grave objections to a multi-racial government for a number of reasons. These included the serious consequences of forcing multi-racialism on Europeans. The Europeans had already been defrauded in Kenya when the Europeans elected there to protect their interests had failed to do so. The same policy was likely to be followed in Northern Rhodesia. The British Government seemed to be determined that Africans should sit with Europeans in the government. But multi-racialism would eventually destroy the white race. If and when multi-racialism was established, Europeans would have to come up against many customs which went out of the white race 50 thousand years ago. She referred to the works of Professor Waddell. She then referred to the aspects of character, education, intermarriage, hygiene and the mental development of the two different races as the antithesis of each other. All these factors had to be faced, because the Europeans would be tied to the Africans. The Africans really wanted superiority over the Europeans. When the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia realised who had sold them out the troubles would surpass anything in Kenya, or elsewhere. She considered that her information was representative. She was the organiser of the "White Survival Units Organisation", of which she said the membership was confidential. Europeans had seen the results of multi-racialism all the way from Singapore to America. This was the opinion of many Europeans who had neither faith nor tolerance of the present British Government's policy of mixing black and white. But the British Government itself was not responsible. High finance in the government was responsible for the policy.

Referring again to the differences between the races, she made the following points:—

- (1) Schools. The race element broke down in schools.
- (2) Customs and habits. African customs and habits were far worse than anything white children had known about before and might lead to trouble. Africans at the age of 9 or 10 were ready for marriage. She referred to the primitive sexual habits of Africans. These might be good or bad for the Africans, but the Europeans were Christians.
- (3) Character and temperament. Europeans had had a very long period of civilisation, and this had made for a cooler-headed and saner race. But under multi-racialism Europeans would have to come down to the level of Africans again. That race was hot-headed and savage. The mental development of the two races was entirely different.

Mrs. Buchanan then referred to the loans to the Federation from the World Bank, which involved considerable sums. If the Copperbelt industries had been nationalised the country could have had the Kariba Dam without owing a large debt to a foreign power. That power could influence the immigration of foreigners and thereafter in time the returning to power of certain types of politicians. It was wrong, that there should be indebtedness to a foreign power which was closely allied to communism.

No questions were asked.

Oral evidence

T. C. L. SYMMES

Mr. Symmes said that he was Secretary of the Lusaka Chamber of Commerce and of the Northern Rhodesia Association of Building Societies but that he was giving evidence in a personal capacity. He had been born in the Union of South Africa of a Canadian father. Subsequently he had returned to the United Kingdom and had been in Northern Rhodesia since 1951.

Although the electorate in Northern Rhodesia had not been allowed to take part in the decision on Federation in 1953, they had in fact welcomed it. They felt that it would lead ultimately to the removal of Colonial Office control and the same sort of Government as was in existence in Southern Rhodesia. In addition, it would encourage investors. As a result, African employment would be provided through industry and other development in the Territory. The Northern Rhodesia Government had however made a mistake in deciding not to advise the Africans to support Federation. The Provincial Administration was regarded by many Africans as their father and mother; when the administration did not act in the traditional manner by giving a firm lead, these people had been left in the air. Subsequently there had been a complete lack of effort by the Federal Government to explain Federation, and there had been deplorably few contacts with Africans in Northern Rhodesia by Federal Ministers. The main difficulty was that Federation was largely identified by the African and by the outside world with Southern Rhodesia. The Federal Government should encourage some definite Federal effort in Northern Rhodesia: siting the Federal capital in Northern Rhodesia would be a most valuable gesture. From the Federal point of view it had probably been a mistake to support the Kariba scheme to the exclusion of the Kafue project.

Europeans in the Federation were very concerned with developments elsewhere in Africa and with the attitude of the United Kingdom Government more recently. They had seen an African dictatorship establishing itself in Ghana and there seemed too often an indication of British anxiety in their dealings with Cyprus and Kenya. The Belgian Congo had become a nationalist state in a period of six months, and it was generally believed that unrest would be intensified after 1st July. It must not be forgotten that Central Africa had only been opened up for the past sixty or seventy years. In that period the country had been developed by Europeans, admittedly largely for their own benefit, but before that there had been extremely little African development. Most of the money which Europeans had earned in the country had been put back into it again.

Nevertheless, he recognised that something must be done to give Africans more power in running the country. There was a danger in the present constitution whereby a young student left college but was unlikely to qualify for a vote for five or more years. During this time he was unable to take

part in the political running of the country. For this reason it would perhaps be wise to widen the franchise on an educational basis rather than to lower the property qualification.

The allocation of seats in the Federal Parliament should be on a fairer basis. At present Southern Rhodesia was unfairly loaded against Northern Rhodesia, and Northern Rhodesia against Nyasaland. The lack of an effective opposition in the Federal Assembly resulted in a lack of proper Territorial representation in the Federal Parliament. The United Federal Party Line was often followed to the detriment of Northern Rhodesia's interests. To deal with this situation he thought that the Territorial franchise should be widened and the Territorial Legislatures treated as lower houses. The present concurrent legislative list should be cut out and the Federal Assembly should be appointed in some other way, perhaps by election from the three lower chambers. Qualifications for the Territorial franchise should be common to all races, though it would be appropriate to have different qualifications and use different rolls in the predominantly European and predominantly African areas.

Turning to education, the witness said that he was at present associated with a body which was trying to set up technical school facilities for Europeans, Asians and Coloureds in Northern Rhodesia. But it was utterly wrong to set up two separate technical bodies, one for non-Africans and the other for Africans. The Federal and Territorial Governments must be able to co-operate in the field of technical education so that a fully multi-racial college could be established in Lusaka.

In answer to questions, the witness made the following further points:—

- (a) He attached great importance to a change in the siting of the Federal capital. Although this might create difficulties, particularly economic difficulties, the money could and should be found.
- (b) The Federal authorities were at present giving consideration to the decimalisation of the coinage system. This would be not be appropriate at the present time because decimalisation was on the point of being put into effect by the Union of South Africa, and any similar step in the Federation would undoubtedly be misinterpreted by African opinion.
- (c) Although he wanted to sever the link with the Colonial Office, he was strongly opposed to the severance of the link with the Crown. Dominion status for the Federation was not an immediate step but it should be the ultimate aim. Protection should not be removed until the Africans themselves agreed.
- (d) Regarding the division of functions between the Territorial and Federal Governments, he did not like the present division of responsibility for education. Health should return to being a Territorial subject, particularly since Federal building standards were lower than those applied by the Northern Rhodesia Government before Federation.
- (e) Responsibility for law and order raised major difficulties; the establishment of a Federal police force on the lines of the F.B.I. might well not be acceptable to African opinion, though it would have great practical advantages.
- (f) On the basis of the revised relationship between the Territorial and Federal Legislatures proposed above (lower and upper houses), the lower house should be able to discuss Federal as well as Territorial legislation. Per contra the upper house should not be able to veto Territorial legislation.

Oral evidence

E. T. E. MARTIN

Mr. Martin said that he had been resident for eleven years in Northern Rhodesia where he had come from Nyasaland. He was a member of the Federal Power Board and of the Lusaka Electricity Supply Corporation. In addition he was director of several companies, on the Council of the Northern Rhodesia Law Society, and a member of several social and a number of other organisations. He was speaking for himself, however.

Federation was a good idea, and it was difficult to contemplate how things in Northern Rhodesia would work out if Federation were disrupted. Tremendous progress had been made, and the result of drawing an international boundary along the Zambezi would only produce greater difficulties in the future.

Nevertheless, he felt that the implementation of the Federal idea had been carried out ineptly in a number of ways. Salisbury and Southern Rhodesia had deservedly acquired a reputation for grabbing all the plums from Federation. Often their superiority complex emerged in unconscious ways. An example was the assumption that the same legal rules could be applied to problems in Northern Rhodesia as were applied in Southern Rhodesia; it was quite forgotten that the two countries had totally different legal systems. Much of this attitude was unproductive. It was in fact in Southern Rhodesia's interests that Northern Rhodesia should be developed. To achieve this, industry should be directed to Northern Rhodesia—Southern Rhodesia should give until it hurt.

If facilities were not provided for emergent Africans, there would soon be serious trouble. The recent closing of the Hodgson Training College had been publicly attributed to a "breakdown of discipline". The real reason was not given. This was the fact that there was insufficient work for the trained Africans being turned out from the College. Probably this had been helped on by political infiltration in the College, but the fact was that such infiltration met with a receptive audience. The demand for education was tremendous, but it was essential to provide jobs for those who completed their training. A good example of the way in which opportunities were missed was the fact that Mr. Chona was now Deputy President of UN.I.P. under Mr. Kaunda. Chona had received a legal training but had had great difficulty in setting himself up in practice in Lusaka. By the time that the Northern Rhodesia Law Society had arranged a seat for him in legal chambers to enable him to practice, the damage had been done. No help whatever had been extended by the Government.

Mr. Martin made the following additional points in answer to questions:—

- (a) A development plan on the lines of the United Kingdom Town and Country Planning Act was essential in the interests of the Federation as a whole. Under it industry should be directed to Northern Rhodesia.
- (b) Although African advancement on the mines was still making slow progress, the time was not far off when Africans would obtain advancement as a result of straight competition with Europeans.
- (c) It was a great pity that the Federal capital had been placed at Salisbury, if only because of the resulting confusion between the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments in the minds of Africans. Nevertheless, there were now so many demands on finance that it was difficult to regard the establishment of a future Federal capital as a first priority. African housing, in particular, was a growing need.

Oral evidence

REVEREND K. JOHNSON

of the Methodist Mission, Lusaka

Mr. Johnson said that he had been in Northern Rhodesia since 1937 on missionary duties mainly among Africans and he was now the head of the Methodist Church here.

The Methodist synod in January passed certain resolutions which were to have been presented by the Christian Council who, however, felt that they were unable to present the views of any individual congregation. He had appeared wishing to ensure that the specific views of the Methodist church were put before the Commission. There were five points which represented the Church's conviction that any successful outcome of the 1960 talks would depend upon the following minimal conditions:—

- (1) That a responsible self-government with the right to determine their own future based on widening franchise and a common electoral roll be granted to the two Northern Territories as early as possible.
- (2) That matters vitally affecting the inhabitants of these Territories, e.g. health, European education and immigration revert to Territorial control. Under no conditions ought the Territorial Police Forces to be placed under Federal Control.
- (3) That the Territorial Governments should make strenuous efforts to win the co-operation of African Political leaders in planning the future of the Territories and to this end all persons detained without trial under Emergency Regulations should be brought to trial or released.

- (4) That in all matters which are within the province of Government control, the abolition of racial discrimination be accelerated, if necessary by legislation.
- (5) The Synod which has not hesitated in the past to condemn discriminatory practices on the part of Europeans, now feels called upon to express its grave concern at the apparent rejection by many African Political leaders of multi-racial co-operation, and the growth of discriminatory attitudes against members of other races. Such discrimination is understandable in view of the treatment Africans often have received from Europeans, but one attitude is as unchristian as the other. It therefore calls upon all its African members to re-affirm their allegiance to the principles of a multi-racial society, and to reject the claims of a narrow nationalism which excludes the rights of racial minorities from its policies and programme.

The last of these points, while being relevant, the witness pointed out was directed primarily to the African members of the synod.

The Church was in favour of a very rapidly expanding franchise in the sense that this was a view of the majority but the above resolutions were unanimous expressions of the Church's convictions. There had been no expression of opinion in favour of universal adult suffrage. If such a suffrage was brought into being with a resulting African majority the witness hoped that there would be no need for any protection of the rights of minority groups. He considered that protection of substance would flow from letting the African who was able to participate, take his real share in political affairs now.

In regard to the tribal authorities he would say that these should be protected should this be necessary. His and the Church's criticism of the present approach to the franchise was that it had all along been determined by how best it could be adjusted to secure the European majority rather than on the basis of who or what category of persons would be fit to vote. He did not envisage the continuation of Colonial Office control for all time, but he urged that some substantial advance should be given now rather than later.

The Reverend Johnson considered that the following functions should remain or revert to Territorial control:—

- (a) European education—for the reason that under the Federal Government it was unlikely that it could be integrated at the secondary level, and this would be quite illogical if any advance was to be made in the direction of removing racial barriers. He stated that no intimately African affairs in a protectorate should become a Federal matter.
- (b) Health.
- (c) Police.
- (d) Immigration. In regard to this the inhabitants of the country would have no confidence if the Territory could be flooded by European immigration induced in order to balance the number of Africans coming on the roll at any time. It was quite wrong that the Federal Government could have the last word in who should or should not be permitted to come into a protectorate.
- (e) Agriculture. The retention of all agriculture as a Federal function was a matter of African psychology because the problem was so tied up with the land. The African had a feeling that if the Federal Government were to gain control of agriculture this would be the first step towards taking over control of the land. The witness stated he was not aware of any improved farming conditions since Federation took over.

- (f) Marketing. The witness said that he was unable to speak about this owing to his being uninformed.

The Reverend Johnson mentioned that the Methodist church in Northern Rhodesia had 3,000 adherents and twenty-seven ministers. He concluded his evidence by stating that he was opposed to Federation in its present form. He would subscribe, however, to a looser alliance between the three territories which had the confidence of the Europeans and Africans.

S. MWANGA

Storekeeper of Chilanga (18 years of age)

Mr. Mwanga tendered his apologies to the Commission for arriving late to present his evidence. He mentioned that on his way in from Chilanga he was threatened on two separate occasions with severe reprisals if he ventured to give evidence. He said, however, that he felt compelled in the general interest to appear notwithstanding these threats. Two members of the African National Congress had indeed demanded that after he had given evidence he should report back to them.

Mr. Mwanga stated that at this stage in the affairs of the country he considered it was unwise to shout as the politicians were doing for freedom. He did not want freedom and many people did not want freedom if, as was likely, it was going to lead them along the road countries such as Ghana and the Congo were going. He was quite satisfied with the overall control of the country by the European and he wished it to continue so that the African could follow their wise lead. He did object to oppression in any form; but his view was that this was something that was more likely to present itself if European control was dispensed with. In his view it was essentially right that the Monckton Commission should have come to the country to look and see and hear everything, and it was up to the people of the country to tell them everything.

The witness submitted that more African representation was needed in the Territorial government and that the Federation should be abandoned. However, he went on to say that without question Northern Rhodesia was not yet fit for independence and it was absurd to suggest that self-government should be granted this year. It might be possible for self-government to be achieved in ten or perhaps twenty years' time. Criticising the Federal Government, however, he indicated that everything was not bad because since its advent money made available for education had been doubled. Indeed, he was quite prepared to subscribe to a Federal Government if it stopped conducting itself in the way it did. Here he referred to shootings at Gwembe which had followed the rising of the waters in the lake on the construction of the Kariba Dam. If it was not possible for the Federal Government to settle down and conduct a just government then it would be necessary, as he had suggested earlier, to return to an entirely Territorial government. If they had to return to a Territorial government he did not want to see an African dictatorship or African domination in any form. He objected to the apparent clamour for self-government and went on to say that few Africans were educated and uneducated people could not be put in control. He could not say that the European was a bad influence, and their laws must prevail in the country as long as they were necessary. Since the advent of the European conditions were immeasurably better and he instanced health, water supplies and education. He reiterated that it would be suicidal to let the Europeans go in view of the sad state of affairs in Ghana and the Congo. Any communist influence had to be resisted.

Mr. Mwanga said that the African National Congress had tried to intimidate him but he had always been entirely independent of any political parties. He had passed Standard IV at Chikuni school and although he was not a voter he felt that now or when he was twenty-one he would make up his mind to vote for a candidate of ability and integrity.

574

PART II

EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES

WHO SUBMITTED

WRITTEN DOCUMENTS ONLY

111

EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES
WHO SUBMITTED
WRITTEN DOCUMENTS ONLY

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF ABERCORN*

On behalf of reasonable Africans and on my behalf, I wish to welcome you most heartily to Abercorn. The fact that you have given us time and chance to air our grievances against the present form of this Unique Central African Federation shows that the British Government has our aspirations at heart. I have no doubt, Sir, that you are quite aware of the fact that in imposing Federation against the wishes of the majority race, the British had eaten the fruit before it was ripe. We cannot now cry over spilt milk. What is required is a solution to the mistake which we are all aware of, was committed, in the circumstance, with deep conviction and realization something must be done to the present Federation. We must make this Federation unique as it is, a peaceful British Central Africa, and not a state of chains of regulations and of Blood and Iron, as this contributes to the stern opposition of Federation of the Northern Territories with Southern Rhodesia, which suffers from the influence of the apartheid Policy of South Africa.

Sir, the True British Citizens need not lose heart by what some irresponsible Africans have said and by what some extreme European racialists have put in the press.

Sir, You the British People, let alone the Colonialists, have invested in Africa, a language which I am now expressing myself in. The Europeans have invested their knowledge and capital in this country, the African has exposed his soil to the Whiteman, the two must live together in harmony. The feelings of both races, the wishes of both races must be blended together to seek peace and happiness. What your Commission will hear, what you will see and what you will recommend will no doubt be the base upon which the Federation is going to be given a good mark or a bad mark by our future generations. Unlike the report of Canada by Lord Durham, yours is a hard task. It is this commission which will reveal to us what British Government means by her assurances. Nothing could make us more confident than the British Prime Minister's assurances that the British Government will continue her protection for as long as we need it. Upon this assurance and only this, lie my willingness to give evidence.

Seven years of the life this Federation have seen blood and iron in Nyasaland and in Northern Rhodesia. Repressive laws such as the Societies' Ordinance of Northern Rhodesia, the beating of people, defenceless Africans, old men, women and babies, by the Mobile Unit of the Police force, the tricky regulations of dismissing any employee who is found reading

* Name withheld at the request of the witness.

political newspapers while on duty in the Ministry of Health of the Federation. These and many others had only confirmed the badness of the Federation. The African has indeed seen what he expected of the Federation the bad side of it. The Federal Government has failed to convince the African what he was told would be good. Since Federation was introduced, the badness is overwhelmingly outweighed by the goodness by seeing and by doing.

The Production of figures about this and that, the publication of irrelevant facts such as those in "Your Questions Answered" are far too little to convince and to outweigh the miseries that have been experienced by an African. What we've seen and heard is what has caused dissatisfaction. We all expected that the first seven years were going to be used to convince the staunch opposer of Federation; but instead the first seven years have only been used to confirm the fears which the African and some Europeans expressed.

Two mistakes never make a right. May I therefore, hope that you will not remove or leave a hole to enable our friends—the European Settlers of S. Rhodesia to attain to the status of a Dominion which we know will give them an imperium over the destiny of Africans of Central Africa, for such a mistake may lead to only more political pandemonium, and calamitous legislation.

In view of this fact I would like the races to live harmoniously to regard themselves as citizens of British Central Africa. My suggestions are summarised as shown below.

1. Membership in the Federal House or Parliament should be based upon equality for each member-country of the Federation. Each member-country should have the same number of people regardless of the number of Europeans or Africans in each territory. This is a compromise for the strong opposition that exists in the Northern Territories. The present membership where S. Rhodesia has more members than any two Territories put together, puts S. Rhodesia in the first class cabin, this is what the Africans hate, because by virtue of her much larger European population and both in the Parliament and in the Colony the Native policy of the Federation will be determined by the attitude of Europeans of that country, Southern Rhodesia which cannot be said to be favourable to full political, cultural and social development. Until this is done, the African will never forget for one moment to think that Federation was created to the best advantage of Europeans in S. Rhodesia.

The Africans must be made to see and not to *hear* and *read*, the advantages of our Federation.

2. Under no circumstances can the African believe that Federation is in the best interest of the peoples of Central Africa as long as the Capital of our Federation remains in Salisbury in S. Rhodesia. So close as it is, to the Union of S. Africa, where apartheid is a National Anthem, and where we all clearly know that our fellow Africans "now suffer and moan and groan for succour in vain."

3. Defence should remain as it is a Federal matter; but I doubt if defence should mean that it can be used for internal defence, if this was the motto behind it, then I deprecate it. Federal defence should not be used to stamp out African Nationalism for it will only add to the already strong opposition to, and cessation from the Federation, the things we should avoid.

I suggest that each Territory be responsible for her own law and order and internal disturbances, and that no armed forces should be imported from S. Rhodesia to go and settle or help settle, internal chaos.

For these reasons I must point out to the Commission if the Federal Police is created the African will, with no doubt, be provoked. The good name of our Territorial Police Force should not be entombed by forming the Police Force of the Federation. We are quite happy and satisfied with our Police Force.

4. I do not favour the idea of sending our Politicians from the Northern Territories to S. Rhodesia either for detention or imprisonment. Are they sent to S. Rhodesia because the officers there can easily bring them to their knees? Or are they sent there to go and hear and see how their fellow Africans are deliberately excluded from the political life of their country? Is not this Government action the way to make these leaders hostile? For I believe that when a person has seen for himself the badness he could possibly have heard he surely should find it very easy to make up his mind what he will do next.

I suggest that in order to avoid worsening these leaders, the Government should discontinue to exchange prisoners, and that Prison Services should be handed back to Territorial Governments. It does indirectly break one's faith in the Federation to be told "You are going to serve your sentence in S. Rhodesia" when you know full well that the Authorities have adopted colour bar as a political philosophy or as an instrument of administrative policy. The fact is that the man who has been to Southern Rhodesia always comes back with a psychological scar.

5. Not long ago, many Italians were brought from Italy and given work on the railways: the Africans did not like the idea because it deprived them of the chance to go forward. This I would call a deliberate mistake by the Federal Government. For instead of training the Africans of this Territory in what would seem to them advancement, the African looked at this idea with regret, for not only did it not block their advancement but; it also did show that the Federal Government wants to swell the European population thereby depriving the Africans of the Federation the chance to advance. Not far away from here, in the Belgian Congo some of our relatives from N. Rhodesia are driving locomotives; they are Guards, Stationmasters, a chance they could not get had they been in N. Rhodesia. Can a political boundary make an elder brother better than the others?

I suggest that doors be wide open without hesitation to advance the Africans to do the jobs on the railways which their brothers are doing, rather than import people for jobs which the Africans can do.

I suggest that Immigration should be a Territorial matter.

6. Two people write their B.A. (Hons.) at Cambridge one is an African of N. Rhodesia, one is a European. Both qualify and get employed in Northern Rhodesia. The European is an officer, and the African is an assistant master: he must show that he is a good boy; he must work for some years before he is promoted to "Full European salary scale". They hold the same certificate—equality, they teach the same classes,—partnership, they receive different salaries because one is an African in a state where partnership is an instrument of administrative policy.

I suggest that people whose paper qualifications are the same and are recognised by the world should get the same pay,

in as much as they do the same work, and that housing for these people should be non-racial.

I suggest that the three Salary Scales, viz., European scale, Asian and Coloured scale and African salary scale be abolished. This is a simple thing which can be slashed in a sentence. As long as these three scales exist, we will be no nearer to partnership.

7. I must now turn your mind, Sir, to the Federal Ministry of Health which has proved a failure. In my opinion, and I am sure in many others, the African Hospitals are in a disgraceful state, the standard of service has dropped; the surroundings are very dirty, the Government (Federal) trucks which in the rural areas were doing the work in place of the Ambulance no longer do that.

The answer is that there is no money. There is no money even for slashing or cutting grass 100 yards from the hospital; there is no money for replacement of old, old blankets, for better plates, bed sheets, for proper cooking of food for patients; there is no money for better uniforms for patients; there is no money for building better Isolation Wards, what is the use of saying Federal Services are good if the good things cannot be seen? Are we to rely upon what we hear, and not what we see?

May I suggest that you have a glance at these complaints at the African Hospital here in Abercorn, you will believe that in most cases what we teach in Schools, which the doctors have written, is contrary to what we see at the Hospital. I have seen in these Hospitals. I have seen in these Hospitals meat cooked over the normal fire in a normal pot for less than one hour, and brought to wards and recooked by patients!

Meanwhile the conditions at the African Hospitals (Federal) are far below the standard of the majority of Africans living in the Locations.

I suggest that (a) Hospitals be under the Territorial Governments, and that those who were forced to retire because they did not join the Federal Services be called back to service, and that their absence be counted as leave without pay; (b) That Federal trucks be used at the moment in place of Ambulances where these are not provided; (c) That all Hospitals (African) be provided with private wards for people who need private life; (d) That the Hospitals be exemplary in so far as cleanliness is concerned, both outside and inside.

8. The Voters Roll: at the moment there are two voters rolls—Ordinary and Special; the former is a full vote, as each individual votes, whilst the latter is a fraction of a vote, the two Rolls were made as result of fear of one race dominating the other by virtue of their much larger number. But the present system shows and works in favour of one race, the Europeans, in areas where the European population is worth counting. The last election shows quite the opposite of the new voters Rolls, for it works in favour of the European in spite of their few numbers. The logic in it cannot be followed. The architects of this voting system deliberately did this. It shows without reasoning that unless the African can join the party which works in favour of Europeans he will not find himself a member of a Legislature. I suggest that there should be one group of voters, and that all voters be regarded as one, that the clause whereby one must be approved by two thirds of the Chiefs in his constituency be deleted, as it is expensive for an African to travel, by bus, on bicycle, or in canoes, to get the permission this fraction of chiefs. Expenditure on these journeys is exorbitant and prohibitive.

Finally, Sir, as I said earlier, I have every reason to believe that the races will learn to live together, to respect each others' point of view, to appreciate each others' contribution to the Federation, and to work and live together harmoniously.

Abercorn.
2nd March 1960

UNITED FEDERAL PARTY—MAZABUKA BRANCH.

Chairman, R. J. Allanson

At a meeting of the above Branch, held at Mazabuka on 19th January, 1960, it was decided to submit to you the sincere belief of the Branch in the need for full independence within the British Commonwealth of the Federal Government, and for the greatest possible measure of independence within the Federation, of the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

The following arguments were put forward in support of these views, in the course of long discussion:

That the general welfare of all races was completely dependent upon the prosperity of the country and that no such prosperity could be maintained without a stable government in which there was a majority of European opinion.

That the African still needed the guidance of the European and would continue to need this guidance for a very long time to come. But that interference from the United Kingdom constantly tended to undermine the influence of the European and so militated against the effectiveness of such guidance.

That whereas leaders of various African National Congress movements tended now to cry that it was intolerable for the African to be ruled by foreigners, in fact, if the government of the country fell into the hands of Africans, each tribe would tend to feel that any member of that government who happened to be a member of another tribe was also a foreigner.

That the present situation whereby the United Kingdom took a keen interest in and had authority over this country, was tending to have dire results, even to the undermining of the maintenance of law and order within this country. That this resulted from present day high efficiency of intercommunication, whereby politically ambitious Africans were well aware of the part played by affairs in Africa in United Kingdom politics. That any such differences in England as between political parties there, had a most unsettling effect upon the stability of this country.

That at his present stage of development the African had a real need for wise guidance and that such wisdom could hardly be looked for amongst people without knowledge of this country.

That although the fact was always ignored by would-be African leaders, there would in fact never have been any appreciable advancement had it not been for the Europeans who have settled in this country and made it their home, and, by the success of their various enterprises have brought prosperity to the country. That without that prosperity funds would never have been available to the Government of Northern Rhodesia that have paid for the vast strides that have been made in recent years. And that if the real leaders of the country were to be replaced by the would-be leaders of today's African nationalism, then all that prosperity would disappear—to the complete loss and disadvantage of all races at present living in the country. That in effect it is the European who had created the country, frequently by venturing his capital, hard work and in fact all the productive years of his life. And that where the African has helped, as undoubtedly he has, he has always been paid for doing so.

That the masses of the ordinary African population are utterly ignorant and have no conception of what is or even what constitutes the Central African Federation. For all the publicity that is given to the supposed African dislike of Federation, few could give any sensible reason for any such dislike. That this so-called dislike of Federation is the fruits of fear, the seeds of which have been deliberately and carefully planted by the leaders of African nationalism. Seeds which have been sown with the calculated hopes of self-benefit to the sowers, regardless of what misfortunes may follow to the soil in which the seeds are planted.

That all present firmly believed that in time the African would come to realise the benefits that had come to him from Federation, so that his objections or imagined objections would fall away. None believed that any such conviction would come rapidly since the majority of Africans were not interested anyway, in whether or not there was such a thing as Federation.

That although no-one present had any special knowledge of Nyasaland, it was well-known that the maintenance of that territory within the Federation was a drain upon the resources of the Federal Government. But that notwithstanding, since it had been incorporated within the Federation, it should remain so incorporated, both for its own benefit from Federal funds and for the benefit of the Federation as a whole, since if one country were to break away, the whole concept of the strength of the Federation would fall with it.

Mazabuka

5th February 1960

Annexure I

The Standing Committee of the Northern Rhodesia Division of the United Federal Party

Part I. The Northern Rhodesia Division of the United Federal Party.

Part II. Preamble to the Case for Enhanced Constitutional Status.

Part III. The Case for Responsible Government.

Part IV. The Franchise.

Part V. Government Responsibilities :

A. Functions of the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Government and the Federal Government.

B. Functions of the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Government and the British Government—Local Legislative List.

Part I—The Northern Rhodesia Division of the United Federal Party

1. Until the election in 1954 Party politics had not existed in this Territory except in one instance when a Labour Party was formed in 1941. This was short lived and Party politics did not become an established fact in political life until the Northern Rhodesia Division of the Federal Party was formed in 1954. At the ensuing elections in March of that year the Party won 10 of the 12 elected seats. In 1958 the Party was re-organised to encourage the enlistment of African membership as part of the Party's partnership policy and at the 1959 elections the United Federal Party won 13 of the 22 elected seats. Two of these seats were won by the Party's African candidates, one of whom was recommended by the Leader of the Party for appointment as a Minister and who, since that date, has held the portfolio of African Education. Since its inception the Northern Rhodesia Division of the United Federal Party has been led by Mr. John Roberts, Territorial elected Member for the Broken Hill constituency. Mr. Roberts played a leading part in the last constitutional talks and was one of the architects in designing the pattern for non-racial Party politics which has been evolved in the Territory, and which has led to the holding of Portfolios by Elected Ministers, African and European, within the same Party and with a common policy. In this connection we wish to record that this development is viewed with alarm by African political extremist leaders to the extent of a campaign of abuse and intimidation being used to discredit the Party's policy of partnership in the political field.

2. It is also significant that this sort of malicious campaign seriously affects the Party's efforts to enlist African membership. There are many Africans who have become willing members of the United Federal Party only to find that their participation has invited attention to themselves from the strong-arm methods (which include threats by witchcraft) of those who are determined that partnership should not be permitted to work. It is an undeniable fact that potential African human material which could be moulded into a product capable of taking a large share in the art of truly responsible Government is being subdued by the more vociferous and dictatorial elements; and they are largely being so subdued because of the tactics of Her Majesty's Opposition and certain other bodies in the United Kingdom.

3. These are some of the difficulties with which any Party which seeks to build up membership based on partnership, progress for all and mutual respect is faced and will continue to be faced until Her Majesty's Government is prepared to state quite firmly that the long term policy for Northern Rhodesia is one of partnership and racial co-operation and that, in pursuance of this policy, Governmental responsibilities are to be locally placed, with adequate reservations to honour Her Majesty's Government's special obligations.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

We wish to affirm our great faith in the Federation as a noble and permanent entity in Central Africa and to express the belief that given time and opportunity the Federation will grow into a lasting structure of the civilised world, and play a vital role in the future of the African Continent. To achieve this end, therefore, the framework must be built now for the Federation's place as a full member of the Commonwealth.

Part II—Preamble to the Case for Enhanced Constitutional Status

1. If we examine the constitutional progress of this Territory since 1924 we find that there has been a very gradual process of a reduction of the Executive functions of official Civil Servants and their assumption by Unofficial Members both elected and nominated. This process has been far too slow and in our opinion has hampered the overall development

of Northern Rhodesia, for until Elected Members became part of the Government machine the policy of the Colonial Office was one of quiet administration rather than expansion of economy. Little initiative was shown by Government either in the agricultural or general economic field during the time when officials were in complete control, whilst in the Mining Industry the Companies were left largely to their own devices. It was for instance, an Elected Member who initiated and largely conducted negotiations with the British South Africa Company which culminated in that Company, in 1952, sharing its mineral royalties with the Government—an event which was of far reaching import to Northern Rhodesia, which boosted Government revenues tremendously and which will terminate the Company's mineral rights in 1986. It was another Elected Member who in 1956 conducted similar negotiations with the same Company in respect of their land revenue rights, when agreement was reached terminating the B.S.A. Company's right to fifty per cent of all revenue received by Government through the alienation of land. Another elected Member was instrumental in influencing the British Government to set aside 50 per cent of the land surface of this territory as Native Trust Land by converting Crown land to "native status".

2. Other examples of how Elected Members have played their part, within the limited Portfolios at their disposal, in the sound administration of the Territory and in the interests of its inhabitants since 1949 (when portfolios were first held by Elected Members) can be demonstrated by a brief glance at some of the measures introduced by them :

- (a) Agriculture was one of the first subjects to be taken over in 1949 by an Elected Member who, until the former was taken over by the Federal Government, was responsible for both European and African Agriculture. Great strides have been made in this industry since that time and schemes such as the Livestock Improvement Scheme, the Cattle loan scheme and the Calf Bounty scheme have been of great benefit. Africans have benefited directly from the setting up of the African Farming Improvement Fund and the Mount Mukulu Research Station. The Land Bank and the Land Board have contributed greatly to the settlement and bringing into economic production of Crown land in rural areas and the inauguration of Regional Planning has been of vital importance in the conservation of natural resources, backed by the Natural Resources Ordinance and other conservation and control Ordinances. The Fish Conservation Ordinance has been of great benefit to the African people, who today enjoy a virtual monopoly of the fish industry in the Territory. The Mkushi Settlement Scheme and the Copperbelt Survey by a Special Commissioner are examples of the type of careful planning for the future which has been carried out by Elected Members.
- (b) Unofficial Portfolio Holders have been largely responsible for the very important change in the type of land tenure prevailing in Crown Land areas, and the policy of freehold land tenure will undoubtedly be of great value to the Territory's development. In the urban areas of the Territory there have been great advances which will be of benefit to both Europeans and Africans living in those areas. More powers have been delegated to Local Authorities and assistance has been provided for basic development. The tremendous growth of towns in Northern Rhodesia has been assisted by improved services in almost every township in the Territory and it was an Elected Member who was responsible for the setting up of the African Housing Board in an endeavour to solve the ever increasing problem of housing the influx of Africans from the rural areas, an endeavour which is already showing dividends and will do so even more in the future. During the time an Elected Member was responsible for Local Government affairs night passes for Africans have been abolished, African owner housing schemes have been inaugurated, the first African Area Housing Board elections have been held and African Townships, with their own Boards of Management, have been developed.
- (c) Within the Government machine itself the Public Works Department has been completely re-organised since it became the responsibility of an Elected Minister, with a resulting increase in efficiency and reduction in costs.

(d) Whilst pressing on within their own Portfolios with plans for the development of the Territory for the benefit of all the inhabitants, Elected Members have supported, and indeed on several occasions influenced development in matters not directly within their portfolio responsibility. For example, Elected Ministers have given their support and influences to the special development projects in Native Rural areas, and to measures for increased responsibilities to Native Authorities in the legal, executive, financial and administrative fields. Another example is the advancement provided for Africans in the Police.

3. Furthermore, Elected Members, in the discharge of their Portfolio functions, have at all times acted with impartiality, justice, initiative and administrative ability.

4. We think it worth while drawing the attention of the Commission to these facts to show that within their limited field of responsibilities Elected Members have worked unceasingly towards the progress of Northern Rhodesia and towards the advancement of its people, and that the Territory has human resources to take over more Ministerial responsibilities and is ready to take the next step in Constitutional advance.

5. In this connection it seems peculiar to us that, although Northern Rhodesia was first opened in the early part of this century, it was not until 1949 that Elected Members were permitted to take part in the Government and that in 1960 Elected Members fill only half of the seats on the Government front bench. Very slow progress indeed, the pace of which has exacerbated feeling against the Colonial Office and caused resentment at the implication that Elected Members are not to be trusted and are not fitted to play a major part in Government.

6. So far we have dealt only with the role played in Government by Elected Members and we would like at this point to record our dislike of the system of nominating Members to both Legislative and Executive Councils. The system is out-moded and no longer serves any useful purpose. It was introduced firstly to appoint a European to represent African Interests, then later to appoint Africans for the same purpose. It was responsible for the tragic introduction of racial representation in the Territory which set a most unfortunate pattern for many years. Now that the whole system, through the present franchise and delimitation of constituencies, has shifted the weight from direct racial representation to non-racial Party politics, we feel strongly that the nominations to the "Cabinet" and the Legislature must be abolished. It is also worthy of record that there is far greater co-operation, understanding and mutual respect between the European Elected Members and their Party African colleagues than exists between them and either the Nominated Members or those Members who have been elected on a non-Party ticket.

Part III—The Case for Responsible Government

1. It is the often reiterated policy of the United Kingdom Government to grant Responsible Government to their Protectorates as and when they are ready for such a constitutional change. This principle has been the basis of constitutional talks and changes in Northern Rhodesia over the years.

2. It is, in our opinion, apparent that Northern Rhodesia has reached the stage when it is ready for a form of Responsible Government and a definite programme of advancement should be laid down now, showing the steps to be taken to achieve this status. This claim to self Government is based on two main factors which are:

- (a) Economically and in the sphere of general development the country is, if anything, far ahead of other countries at the time that this status was granted to them.
- (b) Elected Ministers have been in charge of portfolios in one form or another for the past decade and have adequately proved that they are capable of governing with ability and impartiality.

3. In considering such a programme it is essential that the pattern of Party Politics introduced at the last constitutional changes, should be adhered to and that no attempt should be made to formulate a policy dictated by racial bias. Party Politics must cut across racial representation.

4. The need to retain the Government in the hands of civilised people is vital. A qualitative franchise and a common voters' roll meet both these requirements and must be enshrined in any future constitution.

5. Under the present constitution Elected Members in Northern Rhodesia do not enjoy anything like the same status as their Southern Rhodesian neighbours. The Prime Minister there is the head of that Government and is easily recognisable as such by his title. No such status attaches to the Leader of the Elected Members in this Territory. This lack of status is a decided disadvantage to the Government of Northern Rhodesia both within the Federation and abroad and is accentuated by the close tie-up between this Government and the Colonial Office.

6. The policy of the balance of power in the Executive Council always being retained by the Colonial Office is not only detrimental to the development of the country but to good race relations within the Territory. Outside capital is chary of investing in a country where there is no certainty as to the form in which self-government will be granted. Confidence in the country will not be improved until Northern Rhodesian affairs cease to be subject to debate in the House of Commons. Such debates have in the past been used for purely party political purposes to the great detriment of good race relations in Northern Rhodesia.

7. In order to illustrate the advantage of Responsible Government, as enjoyed by Southern Rhodesia, compared with the system of Government in Northern Rhodesia, the following comparisons can fairly be made :

- (a) In Southern Rhodesia under Responsible Government no riot or disturbance has been sufficiently serious to require the lethal use of firearms since the inauguration of their present constitution in 1923. In Northern Rhodesia under the Colonial Office rule on several occasions during the same period disturbances could only be quelled with loss of life.
- (b) In Southern Rhodesia African Education has developed to a far greater degree than in the North, so indeed has African agriculture and land tenure.
- (c) In Southern Rhodesia industrial development has forged ahead, investment is more readily placed in that Colony and generally speaking the African is better off economically.

8. Furthermore, one of the main causes of both economic and political instability in Northern Rhodesia is the fact that we are always subject to legislation by Order in Council, with or without our consent. We feel that this is wrong and should cease. We believe that Her Majesty's special responsibilities to the African people could well be fulfilled by the Governor continuing to hold certain reserved powers.

9. Thus in the interests of all the inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia the programme for self-Government should be drawn up tracing the following steps :

- (a) The two nominated Members' seats in Legislative Council to be filled by Elected Members ;
- (b) An elected Prime Minister, or Premier, with a Cabinet containing a majority of Elected members should be appointed immediately thereafter ;
- (c) The right of the House of Commons to question and discuss Northern Rhodesia matters be drastically curtailed ;
- (d) A programme should be laid down, to be carried out over a period of years, clearly showing the steps to be taken up to the time that self-government is achieved.

10. At the same time it is fully appreciated that the United Kingdom has certain obligations (treaties, etc.) to the peoples of the Territory and these should be adequately protected until such time as the African people have advanced to the stage when special protection is no longer necessary.

11. If, despite the certain reserved powers which we agree should continue to be held by the Governor, it is still felt that other protective measures should be maintained or introduced into our Constitution, then we submit that consideration might be given to the principle of the setting up, in due course, of a second Chamber, in which special protective powers could be vested.

Part IV—The Franchise

1. We absolutely adhere to the principle of the qualitative franchise and, whilst we feel that the Southern Rhodesia franchise is basically more logical than that designed for this Territory, we are in general accord with the scheme introduced in 1958 by the British Government after consultation with the Northern Rhodesia Government.

2. There are two matters which will need to be reconsidered at some appropriate time :

- (a) the qualifications set out in Appendix 3 to the Laws of Northern Rhodesia, Section 7 1(d) requiring the prospective voter to have a knowledge of English ;
- (b) the arrangements for progressively reducing the effect of the special vote as more and more Africans qualify for the Ordinary Roll.

3. We feel that the provisions of Section 17 (1), taken with Section 23, of the Federal Electoral Act should be substituted for Section 7 1(d) and that a scheme on the lines originally proposed by the Northern Rhodesia Government should take the place of the provisions laid down in Part II, para. 3 of the First Schedule of Appendix A.

Part V—Government Responsibilities

A. Functions of the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Government and the Federal Government

1. In general we consider that the existing balance of functions should be maintained but that consideration should be given to a change in some of the Governmental functions.

2. We cannot help but observe that the bulk of subjects which affect the day to day life of the African population are administered by the Territorial Government and we believe that this in itself has been a drawback. In only one subject, namely Health, has the Federal Government any opportunity for its Civil Servants, and its Government to have any direct contact, in so far as its subject responsibilities are concerned, with the African population.

3. We accept that, generally speaking, African affairs should remain Territorial responsibilities, but there are some subjects which we feel are deserving of review.

Agriculture

4. If we look at the geographical position of the Federation we find that climatically and for the purpose of crop production, conditions are not dissimilar in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The type of crops grown is the same, the tastes of the consumer are similar. Marketing, exports and import of agricultural produce is already a Federal subject and the Cold Storage Commission, which will be responsible for the buying of cattle and the distribution of beef to the retail trade, is shortly to commence operations in this Territory. For these reasons alone it would be desirable, in our view, that agricultural policy from the point of view of crop production and research should be under the control of one Government.

5. European Agriculture has been the responsibility of the Federal Government since 1955 and we can factually say that since that time European farmers in this Territory have expressed satisfaction at the manner in which the Government has set about its task of stabilising European agriculture in the Territory. They enjoy regular visits and extended services from Government officers in the varied fields of agriculture and have benefited greatly from the fact that many of these officers are men who have previously served in Southern Rhodesia and who are fully acquainted with Southern Rhodesia methods based on longer experience than ours.

6. We believe that it is utterly illogical to split agriculture from the administrative and policy making point of view either into Black and White compartments or Government divisions. There is a further most important reason for advocating that the subject should be entirely a Federal Government responsibility and that is that we believe that as one factor in making the Federation a success, the Federal Government should have responsibility for a subject in which its officers can come into daily contact with the African population and demonstrate to them the calibre of the Government and its policy. This can readily be achieved in the field of agriculture which historically is the backbone of the two Rhodesias and where men's livelihood and outlook depend to a large extent on the actions and policy of the Government.

7. We believe that agriculture is a field where racial co-operation and partnership can be firmly established. The farmers, African and European, are not affected by the heat of politics to the same degree as urban dwellers, nor do they become involved to the same extent. It is a field in which each man, black or white, is equally rewarded for his labours and his investment; they are both landowners in one form or another and as there is no land shortage problem in this Territory there is no need for jealousy or animosity between Europeans and Africans on that score.



8. We produce all these factors to demonstrate that agriculture is an ideal sphere in which practical partnership can work and for this and the other reasons adduced in this paper we feel that agriculture in its entirety should be administered by the Federal Government.

Agricultural research

9. The present position is that agricultural research is both a Territorial and a Federal responsibility. In Southern Rhodesia it is a Federal subject and falls under the various research organisations under the general direction of the Ministry of Agriculture. In Northern Rhodesia tobacco research falls under the same Federal direction but generally research, based on Mount Mukulu, is Territorial. There is provision in the Constitution for all agricultural research to be Federally controlled. One of the reasons why Mount Mukulu has not been transferred to the Federal sphere to date is the question of finance as certain funds are obtained through sources which are not open to the Federal Government. It is felt that this one obstacle could be overcome and all research placed under Federal Government control in order that there should be a common policy and co-ordination of activity.

Animal health

10. At present Animal Health in Southern Rhodesia is a Federal responsibility, as also is Tsetse Control. In Northern Rhodesia they are Territorial subjects, and it seems only logical that they should also be under the control of one Government.

11. Animal Health is a Federation wide problem; contagious diseases such as foot and mouth, East coast fever, etc., are not controlled by artificial boundaries but can well spread throughout the Federation and a common policy of control therefore seems the natural answer. Tsetse fly is also found on both sides of the Zambezi River and presents a common problem.

12. A further reason for the federalisation of Animal Health, at least as far as the European farming sphere is concerned, is that Animal Husbandry is already a Federal subject and it seems to us that Veterinary Services and Animal Husbandry are so clearly allied as to make it logical that they should be administered by one Government.

Roads

13. The construction and maintenance of roads throughout the Territory is at present a divided responsibility between the Federal and Territorial Governments, depending on the category of road.

14. The Federal Government itself has no Public Works machine and having made a decision regarding the maintenance or construction of those roads which are its responsibility, it then directs the Territorial Minister of Transport and Works to put the necessary work in hand. This means that without advance information as to how much the Federal Government will allow for roads, the Territorial Minister is placed in a difficult position in that he is unable to judge the quantity of men and machinery he will need for the carrying out of the Federal programme. Thus the position might arise whereby the Territorial Minister could build up a Works machine for the maintenance and construction of all roads in the Territory, and having done so find that the Federal Government might have cut its estimate for roads and so left the Territorial Government with a surplus of men and equipment.

15. We feel, therefore, that, whilst fully recognising the substantial financial contribution made to the Territory's roads by the Federal Government, any responsibility which the Federal Government has should revert to the Territorial Government and that the latter Government should be solely responsible for all roads throughout the Territory.

Law and Order and Police

16. The present position is that the three Territorial governments are responsible for maintaining law and order in their respective Territories through their Police Forces, but the Federal Government is responsible for defence and for supplying additional forces to the Territorial Governments when requested to do so. This clearly divides what is really one responsibility between four Governments. We feel that the responsibility for law and order should be solely a federal one and that the control and direction of the Police Forces should become the responsibility of a Federal Minister.

17. We further feel that it is basically unsound for there to be three penal codes and three criminal procedure codes in the Federal area. We accordingly recommend that these two responsibilities should be transferred to the Federal Parliament.

18. It follows from these two recommendations that all security legislation should also be a Federal responsibility.

19. The three Police Forces of the Federation have differing forms of organisation and are recruited from different sources. Considerable thought will have to be given to any plan for their amalgamation into one Federal Force and we would hesitate to make specific recommendations. It has been suggested that the Canadian model should be copied but it may well be that the Nigerian would be more appropriate to Rhodesian conditions.

B. Functions of the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Government and the British Government—Local Legislative List

1. On the general question of steps towards Responsible Government for Northern Rhodesia this Committee believes that the Commission will be interested to read relevant extracts of a debate in the Legislative Council on the 18th July, 1958 (*Hansard* No. 95) and which are attached hereto.

2. In this debate Mr. John Roberts, Territorial Leader of the United Federal Party moved—

“That the London delegation be authorised to make representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a view to the Territory's being granted an increased measure of responsible government by entrusting to the legislature and Government of Northern Rhodesia sole responsibility for certain subjects:

- (a) which could no longer be subject to legislation by Order in Council;
- (b) legislation upon which should only be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within twelve months after enactment; and
- (c) legislative and executive action which should no longer be subject to question in the Parliament of the United Kingdom”.

3. We believe it will be of interest to the Commission to note that, whilst one African Member maintained that he would not object to matters which affected Europeans coming under a local legislative list but he would oppose the Colonial Office being deprived of matters which affected Africans, the Chief Secretary to the Government, Mr. E. D. Hone, spoke in favour of the Motion. Subsequently the Motion was put and on a Division was carried by 20 votes to 5. During the constitutional talks which followed in London our understanding was that the then Secretary of State for the Colonies was tremendously impressed with this method of Northern Rhodesia achieving a measure of responsibility in certain affairs, but that he could not see his way clear to adopt the suggestion at that time. This Committee therefore, believing that this method is a logical step towards Responsible Government, puts it forward for the Commission's consideration.

4. It is worthy of note that Sir Arthur Benson, an experienced administrator of long standing both in Northern Rhodesia and other African Territories, recently wrote an article in *The Times* giving his views on this subject and expanding on what Mr. Roberts had said briefly some 18 months before. Extracts from this article are attached hereto.

5. In our view this step could be taken at any time and need not necessarily relate to a constitutional change involving the Legislative or Executive Councils.

Annexure II

Extracts from Hansard—18th July 1958

MR. ROBERTS: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that the London delegation be authorised to make representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a view to the Territory's being granted an increased measure of responsible government by entrusting to the legislature and Government of Northern Rhodesia sole responsibility for certain subjects;

- (a) which could no longer be subject to legislation by order in Council;
- (b) legislation upon which should only be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within twelve months after enactment; and
- (c) legislative and executive action upon which should no longer be subject to question in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Speaker, the preamble to the meant of this resolution is slightly different to that which was put down in the paper which has been circulated. The original extra item read that negotiations be opened forthwith with the British Government. The reason is that when I put this down I did not then know

that a delegation was to proceed to London shortly. In view of the fact that a delegation is to proceed to London next week it would seem to me an ideal opportunity that this matter should be part of the talks in London and that the delegation should be authorised to make representations on it.

Sir, I touched on this when speaking to the general principles of the hon. Chief Secretary's motion. Boiled down it is simply that I consider that the time has come when this legislature and the Government should be entrusted with the sole responsibility and control over certain subjects, particularly those which are of a local character.

Mr. Speaker, the present day position is that every single subject under the control of this Government is open to question, firstly in the House of Commons and secondly any legislation enacted thereon cannot become permanent until Her Majesty has signified a power of non-disallowance.

What I propose, therefore, is to create two separate lists; one list which would still be open to question and answer in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and the other list which would not be. I have also proposed that even those subjects which should be so entrusted to this Government should still be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty but only within twelve months after enactment. That provision is similar to that which exists in respect of all subjects under the Southern Rhodesia constitution; that is that any legislation enacted upon subjects which would fall under the local list would come into force immediately after their enactment, and could only be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within twelve months. If that disallowance—the power of disallowance was not exercised within that time, then the law would remain permanent.

Sir, I do not think it incumbent on me, nor right and proper, that I should in moving this motion try to draw up before this Council the type of subject which I think should be included on the local list, and the type of subjects which should be included on what I will term—for want of a better term—the overseas list. I think that sort of thing is better left to discussion and negotiation.

MR. NGANDU: Mr. Speaker, I do not know what kind of subjects the hon. Member for Lands and Local Government is referring to in his speech. We have African Members in this Legislative Council representing African interests and the suggestion that these subjects should be left for discussion when negotiations are taking place cannot be accepted by the African people unless a catalogue of these subjects was laid before this Legislative Council. But if the hon. Member means those subjects that affect European affairs we should have no objection at all. I say, here, Sir, that all subjects affecting African interests in this Territory must remain under the Colonial Office as at present. The hon. Member for Mufulira has just referred to loyalty which must be given to the Government by the people of this country. Sir, if the Government of this country agree to this request it would seem to us that they only want a one-sided loyalty.

We would like this Government, Sir, to know that we also would be loyal if requests of this kind which involved subjects that affected African interests were not transferred from the Colonial Office. What I meant to say, Sir, is that we would not be as loyal as we would like to be to this Government if they could agree to a motion of this kind which deprived the Colonial Office of the responsibility they have over the people of this Territory. A lot of subjects which affect European interests in this country have gone federal and I should have thought that the elected Members and the European electorate should be satisfied with the measures that have already been taken."

MR. HONE: Mr. Speaker, I think that the debate has taken a most unfortunate turn and has revealed the familiar doubts and suspicions on the one hand and the familiar accusations and counter-thrusts on the other.

Now, Sir, this motion before us merely authorises the London delegation to enter into discussions and to make representations to the Secretary of State. As is known the delegation consists of representatives of all points of view in this Council, and they will, of course, be free to put their points of view forward.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to remind hon. African Members that any plan of the kind which is included in this suggestion affects the constitution and the rights and responsibilities of

another Government, of Her Majesty's Government. Now it is quite certain that Her Majesty's Government would not consider for a moment relinquishing any of her powers or control without the most careful scrutiny and without ensuring for herself that the release of those functions could be undertaken without anybody in this country being really detrimentally affected or prejudiced thereby.

So that I feel that Africans can feel reassured that so far as their vital interests are concerned, this arrangement will not operate to their deriment. I do not regard it, Mr. Speaker, as a matter to be thought of in political terms. I regard it rather as a matter of good government, of getting a system which is somewhat more efficient than the present one. Because the present system is one that, it seems to me, does lead to a great deal of work and delay and I can see no reason why it should not be possible for the lists mentioned by my hon. Friend the Member for Lands and Local Government to be drawn up and for certain subjects to be regarded, it may be by tacit agreement rather than by any legislative provision, that those subjects should be regarded as ones to be dealt with here.

And to be dealt with here, Mr. Speaker, not by European settlers, but by the Government in which officials, ordinary Elected Members and special Elected Members are taking part.

Mr. Speaker, I would therefore like to say that for these reasons I see no objection to this motion which, as I say, is merely asking that the delegation should take this matter up. I think myself that there may be very many procedural, legal difficulties about it. I think that it is a very unusual provision affecting a Territory of the status of Northern Rhodesia, nevertheless I do consider that there would be an advantage in looking at this matter and seeing whether some arrangement, which does no harm, causes no prejudice and need lead to no fears on the part of anybody could be adopted in the interests of better Government.

"A more logical approach"

by Sir Arthur Benson

"It is not the number of head which has to be looked at; it is the subject. And in connexion with the subject such questions as these; is this subject likely to be administered by a local Minister (who will have the Governor to advise him but not, save with the agreement of the majority of the Executive Council, to frustrate him) with reasonable efficiency, in the true interests of all communities in the territory, without undue subservience to the feelings, real or assumed for election purposes, of his own political group, and without adverse repercussions on other territories or countries, neighbouring or distant, Commonwealth or foreign? Furthermore will there be general agreement in the colony that this subject should now be removed from the purview of the House of Commons, at any rate for a trial period? Or will such proposed removal be so strongly opposed by any local minority or group or community that final responsibility for that subject should remain where it is for a further period of time."

"On the other hand, there is every hope of securing unanimous agreement on at least some subjects which would no longer fall within the purview of Parliament, and for which the Colonial Secretary (though he would continue, all would hope, to advise on them) would no longer bear final responsibility. That responsibility would pass not to the local unofficial or official Minister, but to the Executive Council, the Governor-in-Council, which, retaining collective responsibility for general policy on it, would entrust its implementation to the Minister, who in turn would be responsible to the Legislative Council."

"If this system is permitted to replace the illogical counting of heads which has hitherto formed the only method, the transfer of each subject will mark a real advance by the colony on its road to full self-government. Experience of handling the less important will provide the training needed for the greater. People who have seen that a local Minister has handled the construction of roads with true regard for their interests will be the more ready to see him, or someone like him, handle their education.

So perhaps would Parliament. At least it could consider the question objectively without perpetually trying to answer at the same time a quite different question: "Is independence eventually to be given to the blacks or to the whites, or how can we solve the colour question overnight?" That question cannot be solved overnight. It cannot be solved within the United Kingdom's shores at all. By the system proposed might go a long way towards solving it in Africa."

"The pundits have talked from time to time about the need for a halfway house between colonial and full Commonwealth status. The system described would help towards the solution to this problem. It must anyway be wrong that when independence is granted to a colony the outward and visible sign is that all its affairs are overnight removed from the purview of those men in the Colonial Office who have a deep and intimate knowledge of them into the hands of people in the Commonwealth Relations Office who have no experience of them at all.

Such a process is a natural process, and the one which could take the heat out of colonial policy not only among British political parties (where its effects are bad enough) but in the colonies themselves, where it may be disastrous for the free world.

V. H. ALLISON

Your Commission faces an almost impossible task and I feel that even if you do hear unlimited evidence—although I fear that most whites will feel it is not worth while—no one who can say one single useful word, should fail to do so.

Your biggest problem will be to understand the black man's mind and devise a means of controlling his childish power—hungry leaders who number perhaps one in a thousand—the others do not know or care as long as they have food and shelter. Black minds work differently to the white.

I have lived among Africans of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, South Africa and the Federation for 57 years. Employed large gangs mining, prospecting, farming, road and railway building and Big Game hunting. I claim to know them. A simple, peaceful and with few exceptions law-abiding people, easily led or misled.

I would say that the whites of Africa are in great danger, but the Africans are in deadly peril of themselves. This is the biggest difficulty.

What did their rulers do to the masses for a million years before the white man came? Killed and tortured them by the hundred. Will the memory of a century or so of western civilization or the opinion of a world, oceans away, prevent them reverting to type? Never, gentlemen, *Never*. You may be safe and sound back in England—you may never know or hear what has taken place in the "United States of Africa", when the rule of fear and witchcraft once more enslaves the teeming masses of Africa, when the various leaders in turn attempt to be President of All Africa. Not by means of the ballot box or even with a semblance of it used by Nazi Germany, but by force of modern arms—far more deadly than the primitive bows and arrows and spears of the past.

The blood lust of the black man is almost unbelievable. I have in recent years seen a howling mob of several hundred well dressed African Mine Boss-boys, Police boys, domestic servants, messengers etc. throwing stones at a wretched half-grown pet monkey, clinging terrified to the top branches of a tree (in the main tarred road of the largest Mine here) dripping with blood and crying out. All I could do was to shoot the monkey. A similar gang chased a small buck which had escaped from a European back garden. They literally tore it to bits when they caught it and ate the raw flesh then and there.

I will enclose a short extract from one of the best books on Africa I have seen and the front page of a local paper, also a few notes by my wife who usually takes the black man's part when we discuss these things—you know what women are!

Finally, Gentlemen, I repeat what I have said a hundred times before through the years—it is my sad conclusion that any, I repeat any, act of kindness, justice or consideration by a white man to a black one is almost invariably misconstrued as stupidity, fear or cunning. They know no other reason for such acts. I seem to remember that Dr. Albert Schweitzer arrived at the same conclusion in "On the edge of the Primeval Forest", though perhaps more kindly expressed.

Ndola

26th January 1960

MRS. M. ALLISON

Whilst my husband has been writing to you I suddenly felt that possibly you would also like to hear a woman's point of view? I came for the first time to Africa from England in 1925 for a visit to my sister who was married and lived in Mombasa. I returned again in 1927 and have been here ever since except for one trip to England 6 years ago. All these years (nearly 30) I have been with my husband wherever he has travelled and one might say "lived with the Africans" at

very close quarters in quite large numbers at times, owing to the nature of my husband's work. Most of this work has been well out of reach of the towns and so-called civilization. I was fortunate in my youth in England being able to have a good education and fair amount of travel with my parents. I presume to say I am quite normal and well balanced in my outlook on life and consequently take the keenest interest in human nature generally and especially in Africa, as I love the country and look upon it as my "home" now. Both our children were born in East Africa and now both happily married here. One, the girl, in South Africa and the boy a Civil Engineer in Blantyre. They also consider Africa their home. We have always been very happy in our work and our life. But recently we have been very unhappy watching the trend of events, which are so warmly encouraged and supported by well-meaning misguided people abroad who pretend to have the welfare of the African at heart.

It is an unfortunate fact that so many people who are trying to shape the destiny of Africa do so from the security of Great Britain or America.

It appears time has almost run out now and I could not be optimistic enough to say that "things will come right", but possibly could be greatly improved if quick action and rapid decisions were taken. This will need great courage on the part of our politicians also big minds and sincere hearts.

It strikes us as rather significant that the Africans have been assured of British protection (from us) until the country is independent, but the British Government has apparently overlooked the fact that the whites of Africa may be in even greater need of British protection when independence comes and the country is ruled by blacks.

A few points that strike me and others who have the country's good at heart :—

The African is by nature suspicious owing to their back history, equivalent to the white man's background several hundred years ago. He has had to be on the alert night and day amongst all his numerous enemies of other tribes and trust no one.

I hesitate to mention the Missionaries—amongst whom we have had good friends—and who have done so much sacrificing and noble work all these years, but I have watched with my own eyes (having lived in Uganda and in touch with these people) and seen their reactions. They appear almost too anxious to do "God's work", which is admirable and better than doing nothing but in many cases they are over-sentimental and fanatical to the extent of seeing no good in anyone unless they agree that the African is downtrodden! People are apt to wonder whether they would be so anxious to go into the mission field in uncomfortable slums in London, New York or Johannesburg. There are many conscientious people who forget the good old adage "familiarity breeds contempt" but with the adolescent mind this is a risk and one is often treated with contempt.

The blacks get so much for nothing, compared with any other country in the world, and human nature being what it is, it is not appreciated unless paid for by hard work?

Canon Leakey, as you know, who was buried alive during the Mau Mau terror, was personally known to me and also his family. They all worked night and day for the African. Their methods of "kindness" did not appear to work as the Africans could not understand them and the white Man's ways. They went too fast, trying to put a stop to what seemed to the white mind, cruel ceremonies. Such as the ritual of circumcision of young men and maidens. If one happens to be an Englishman one cannot suddenly have Chinese ways thrust on one and like them? Bad feeling and resentment results.

A small incident to show the workings of the Northern Rhodesian African mind—We were lunching at the Nchanga Hotel one day. The waiters were all on strike for more pay. The Head Waiter, an African whom we knew, came over to us and we asked him why he was not away too? "Oh!" said he, "I have not yet seen any instructions in the *Northern News* that I must strike!" Numerous Africans buy the *Northern News* regularly, costing 4d. and read it avidly. It seems to be a kind of Bible to them. What a responsibility the Editor has? One wonders if he realises this! Probably the newspapers have helped considerably to spoil the word "Federation" for the inexperienced and backward African. Probably none of them have ever been told that there are Federations in other parts of the world as well or what even the word means. They have only had instructions to dislike it, whatever it may mean.

Please forgive me if this seems too long but it is so important for people outside Africa to hear these personal experiences.

One more thing that some people don't realise is that sentiment and demonstrations of affection is absolutely foreign to them and one regrets to see newcomers, anxious to be helpful and multi-racial, being overanxious to shake hands and physically demonstrate their good-will. This causes the African great embarrassment. As a mass they are more reserved and dignified in this direction than many white people.

An afterthought : You will find in Central Africa, amongst the masses, that *time* means nothing to the African. Very few know their own age.

Ndola

26th January 1960

Annexure

Extract from Author Stuart Cloete in his book "The African Giant". First published in 1957 after a journey to West Africa from the Cape.

... We were now on our way back. The farthest point had been reached and though the rest would be new, it was still on the way home—the long way round. We had seen West Africa, and I tried to build up a composite picture of the coast in my mind.

What were the salient points? Superficially, the greatest thing was a passion for education, for politics, for progress. Both the social and material progress seemed to me to have in common a kind of hysterical haste, both magnificent, but both built upon an insufficient foundation.

It seemed to me that self-government should take twenty years to achieve, with young Africans acting as reliefs in every administrative post, going up the scale over the years so that the best would reach the top at the age of forty.

Nigeria was more of a political dream than a country, with the three main sections—North, West and East—divided against each other, and with even greater tribal animosities within their borders than outside them, which might at any time break out into a series of civil wars.

The Gold Coast was a one-crop and one-man country. Everything seemed to depend on cocoa and on Nkrumah. The same applied to Liberia—there, Tubman carried his little republic on his shoulders and was carried by Firestone, which in turn was supported by the giant might of the United States. What then is the future? Good, one must hope. A slow movement forward to a series of orderly African states where justice reigns, even if the form does not correspond exactly to that of our concept of parliamentary democracy.

And the alternative? The political machine coming slowly to a standstill, halting, poised like a ball on a jet of water in a shooting gallery and then gradually accelerated disintegration. One has hopes and fears for Africa. Can she overcome her history? Will people work who can live without working?

An answer? Of course there is an answer. A basic Christianity—that of Christ divorced from all dogma or creed. A Christianity of the golden rule that might even accept polygamy. In which all men are brothers. Thinking over what I had seen I kept going back to the substratum of death and cruelty that lay beneath the apparently prosperous surface.

Can the young, emancipated, university-trained Africans overcome these forces of superstition? Are they themselves immune? Would they feel no fear if, on coming out of their doors, they found a dab of blood on the lintel and some white cocks' feathers on the threshold?

It is difficult to write as I have and still assert as I do, that I am the friend of the African, but our relationship—black and white—cannot be built up on a tissue of lies and misrepresentation.

I think many Africans will agree with much that I have written. Many do not believe in freedom now, many are afraid of it, knowing where it may lead. For them to say so might mean their death. But there is a danger that, with freedom, "may the beloved country cry," indeed.

N. AMON

I wish to express my views on matters connected with the Federation in Central Africa.

We the Africans of Central Africa have a very strong dislike of the Federal Government that has been imposed against our wishes.

The reasons are as follows :—

- (1) The taxes have been very numerous since the coming of the Federation. (a) The personal tax has risen from 11/- in 1953, to £1 2s. 6d. this year in the rural areas, and from 10/- to 15/- respectively in the Urban areas. (b) Bicycle licences has risen from 2/6 to 4/- in both Urban and rural areas since 1953. Yet there are practically no government roads in the rural areas except the paths made by our own feet. (c) Our dogs in the rural areas are licenced and we do not actually understand what connection our dogs in villages have with the Government. (d) We cannot understand why we should be required to buy wild animals in our own country when they are not Federal cattle. Above all, Sir, we cannot see anything which this money does.
- (2) The Federal Government has hindered our children from going further in schools. It has done this by imposing very high fees in both the primary and secondary schools. Yet the same government demands higher taxes as well.
- (3) Since the birth of Federation in Central Africa the patients are required to pay so much for the ambulance to carry them to the hospitals, and if a person dies in the hospital a sum of £4 is to be paid for the person's tomb or burial. Failure to do this the person *must be burnt!*

Therefore, Sir, our strongest wishes concerning our future are simply these:— *We neither want the Federation nor the N.R. Government, but self government.*

Livingstone

28th January 1960

R. H. ASHTON

MISSING LINKS

Many of us who have lived in Northern Rhodesia for the past thirty years or more should be gratified to learn of the appointment of Mr. Woodrow Cross as a representative on the Monckton Advisory Commission on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The appointment of this 26 member commission of eminent intelligentsia, both African and European, should auger well for the future of the Federation.

It is certain that Mr. Woodrow Cross, as the biggest milk producer in the protectorate and the owner of a fine herd of pedigree cattle, should presumably have an intimate knowledge of Mendel's laws in regard to cattle breeding and will be able to use his knowledge of the influence of hereditary factors to some advantage on this commission.

If the investigations of the commission are to be worthwhile its members will have to study the fundamental issue of the hereditary background of our African partners, an issue which it should be entitled to undertake in view of Mr. Macmillan's statement reported in the *Northern News* of the 25th November, that he regarded the commission as "free in practice to hear all points of view, from whatever quarter and on any subject".

Although we do not at present know much about the hereditary background of the majority of the representatives on this commission it is apparent that at least one of its African members is of royal lineage, who should be able to guide the commission on many vital facts concerning the ethnographical background of the Bantu races in this part of Africa.

It is evident that some members of the commission, without experience of African conditions, or much knowledge of anthropology, may not be sufficiently enlightened to be aware of the fact that, although many of our African partners emanate, in different degrees, from the more efficient tribal groups impregnated with eastern Hamitic blood often causing the reddish brown or chocolate complexion of the skin; others are products of tribes on the devolutionary scale pertaining to those primitive forms of humans in which the prehensile characteristics have not been entirely eliminated, as has been evidenced from time to time in newspaper reports from Southern Rhodesia, one of the most notable being from Plumtree, an account of which was published in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* of the 20th April, 1935.

The existence of such primitive humans is possibly one facet of the subject of the origin of the species which was not thoroughly appreciated by Charles Darwin in propounding his theory of evolution for it seems probable that entirely

nuclear light may be thrown, shortly on the origin of homo sapiens as the Abel of the Old Testament allegory or the Able man of Albino characteristics, who, after his partial destruction by the hand of Cain, was superseded by the children of Seth of the same racial strain, in contradistinction to Cain and his descendants, whom we shall find, were the prototype of the black and brown man produced, contrary to divine injunction, by the unauthorized cohabitation between some, but not all, of the tribes or groups of Abel man with Adam man or Ape man or Asu man, as he was known in the Vedic language. It appears that this unauthorized crossing of species took place after the expiration of the limited period of time allowed for the "Special Creation" of true homo sapiens in that evolutionary cyclic period of our particular planetary world, which we may find took place in about 70,000 B.C. according to solar time; a date which also accords with the generally accepted idea of anthropologists for the advent of humans, but not necessarily of ape man or manlike creatures such as Oreopithecus, found in a coal mine in Italy in 1958, whose age is supposed to run into millions of years.

One is aware that critics might cynically point to the fact that in the Biblical story of Genesis we find Cain mentioned as the first son of Adam with Abel coming second and Seth third.

This is certainly a reasonably correct transcription from the original sources from which Genesis, up to and inclusive of the Book of Generations (Chap. 10) which was given to mankind under the inspiration of the God Osiris, through the mediumship of the mortal Thoth, living in Arabia in c. 3550 B.C., but if we delve into the matter more deeply we may find that there was a deliberate transposition of the order of births given in earlier sources, with a view to confounding vital issues, with which Osiris and his associate gods of that cycle were particularly concerned.

These associate gods, namely Tein with a heavenly kingdom over China and Sudga ruling over Vind'yu, the ancient name for India after that country ceased to be called Shem, are, it will be discovered, alluded to in Genesis 1, v. 26, where it is written "And God said Let US make man in our image . . ." and again in Genesis 3, v. 22, when the first person plural is used.

Pursuing the matter further it appears that Abel man, named Hebel in Hebrew, was not only an Able man in the primitive arts and crafts but was indeed a Wise man in all spiritual matters or in other words he possessed a full range of psychic gifts, some of which are detailed in the 12th chapter of the First Epistle of the Corinthians.

As an albino, Abel man would lack skin and hair pigmentation as we know it, thus having a somewhat white textured skin like alabaster, with white hair, bodily features which, it is curious to note, have been recently attributed to Noah by Professor Arnold Sosby who claims in an article in the *British Medical Journal*, where he quotes the Book of Enoch, that "Noah had a body white as snow, hair white as wool and eyes that are like the rays of the sun."

One might amplify this description by stating that other Abel men had yellow hair and a yellow skin, not as we see it in the yellow races of today, but of a hue and transparency much like amber.

During the limited period allowed by the Creator and his angel ambassadors for the "Special Creation" of man it would seem that we may now postulate that the Abel men and women incarnated in the flesh in the likeness of what had previously been their spiritual or etheric bodies already formed in the perfect physical proportions of the better specimens of homo sapiens of today, but differing in that they were under modern normal stature. Slender in build, the males were distinguished for a noticeable growth of beard which does not appear to have been transmitted as a hereditary characteristic to the earlier cross-bred breeds of humans of whom they were the ancestors.

We shall find that these incarnating spirits were indeed, in many cases the spirits of the dead that had lived and died on other corporeal worlds before this earth of ours was made. And many of them had grown to maturity only while in the spiritual state having died on other worlds in infancy.

The means used for the descent or conveyance from another planet will become apparent to all those persons who have not quite closed their eyes or minds to the value of the reports of unidentified flying objects which have been featured in the press of the world during the past few years.

These Abel spiritual people it will be discovered, were able to materialize into mortal flesh bodies by the process of utilizing the ectoplasm extracted from the bodies of Adamic man who was a creature devoid of a spiritual or etheric body, incapable of attaining everlasting life, as is witnessed in the tradition handed down to us by the author of the Second Book of Esdras, chapter 3, verse 5, where he relates that Adam was given a body "without soul."

It is to the sacred and epic literature of India and Persia (Iran) to which we must turn in order to discover the cognate Asiatic term for the black and brown man endowed with the characteristic of spiralled or frizzly hair who is named Cain in the Old Testament; and whose tribes were indicated as "murderers" for warring against the Abel men later known as "The Sacred People" because of their psychic gifts and their determination to be obedient to the commands and laws given to them through direct contact with the hierarchy in control of the spiritual heavens of that epoch.

In the Indian Vedas we may find the tribes of Cain referred to as the "Druhyus" which is an alternate word for the Vedic Term "Druk" from which we obtain our English word "Drug." The meaning of Druh or Druk is that that leadeth to destruction or a cross or evil purpose and the ancient pictographic symbol was a cross in the form of the English letter "X".

More anciently the word was spelt "Druj" and has been perpetuated in this form in the Persian sacred literature of the Avesta, where it has acquired the meaning of "deceit" and is sometimes used as an alternative name for Ahriman, the spiritual enemy of mankind in the dual religious system of Zoroaster, or more properly Zarathustra.

The early Druks were a tall and stout people with long arms stretching to the knees and curved backs, and were naked and not ashamed.

Whilst famous anthropologists like Dr. Louis Leakey are rummaging around in the soils of East Africa for the bony remains of Adam man or the earlier type of Druk man, one may point to the fact that living specimens, closely resembling the latter species, were extant in the Atlas Mountains on the northern edge of the Sahara as late as 1937 when Marcel Homet, a French explorer photographed specimens, one of which was reproduced in the February issue of the *Sphere* of that year under the caption of "This curious creature, half man, half ape which is now engaging scientific attention in France . . . The creature has a gorilla-like beetling brow and a typically simian posture."

In the Indian epic of Ramayana one may find allusions to the "Druhyus" as the monkey races, led by Hanuman, making a league with the Indo-Aryan king Rama, as has been pointed out by Dr. A. C. Bouquet in his book entitled "Comparative Religion."

Further investigations into the development of the human species, for which fairly conclusive evidence now seems available, will show that at a later period of history some of the tribes, but by no means all, of the Abel people, now replaced by the descendants of Seth (whose name, incidentally, is probably derived from Sethantes, the First God of the First cycle of the earth after man's creation) and referred to in Genesis 6, verses 2 and 4, as the "sons of God", the people possessing full psychic powers, commenced after a long period of segregation, to again cohabit with Cain or Druk man, whom as we have seen was the produce of a cross between Abel and Adam man after the "Special Creation" period of time.

This further cross, we may learn, produced a new race anciently termed I'huans.

It seems likely that this archaic generic name for the North American Indian has been perpetuated in such names as that of the prehistoric culture of Tiahuanaco in Bolivia; or in the name of Titlacahuan, the god of the Flood legend of the Aztecs; or again in the site of the Mexican pyramid called Teotihuacan.

The I'huans were red complexioned like copper and physically stronger than the other two races, but often still badly proportioned in regard to their corporeal bodies, so much so, that mutations tended to produce giants in stature, not only referred to in Genesis 6, verse 4, but evidenced by archaeological discoveries both in the Old and New Worlds of those later species of giants of more uniform proportions evolved after the Biblical Deluge: a cosmic catastrophe, which we shall find took place as long ago as about 22,000 B.C.

and not as late as the date of 2349 B.C. as computed in Ussher's chronology of the Old Testament, accepted at the time as infallible, but now rejected.

This does not preclude the possibility of a further minor Flood having taken place in certain parts of the world in c. 3970 B.C. if we can establish the truth of reports of a comet entering the earth's atmosphere at about that date and in the process of sudden disintegration causing a cataclysm, the effects of which may have been evidenced in the silt deposits measuring up to eleven feet in thickness, which were discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley during his excavations of Ur of the Chaldees in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, and under which silt deposit he unearthed evidence of a succession of floor levels of a civilization whose occupants traded their distinctive pottery wares to the northern limits of Mesopotamia and thence eastwards to the valley of the Orontes river and to the shores of the Mediterranean. From the discovery of beads made of amazonite, a stone of which the nearest known source is the Nelghiri hills of central India, it is possible to prove that these early people were a fairly sophisticated community in view of their ability to import luxuries from such a distant land.

In time to come it should be possible to prove that Noah was the name of only one of at least 120 other tribes of the descendants of Abel and Seth who escaped from the Deluge and afterwards became prominent in the epics and legends of many of the races of mankind. To quote only two, we may name the tribe of Brah from which that great mortal religious leader Brahma derived his name for the reason that either one or both of his parents were of this tribe. Another prominent tribe, also to be found in the genealogy of Brahma, was named Maha, meaning "great" and this name appears as a prefix to such words as Maharajah, having the significance of "the great king."

Time will show us that Brahma lived in India in c. 3950 B.C. and was a contemporary of Abraham. From his genealogy it may be observed that he was of Ayran or proto Nordic stock.

He it is now appropriate to state that the generic name for the sacred tribes associated with and of the same stock as Noah, was "Thin" in the midst of Asia, and they were called Houbri, or in the Egyptian clay tablet records, possibly Habiru; but in western Asia they were termed Hebrews.

Other generic names for the Thins were the people of Pan and in the America's they were termed Algonquin.

The Hebrew prophets were a remnant of these people who through inter-marriage with other peoples had died out as distinct tribes at about the time Saul ascended the throne of Israel in 1150 B.C.

It could be shown how the Hebrews of the Bible perpetuated their religious rites and ceremonies amongst the Essene sects, some of whose written records have been recovered during the past few years in what are now known as "The Dead Sea Scrolls" found in the caves near the ruined monastery or meeting house at Qumran in Jordan.

We shall probably find that the Essene sects perpetuated their doctrines amongst the Vaudois or Waldensians who began a reform movement in the Church about A.D. 1170, and threw off the authority of the Pope.

At a later date the perpetuation of some of the exoteric and esoteric doctrines of the Essene brotherhoods may be traced to the Huguenots, some Puritan sects and the Quaker's or Society of Friends.

The introduction of Huguenot refugees into South Africa from Europe from 1670 onwards, by that great Dutch commander at the Cape, named Simon van der Stel, was an event the significance of which has not always been fully appreciated; but the influence of their imprint on the moulding of the nation will become more apparent to all discerning readers when we come to a description of one of the essential characteristics of the Thin people.

The generic name of Thin for the sacred tribes of the East had the meaning of people of the "Inner Eye" or "Eye within" people, that is to say persons gifted with psychic powers such as clairvoyance, clairaudience, or psychometry.

We see the term perpetuated in the name of Ayran speaking or proto-Nordic races of Northern India who were called Hindu or Hindoo; and the word also comes down to us in English as Hind, used to denote a farm servant, especially in Scotland and Northern England. The word Hin came to be

used to indicate a measure of capacity in the Old Testament and is found in this sense inscribed on an Egyptian alabaster vase in hieroglyphs, exhibit No. 4569 in the British Museum.

The story of the development of nations after the Deluge was, to some extent, a repetition of pre-Flood evolution and devolution of races. Briefly we may find evidence that most of the tribes or national groups of Thuan or the Red man or human (Hueman) were in a process of moral and physical decay before the Deluge.

Thuan man had become excessively materialistically minded, thus losing his insight, and he had become afflicted with diseases of many kinds, partly due to the eating of raw animal flesh and indulgence in unwise cohabitation.

On the other hand Thin man, sedulously following the non-belligerent doctrines of his kind—the pacific attitude enjoined upon him as a condition of his "spiritualistic" religion, had been persecuted by the Thuan peoples to such an extent that his race had been almost exterminated.

The Druks, then existing in all parts of the world were the lowest grade of humanity and appear to have been allowed to survive the Deluge, together with groups of giants, probably of Thuan stock, the post deluge existence of the latter groups being recorded in Genesis 6, verse 4.

The main concentration of civilized peoples at the time of the Deluge of 22,000 B.C. seems to have been located on a large continent situated in the Pacific Ocean and known as Whaga, Pan or Mu. It was the sinking of this Continent which so impressed itself upon selected survivors that records of its submergence in the form of legend and tradition of a great universal Deluge have been handed down in many of the sacred scriptures of the world including those of the Americas.

It is true that such an event as the submergence of such a vast land mass has never been fully authenticated.

But, however dubious one may be of the claims of such impressive writers on the subject, such as Colonel James Churchward on his Continent of Mu, nevertheless it is a strange fact that his researches are largely substantiated in a psychic record, first published in 1882, to which it is obvious from a study of his books, that he never had access.

This quaint book entitled "Oahspe", purporting to provide us with both a spiritual and secular history of the world for the past 72,000 years has the peculiar merit in favour of its acceptance as a possible source of authentic prehistory in that it is probably the only book in the world whose writer or writers succeeded in publishing a factual history, together with a chronology, of the decline and fall of that vast civilization of city cultures in the Indus valley some forty years before the Indian archaeologist R. D. Banerji made his discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro or Sir James Marshall began his excavations at Harappa.

The ancient civilization brought to light by the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa has been called by Ivar Lissner "The Greatest Enigma in Human History" but as anyone may find out for himself, it is no enigma to the authors of this psychic record, although neither the publishers of the book nor students of its contents ever yet seem to have realized that such a clear record exists, probably for the reason that the majority of readers would be unacquainted with archaeological research.

This being only one outstanding example out of other circumstantial evidence suggesting the authenticity of this psychic record, one may perhaps be justified in drawing on its contents in order to correct the ambiguous impression conveyed in our Old Testament to the effect that Shem, Ham and Japheth were only fleshly sons of Noah, whereas one may discover that these were proper nouns denoting not only collective racial names but also the names of three divisions of the earth which were in turn named after three different fleets of ships escaping from the continent of Pan at the time of its submergence.

We have the testimony in Psalm 105, verse 23, that Egypt, formerly spelt Egypt after a god of that name, anciently bore the name of Ham or in Egyptian A'ham, amongst other names such as Ghem or Khemia, but it is not perhaps generally realized that the land of Ham at one time included Africa and the Arabian peninsula. Nor has it been made clear that the landing of the Hamitic tribes took place in that strange and one of the few still unexplored territories, so far as archaeologists are concerned, known as the Yemen, situated in the south-west corner of Arabia adjacent to the British Protectorate of Aden.

The other landings took place respectively, first on the north-eastern coast of China somewhere around the forty-second parallel of latitude. The whole of Asia was formerly known as Jud but after the Deluge the area now more or less dominated by China was named Jaffeth, spelt in the Bible as Japheth, in the Hindu legend of the Flood as Yapei and in Chinese as Ja'Fung. The name was eventually perpetuated by the Ithin tribes moving from China westwards as Jaffa, the modern site of Tel Aviv. In the second chapter of Judith verse 25, we find mention of Japheth as a place name in c. 610 B.C., thought by some commentators to be Japhia or Joppa or the Jaffa just mentioned.

Secondly, we have the landing from another fleet of pure blooded Ithins of the breed of Abel and Seth, on the Indo-China coast in the vicinity of present day Saigon, from which point their descendants eventually migrated by land and sea into India proper which country then became known as the land of Shem but spelt Chama in the Hindu legend.

But these were not the only fleets of ships escaping the submerging continent for we may find a landing taking place in Central America in the area of what is now known as the Republic of Guatemala which is the corrupted form of the name of the fleet called Guatama, meaning "four tribes united into one."

Finally a smaller fleet, bearing the name of Yista, escaped to Japan, the islands of which formerly constituted part of the continent of Pan. In older maps of Japan one may still find the northern island named Yeso. The whole area of this land, now split into numerous islands, was in the ancient tongue called Zha'Pan, meaning relic of the continent of Pan. We may trace this name in the writings of Marco Polo and other sources where it is recorded variously as Chipangu, Zipangu and Ypangu.

To indicate the possible link between Central American escapees and those going to Japan, it is only necessary to record that the Quiché Indians of Guatemala, who possessed that most remarkable monument of great antiquity, the famous Codex Popol-Vuh, have retained the name of Zipangu as the legendary name of one of their heroes.

The real importance of this proper name Zipangu, in all its forms lies in the fact that it retains the pristine name of Pan, a word which in some of the more archaic languages meant "ground" or "foundations." Amongst other modern meanings in English, Pan means a natural basin or depression in the land.

Now the essentially important racial differences between the remnants of people escaping to all these divisions of the ancient world and that of Ham lies in the record that the escapees to India, China, America and Japan were all remnants of the pure blooded Ithin tribes who had refrained from cohabiting with Adam man after the passing of the "Special Creation" period. If one wishes to trace remnants of Ithin blood amongst the North American Indians one may perhaps trace it amongst the near white Mandan tribes, who once inhabited the confluents of the Mississippi river.

On the other hand, the tribes of Hamitic man, escaping to the Yemen in south-west Arabia, appear to have been composed of selected remnants of the best strains of all intermediary types of humans bred on the upward grade from the crossing back with Ithins of the progeny of the black and brown Druk man who had originally intermingled with Ithin man; an act which in reality was probably the real reason for the so-called "Fall of Man", that is to say, the fall of true homo sapiens.

We must bear in mind, however, that the selection was based, not only on physical attributes, but also on spiritual capacities.

Hence we may find that the 3,000 odd men women and children of the Hamitic tribes escaping the Deluge were composed of segregated groups of people, distinguished from one another, not only by the colour of their skins, which ranged from black to copper, red-brown, yellow and white, but in particular by that important hereditary characteristic of the texture and colour of the hair, which in the case of the Hamites was neither so long, straight and silken as that of the Ithins, but long and curled and red, white and brown in colour so far as the lighter skinned tribes were concerned.

We may also learn that the tribes of Ham were previously ordained with characteristics to make them love to migrate and the extent of these migrations probably may be traced by

the frequency in which red haired people are found amongst many of the peoples of the earth. In ancient times they may have migrated as far as China and even to Easter Island in the Pacific. It will be remembered that Thor Heyerdahl in his book "Aku-Aku" draws attention to this red hair characteristic among remnants of genuine Easter Islanders.

The best known of the white Hamitic tribes are perhaps the Moroccan Berbers, the Riffian tribes of North Africa, who at one time were thought, by some authorities, owing to their Nordic characteristics, to have been the descendants of the Vandal invaders of the fifth century, but that ill-conceived suggestion was finally disposed of when it was proved from a painting occurring in an Egyptian tomb of the New Empire that such light skinned, green-eyed, fair haired Libyans were known to the Egyptians of that period placed at about 1500 B.C. The Egyptians painted themselves red-brown.

The absurdity of Africans thus claiming all Africa for the Africans on grounds of their colour becomes more than ever ludicrous when we enquire into the events of the past.

Moreover when we witness the latest antics of the all but too recent fetish worshipping negroes of the Gold Coast, now called Ghana, protesting against the proposed use of the Sahara by the French as a base for nuclear weapon experiments, one cannot help observing that many of the French are probably there in Africa by right of ancestry seeing that they, together with the English, Germans and Russians, have all inherited portions of the blood of the white Hamitic tribes.

It is probable that on the basis of hair criteria we may trace some of the descendants of the black Hamites to the present day Gallas of Abyssinia and north-east Africa.

Ethnologists rarely provide an adequate explanation of the origin of the Europeans classed as the Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean races, together comprising white or, to use a conventional but extremely convenient term, Caucasian Man.

It should therefore be extremely interesting to trace their origins. From the same source of information to which we have previously referred we may learn that the evolution and devolution of the races of man took place after the Deluge of 22,000 B.C. on much the same lines as in pre-Flood days.

That is to say, that under the pressure at certain times of adverse climatic and cosmic conditions, some of the Ithin tribes, including the Hamites, saved from the Deluge, once again cohabited with the Druks of the frizzly hair and with the giants mentioned in the Old Testament. This hybrid once again produced the Ithuan or red or copper coloured man, not only in the Americas but throughout most parts of Asia.

We may discover that from about 19,500 B.C. to 16,300 B.C., they were most numerous in the tropical regions of the earth and had become four times as prolific as either the Ithins or the Druks, the latter of whom we may now perhaps equate with the troglodytes or cave dwellers.

Apart from Egyptian paintings, written evidence for the existence of the Red races in Asia, is contained in the Indian epic of the Mahabharata, where they are termed Kshatriyas and described as the warrior caste who afterwards came into conflict with the Whites—the Brahmans—and were nearly exterminated.

The Egyptian "The Book of Gates" also contains a clear description of the four main races known to these people.

The early peoples of the Ithuan race were all shapes and sizes and of all grades of judgment, even down to the ignorance of a beast. The more intelligent specimens were taught, however, the religious rites and ceremonies of the Ithin peoples, who were monotheists. They taught of the Invisible but Ever Present Creator who was called, originally, by the name of the vowel (avow or promise to El = God) sounds expressed in the word Eoih, which later took the various forms of Eolin in the Hindu scriptures and Eloih in the Phoenician language and Elohim in the Hebrew. The latter name is translated in the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis as "God."

Variations of the word appear in the Gospel of St. Mark (Chapt. 15, verse 34) where we read, "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabach'hani: which is, being interpreted, "My God, My God, why has Thou forsaken me?". Or, turn to Genesis 33, verse 20, where Jacob erected an altar and called it "El-Elohe-Israel," meaning, as the marginal note informs us "God the God of Israel."

At a later date the Hebrew word Jehovah was instituted, but this term in the Phoenician was spelt Jehovih, which, as may be observed, contained the original vowel sound of Eoih.

The Thins also taught their protégés by means of pictorial symbols painted on tablets which seem to have been perpetuated in rock shelter paintings in many parts of the Old and New Worlds, either by themselves or the peoples whom they initiated. It should be possible to identify the pictographs in some of their early, but not earliest tablets, dating to about 3350 B.C. with certain rock paintings, unique in that they are painted on slabs of rock, instead of on the usual wall faces, which Professor Leo Frobenius, the German explorer, examined in the Rusape district of Southern Rhodesia in 1930.

If one is correct in one's assumption, then we shall, in due course, find out that we are dealing with tablets and ceremonies which belonged to Persia, Arabia, Greece and early Trojans, at the date specified.

Amongst other ceremonies, the Thins taught the rite of circumcision to the I'huans as a practical means of segregating selected individuals with a view to improving the stock, both mentally, physically and spiritually.

It was not, however, until the cycle of Apollo, between 16,300 and 13,500 B.C., that we find the long segregated and initiated tribes of the I'huans race acquiring the symmetry of form of the diminutive Thins plus the stature of modern man with his average height of 5 feet and 8 inches.

This change in physique was, after long periods of segregation, brought about by the intentional foreordained further in-breeding (Thin breeding) between Thin males and I'huan females to produce a higher, more advanced and lighter complexioned race called Ghan.

The racial name Ghan, apart from having been transmitted to us in the geographical name of the country of Afghanistan, for the reason that it was a one time centre of major activities, of the Ghan peoples: has also been handed down to us by metathesis in the title of Khan, meaning lord or prince.

Like the Druks, the I'huan race had a sparse facial growth of hair and did not inherit the bearded characteristic of the Thin people. This strong growth of beard was now inherited in full by the Ghans. An examination of the ancient monuments of both the Middle East and America will prove that this was a prominent feature of the sculptures depicting ancient Kings and Governors until such time as it became the fashion to shave the face.

This race appears to have been developed simultaneously in all the divisions of the world, but it was not until about 13,500 B.C. that it became sufficiently powerful to become the dominant aristocracy amongst and over the other peoples of the world.

It was at about this period of time that a great planned intermigration of Ghans led by Thins, the little sacred people, took place between the communities of Egypt, India and China and resulted in the first opening up of that ancient highway of the Silk Road, later traversed by Marco Polo, on the route of which lies such famous places as Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan, meaning "place of assembly", still possibly hinting at this event, which was repeated every eleven years for a long period of time. The central place of assembly or place of crossing over from one country to another was situated in the Tien Shan Mountains of the western frontier of China, formerly called the Thia Shan and known to this day as The Heavenly or Celestial Mountains. There is one particular ridge with three peaks in the Tien Shan, one of which is called Bogdo Ula, the "Mountain of God." Anciently we may find that this place was called Hored, but appears in the Old Testament under the appellation of Horeb, the Mountain of God, a place the location of which often appears to be confounded with another mountain top called Sinai.

It is to the Ghan aristocratic race that we may trace the Europeans' ancestry, the so-called white complexion being accentuated according to the degree of Thin blood introduced into the race in later times.

The pure Thin tribes died out as a separate racial element in India at a fairly early date, but were replaced by other tribes entering the country from China. Those of China, North and Central America and the Palestine Thins of the tribes of Iz and Zerl, survived down to about 1150 B.C. when there were only about 700,000 left in Canaan.

Present day proof of the influence which the blood of these people had on certain elements of European communities may be witnessed wherever members of a family are born with a caul, for the ancient "Sons of God", without exception, were all born "veiled".

We have written of the in-breeding or breeding on the upward grade of the human race, but we must remember that the converse cohabitation led in the opposite direction i.e. that intermarriage between I'huans and Druks produced races on the downward grade both physically and mentally and, what is more important, spiritually. For among the lower grades of humanity, termed Yaks, also born after the Flood, many were not capable of attaining everlasting life, or in other words, they were incapable of either developing or sustaining an individual etheric body.

These new facts, when they have been established by other researchers, and elaborated upon, may well show that the "Special Creation" theory of the theologians is fully justified, and that scientists holding the convictions of Darwin are only partially correct in their theory in that there has been both an Evolution and Devolution of the human species which, in the latter case in ancient times, appears to have led in the downward grade to the production of monstrosities not wholly upright, moving on all fours, whom, as we have stated, were called "Yaks", the name still applied to the long haired, humped, grunting wild or domesticated ox of Tibet, the word being derived from Tibetan "gyak". The appellation also appears to be found in an extended form as "Yakkas", meaning indiscriminately both devils and spirits, and was a name for certain slave tribes anciently living in the interior of Ceylon who were associated with the primitive Veddas. The Thins, we may learn, made servants of the Yaks and emasculated both the males and females.

The development of the Mongolian races, which was also on the downward grade, did not take place until around 5000 B.C., but this hybridization had the advantage of raising up some of the lower breeds who would otherwise have become extinct.

From the brief digest of the background of the main racial elements of the world, it will be seen that the Thins, at one extreme of the human scale, represented the sacred, spiritually receptive or psychic element in mankind. And in the case of the tribes maintaining full allegiance in their faith in Jehovih, were able to maintain their community status intact by following a doctrine of pacifism or non-violence on all occasions.

On the other hand, the Ghans who later became the Europeans, who moved into Europe when the colour question became too overwhelming in Asia, were at the other extreme of the scale, being the dominant, often aggressive, positive, physically stronger and intellectual element, the warrior class who were constantly departing from the holy laws laid down by the sacred little people, the Thins, who were their spiritual guides and mentors, and with whom, also, they were so closely associated in physical marriage.

It will be seen that we are all partners with the coloured people in one great racial brotherhood, but that does not necessarily imply an equality of partnership.

Furthermore, it may be noted that the majority of Europeans are a coloured people if a comparison is made between their ruddy complexions and that of the alabaster white Thins.

Their distant forefathers, the Thins, having at one time fallen from grace through miscegenation, it would perhaps be unwise for Europeans to place themselves in a position where the process might be repeated.

In this modern age it is curious to note the transmutation of the names of countries and sometimes of peoples, back into the more archaic nomenclature of which Persia, now known as Iran, or the former country of the Aryans, is a good example.

It has even been suggested that Ceylon, in the near future, might revert to its former Sanscrit name of Lanka.

Thus it is not surprising to find the African nationalist administrators of the newest member of the Commonwealth transmuting the name of the former Gold Coast Colony into that of Ghana.

The Monckton Commission enjoys the privilege of having amongst its members a very eminent exponent of the history of Ghana and other territories bordering on what used to be known as the coast of Guinea, for we find amongst its appointees the name of Elspeth Huxley who in 1954 published her book called "Four Guineas", being a description of a journey through West Africa.



Amongst other facts, she relates something of the vanished empire of Ghana, site of whose capital city is not exactly known but is believed to have been situated some 300 miles west of Timbuktu.

She tells us that at "about the time the Normans invaded England, the armies of a fanatical Muslim sect, the Almoravids, conquered Ghana, looted its capital and stripped of wealth and power its reigning king." This was the last of its Negro kings.

But if we delve further into tradition, we find Mrs. Huxley reporting that "Legend recorded by Arab travellers, places at the head of the earliest state a line of 'white kings', Semitic probably, whose rule ended in the eighth century in favour of a dynasty drawn from a branch of the Mandingo tribe."

On the strength of this tradition may not one well query the possibility of the potentates in Accra having usurped the ancient name of that race of people, the Ghans, whom, as we have seen, were a governing caste of aristocrats, responsible for the development of the major material benefits of civilization throughout the ancient world, including that of Old North and South America.

And the lesson to be learnt was that just so long as these people maintained a balanced spiritual and material outlook, so were they able to maintain their standards of civilization, but woe betide them when their Church Militants took to persecuting the sacred little people, the Thins, and thus cut themselves off from the knowledge possessed by "God's Chosen People".

Lusaka

22nd December 1959

BANCROFT MANAGEMENT BOARD

The following memorandum is submitted by the Bancroft Management Board for your consideration.

I am instructed to inform you that the Board strongly supports Federation but recommends the de-centralisation to Territorial Governments of the Public Health Service and Primary and Secondary Education for Europeans as stated in the Memorandum.

I am also to point out that the Bancroft Management Board is a wholly nominated Board and its views are not, therefore, representative of an electorate.

Education

The Bancroft Management Board considers that Primary and Secondary Education for Europeans should be de-centralized and returned to the Territorial Governments.

Since Federation came in, in 1953, there has been a feeling apparent amongst the public that the educational service in Northern Rhodesia has suffered. Much of this the Public believes to be due to a lowering of the terms of service offered to prospective teachers. Although on paper the salaries appear higher than before Federation, these increases in no way cover the hidden emoluments which teachers enjoyed before.

The teacher, after all, is primarily interested in teaching and he is not likely to go to places such as Northern Rhodesia, either from the Union of South Africa or from the United Kingdom, unless his terms of service are, in some way, advantageous over those offered elsewhere.

Before Federation, the North was able to attract teachers by reason of the better conditions of service compared with those offered in Southern Rhodesia.

Now, with the standardisation of salaries, teachers much prefer to go to Southern Rhodesia and even those directed here by the Federal Government are continually pressing for transfer to an area where they will enjoy the same conditions of service but much higher cultural amenities and lower cost of living.

It is the impression of members of the Board, gained from the expressed feeling of members of the public, that the standard of teachers, generally is lower than it was formerly and this would be explained by the general lowering of standards which it is felt, has taken place since Federation.

Considerable resentment has been aroused among the population of the Copperbelt and the rest of Northern Rhodesia by the Federal Government's abolition of the privileges previously enjoyed of (a) free milk and (b) free dental treatment for school children.

It is the impression of the Board, from their knowledge of schools before and after Federation, that the ratio of teachers to pupils is inferior now to what it was before Federation.

It is felt that, with the present Federal Education Service, control is impersonal and far away and education is a matter very dear to the heart of all people, especially the parents, who prefer a personal service, rather than a mechanical one.

The Board sees no reason for the extra expense involved in having a centralized Federal Primary and Secondary Education Service. There is no advantage in posting staff between Territories at frequent intervals; it is believed by the Board that the longer a teacher stays and learns to know both the pupils and their parents and the people of the area, the better for all concerned.

It is felt that the Federal Headquarters in Salisbury is an extravagant and unnecessary organisation, because this Headquarters has found that it cannot operate without Regional Directors and Regional Advisory Boards—why, therefore, it is asked, is it necessary to uphold the extra expense of a Headquarters in Salisbury.

In fact, the Board does not see any practical advantage in a centralized education service for these two levels.

The Board, however, is in favour of university, professional and technological and all other post-school training being centralised under the Federal Government. The Board cannot see, within the far foreseeable future, any possibility of the separate territories being in a position to run their own universities, medical schools, etcetera.

The Board recommends the de-centralization of Primary and Secondary Education of Europeans and its return from Federal to Territorial Government.

To summarize, the Board's reasons are that the Territorial Government appreciates the difficulties and inconveniences of such education, which are peculiar to Northern Rhodesia.

Public Health Administration

The Bancroft Management Board unanimously agrees with the views put forward to you by the Municipal Council of Mufulira under "Public Health administration, Item 3, numbers 'a', 'b' and 'c' " in their memorandum.*

The Board wishes to stress that the distance from Bancroft to Llewellyn Hospital is 47 miles and to point to the obvious loss of man-hours in travelling and to the expense of travelling that journey, particularly as an out-patient. Further Africans requiring treatment that cannot be provided by the Nursing Sister at the African Clinic, are conveyed to the Llewellyn Hospital and back, often resulting in the loss of a complete days work, despite the fact that two private practitioners have surgeries within a quarter-of-a-mile of the Clinic and that the Bancroft Mine Hospital is only one mile away.

It is also brought to your attention that not only is there a hospital in the Bancroft Mine Township but there is a further hospital at Nchanga, 15 miles along the route to Llewellyn hospital.

The Board also feels that the public anticipated that the Federal Government would come to some working arrangement with the Mine authorities for the use of their hospitals, but despite many representations to the Federal Government, no agreement has been reached.

The Board has recently accepted the gift of an ambulance from the M.O.T.H. organisation which, incidentally, is being staffed and maintained by Bancroft Mines Limited; it is, however, the unanimous opinion of Members that this essential service should have been provided by the Federal Government.

This evidence is submitted for the Bancroft Management Board by Edmond W. Bullen, Acting Secretary/Manager, by virtue of a decision of the Board, taken at a meeting held on Thursday, 18th February, 1960.

Bancroft

20th February 1960

BANCROFT BRANCH OF THE NORTHERN RHODESIA MINE WORKERS UNION

E. Clayton—secretary

The Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union has a Membership of 4,700 Europeans employed in the Copper and Lead Mining industry of Northern Rhodesia. With families and

* See evidence taken at Mufulira on the 26th February 1960, Volume 1, pages 103—104.

and dependents of Members the Union represents the views of 16,000 people or 22% of the total European population (72,000—December 1957) of Northern Rhodesia.

The control of the Union is vested in a General Council composed of Delegates democratically elected by the Members through secret ballot.

The General Council of the Union has unanimously resolved to support a true and equitable Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but does not feel that Union Members should be compelled to subscribe to the Constitution of the Federation in its present form.

2. *Bancroft Branch of the Union is a fully constituted Branch in accordance with the registered constitution of the Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union.*

This statement is submitted on behalf of the membership of Bancroft Branch.

The Branch requests that the following suggested amendments to the Constitution receive the consideration of your Commission when arriving at recommendations regarding the future Constitution of the Federation.

Departments of Mines and Labour: Mining Law, Mining and Explosives Regulations

Legislation concerning Mining Law, Mining and Explosives Regulations in Northern Rhodesia is more advanced and more comprehensive than similar legislation existing in Southern Rhodesia. Accordingly, the Branch would suggest that such legislation continue to be controlled by the Territorial Government.

Pneumoconiosis Legislation

Pneumoconiosis Legislation in Northern Rhodesia is far in advance of any similar Legislation existing in Southern Rhodesia. The Branch feels that to transfer the control of such legislation to the Federal Government would bring a reduction in the high standards already achieved.

Trade Union Legislation. The Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union emerged and achieved its present status because of the freedoms and rights inherent in English Law which still exists in Northern Rhodesia. The Branch feels that Trade Union Legislation in Southern Rhodesia is oppressive and restrictive and limits the functions of a democratic Trade Union.

The Compulsory Arbitration Legislation which exists in Southern Rhodesia is detrimental to the interests of Trade Union Members in that country, and the Branch would object to the introduction of such legislation in Northern Rhodesia.

In view of the foregoing objections, the Branch would request that the Commission recommend that the Departments of Labour and Mines remain under the control of the Territorial Government of Northern Rhodesia.

Departments of Health and Education. Since the advent of Federation in 1953 the people of Northern Rhodesia have been repeatedly assured that there would be no lowering of the social standards enjoyed previous to Federation.

In actual fact most social standards have been lowered since and because of Federation.

European Education

Prior to Federation Northern Rhodesia enjoyed Government subsidies on boarding school accommodation and school buses.

The Federal Government has seen fit to remove these subsidies.

Before Federation, school children in Northern Rhodesia received free dental treatment and free milk. The Federal Government has withdrawn these services and yet increased schools fees for all school children.

The conditions of service enjoyed by school teachers before Federation have deteriorated, since the Department of Education was transferred to the Federal Government.

The Federal Government has not provided technical Education facilities for European trade apprentices or commercial students in Northern Rhodesia, in spite of requests for such facilities. There are three Technical Colleges catering for this type of education in Southern Rhodesia.

Health

Since the Department of Health was transferred to the Federal Government there has been a marked deterioration in the services offered by this Department.

Whilst some new hospitals have been built in Northern Rhodesia since Federation, it is felt that more hospitals of a better standard would have been provided under the more efficient Territorial Administration. (At this stage the Branch would mention that all Union members and dependants are provided with heavily subsidized medical services by the Copper Mining Companies.

The Copper Mining Companies have intimated that they wish the Federal Ministry of Health to assume responsibility for the medical services available to Mine employees. The Branch would object to such a retrogressive step).

In view of the maladministration of the Department of Health and Education to the detriment of the people of Northern Rhodesia, the Branch would request that these two Departments be returned to the control of the Territorial Government of Northern Rhodesia.

The necessary financial adjustment could be based on the average annual expenditure of the two Departments and payment made on a pro-rata basis to Northern Rhodesia on the true average annual contribution to the Federal revenue, i.e. Northern Rhodesia contributes approximately 55% of the Federal Income, Southern Rhodesia 37% and Nyasaland 8½%.

Department of Finance

The Branch has noted with concern the unwarranted increases in taxes accruing to the Federal Government and the mis-application of Federal funds since the inception of Federation. The following taxes have been increased since Federation:—

Tobacco Tax,
Liquor Tax,
Arms Tax,
Vehicle Tax,
Income Tax.

Costs of the following public services provided by the Federal Government have increased since the Federal Constitution was imposed on the people of Northern Rhodesia:—

Postage Rates,
Telephone Rates (both rentals and calls),
Rail Fares,
Trading Licences,
Fares on aircraft operated by the Government.
Owned Central African Airways.

A major item under this heading is the imposition of a Radio Licence Fee of Two Pounds for what must be one of the poorest broadcasting services in the world. Prior to Federation residents in Northern Rhodesia did not pay radio licence fees.

The construction of the State Bank in Salisbury at the cost of One Million Pounds by this Department was a gross extravagance beyond the resources of the Federation at this stage. Perhaps the greatest misapplication of Federal Finance was the construction of Kariba Hydro Electric Scheme. The Branch feels that the tremendous expense on this single item was an unjust and improper burden on the taxpayers of the Federation. The basis of criticism on this point is a comparison between the average annual Federal fiscal revenue of Eighty Million Pounds and the expenditure of One Hundred and Twenty Million Pounds on Kariba.

The Branch noted with concern the removal of the Maize subsidy by the Federal Minister of Finance last year. Maize Meal is the staple diet of the indigenous peoples of our Territory. The Branch considers it tragic that the African people should be burdened with this increase.

The obvious source of extra revenue was an increase of the taxes of the Copper Mining Industry and the Tobacco Industry.

Miscellaneous

The Branch would disassociate itself from the various remarks uttered by the present Federal Prime Minister and other, with reference to a "Boston Tea Party" if political progression it not to their liking.

The Branch feels that the acquisition of constitutional reforms by such unconstitutional methods would encourage the present Federal Government to enact oppressive legislation against the Trade Union Movement in Central Africa.

The Branch would request the Commission to enquire into the relationship which exists between the present Federal



Government and the mining cartel (Anglo American and Rhodesia Selection Trust) which dominates the economic life of the Federation.

In this respect the Branch would request the consideration by the Commission of a greater utilization of the profits of the Copper Mining Industry to the benefit of the indigenous peoples of the Territory.

Further, the Branch would request control of the Politico-Economic activities of the alien's dominating the economy of the Federation through the Copper Mining Industry of Northern Rhodesia.

The branch visualizes an effective control short of total appropriation or nationalisation.

The Branch would mention that the Prime Minister (Lord Malvern) of the Federation is now director of the British South African Company, which is controlled by Anglo-American Corporation.

In relation to this point the Branch would further mention the dominating influence exerted over the national press by the mining cartel. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, the Chairman of Anglo-American Corporation, has influential holdings in the Argus Group which controls the Press of the Federation.

Bancroft

BANCROFT BRANCH OF THE PARENT-TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

The following memorandum is submitted by the "Parent" section of the Bancroft Parent Teachers' Association Committee for your consideration.

The "Parent" section of this Association's Committee at Bancroft is elected at an Annual General Meeting but due to the comparatively small proportion of parents attending these meetings, I should say that the Section is representative of approximately 25% of the Bancroft parents.

I have been asked to inform you that this Section, while supporting Federation, recommends that Primary and Secondary Education for Europeans should revert to Territorial control.

The Committee considers, however, that education beyond the Secondary School stage, should remain under Federal control.

In addition, I have been asked to state that this Committee has been worried by Press reports suggesting that schools for European and African children should be integrated. It is the strong recommendation of this Committee that integration would not be in the interests of either the European or the African children.

General

The "Parent" section of the local P.T.A. Committee feel that:

- (a) The feeling among parents has been that the standard of educational facilities has dropped since Federation.
- (b) That this drop in standard is due in some respect to the lowering of the terms of service to prospective teachers.
- (c) That the understandable wish of teachers to be transferred to areas with better amenities, under similar terms of service, must effect indirectly the standard of teaching.
- (d) That the withdrawal of privileges such as (i) free milk and (ii) free dental treatment for school children was a retrograde step and insufficient notice and reason was given for the move.
- (e) That the present control of Education is too remote and that very little contact is possible between parents and persons in control.
- (f) That the parents of Bancroft should have some choice of schools for their children and not be tied rigidly to a schooling arrangement which entails a minimum of 32 miles and a maximum of 64 miles per day by bus.

This evidence is submitted for the "Parents" section of the Bancroft Parent Teachers' Association's Committee by J. Pope, Chairman.

Bancroft,
25th February, 1960

G. BANDA

"Intimidation": We are frightened to tell the Commission truth, i.e., The Good Fruits of Federation.

Here are some major ones:—

1. Federation has provided better jobs for Africans to the level of European jobs and wages. These are:—
Post Office Clerks, Teachers, Agricultural Ministers and Bank Clerks.
2. Federation has enabled Africans to contest for M.P.'s Ministries regardless of colour.
Free votes and if a candidate is successful, the equal pay as a European successful candidate.
3. We are better with school facilities than before Federation. There is a rapid flow of employment and better wages for Africans in technical trade. These are carpentry, mechanics, painting, bricklayers, electricians, plumbers, etc.
4. There are businesses Africans were barred from before Federation, but Federation has made it possible. These are Bottlestores, butcheries, only to mention a few.
5. Africans today gamble freely, this very important to Africans because they bring more money into the Country. Federation has made them possible. These are, Football pools, Lotteries. Federation also extends these to be owned by Africans. This is remarkable.
6. Although there are continual partnership difficulties Federation will clear it out as it has with the above mentioned. I must thank the architects of Federation. I am satisfied with it.
7. Africans can run their own taxis. This never was allowed before Federation.
8. Fisheries are extended to please Africans. But even if Africans make thousands of pounds in any business they run, Federation does not allow them to pay *Income Tax*. This is *vital*.
For all these and from them we learn a successful future in Federation.
There are a few mistakes Federation is prone to. Penalties in Court are fined with little regard to one's income. e.g. I am convicted of careless driving. I shall be fined say—£10 and my monthly pay is £15. This is not justice.
The way Police treat convicted arrests is brutal. This is not good.
If Federation can adjust these small mistakes then we are carefree.

Lusaka

16th March 1960

MARY BANDA

Would you just meditate for a while to these poor questions of mine. If God wanted people not to live together would he create two people to fill this world? I think we are all brothers and sisters, why, then, do we want to separate?

Imagine that there are some things which are missing in our part, for example, we have no University School for girls in Northern Rhodesia, so what do you expect for those who want to go ahead to have their studies?

God knew that we would be happy if we are many and united together, for we need the help of others.

Petauke

23rd January 1960

L. N. BANDA

As I am given a chance to make my views known what I think about Federation in Central Africa. I am here to say that I am not satisfied with the present form of Federation in Central Africa. The Federation Government should not have any more to say in our life. I wish its Government to discontinue in our country. I think all power should come back to the Northern Rhodesia Government; and if the British Government thinks that our time is not yet ready to have Self governing, the British Government should lead us till the time when we are ready. But we do not want to be in the hands of the Federal Government.

I am the Northern Rhodesia African.

Cadidza

28th January 1960

T. BARLOW

Opinions to Lord Monckton Against Federation.

The imposed Federation had from 1953 to 1960 worked the visible jobs which are:—

- (a) The Kariba Lake
- (b) Automatic promotion in primere schools
- (c) Hospitals improved

(a) Advantages of Kariba

From its power stations supplies both Rhodesias electricity for various use.

(b) This Lake too will soon start fish supplying. Even this may be done by few Africans because of fish Taxing that might follow.

Advantage of Education

As education also in the hand of Fedral Government. Automatic promotion is only good for white people. Because their first education is being got from educated mothers while at homes. But, this is never done with African pupils.

All these above said nothing is good for Africans but for Europeans.

Hospitals

Hospitals are greatly made better and increased in our Territories.

Disadvantage of Federation

Kariba. This Imposed Federation has made lot of damages unctually in N.R.

- (a) People in Gwembe died of diffrent deaths. A good number were taken to other places where the whether, water, vegetables, mosquitoes became enimes to them, and died quickly even there are lot of help done by Doctors.
- (b) Other creatures too, such as animals, snakes, etc., may not leave longer where ever they are taken to, because of different climates from which they used to be.

Disadvantage to Education

This is clearly known that this promotion at present is to lessen Africans to obtain education and civilisation which is in a bad way as follow.

- (a) Teachers will ever form poorest foundations for their classes not to go forward. For He or She never fears of pupils failing at their final Examinations. He or She knows that even they fail promotion will take place.
- (b) When pupils come to Std. II and III Lessons go or become hard to understand. They there fail and they are not allowed to repeat. So by this way they are prevented to Colleges and Universities. They remain unproperly coocked. Which is surely known that *small knowledge is dangerous*.
- (c) Teachers are only at schools waiting for month end to get pay for no good result shown to pupils. Even there are some Trusted Teachers of course.

Hospitals

Much money had been said in a paper Answers to your Questions written by Fedral-printers.

We do not wonder much of all said expences, for some of Native Authority money in Banks were taken and used in by Federal Government in building up many Hospitals and clinics.

Democratic Government

This decision made by one rude-man helped by few unwise Africans who are only after money of moving the African Affairs Board to Upper House. These three Colonies cannot be forced into ideals not wanted by them. Away away with their Federation. All what is said, is behind our ears. After Federa-tion is over We shall friendly sit with our Democratic Govern-ment and think out what to be amended. So Colonial Laws Validity act from England may still remain.

Federation is only a simple mistake which can be corrected. In speaking for Justice People are refusing it. Will it come by force? Why and how should it come in that way?

Choma

H. J. BARNES

There is little new which can be said about the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The glare of publicity has re-

vealed the main features of the situation. One is tempted to feel that that is sufficient, and yet every individual contribution, I suppose, does count, if only to help to indicate the extent of concern over the issues involved. I write as a missionary who has worked in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia since 1930, and firstly I would assure you that the work of the Commission is being made the subject of much private and corporate prayer. What is at stake so vitally affects the lives of the people of this Federation.

Speaking then as an individual who has shared the life of the community in Northern Rhodesia for a number of years, I would like to say how glad I am that provision was made for a review of the Federal Constitution. Given the goodwill of all sections of the population, the federation of the three territories concerned could have issued in the formation of a strong and progressive community of peoples. But the undeniable fact is that this universal goodwill and devotion to the idea behind the Federation is lacking. The Commission will probably come to the conclusion that the majority of Africans who are at all vocal in these matters are—rightly or wrongly—against the continuance of the Federation in its present form. Some Europeans favour a solution which is not very far removed from the abhorrent policy of "apartheid". There are some who sincerely accept the idea of partnership and are prepared to help to work out its implications. But there is a large body of Europeans who do not treat an African as a fellow man, who do not show respect for his personality and who abrogate to themselves the first choices in various spheres of life. There are far too many who are prepared to concede to their fellow countrymen who are Africans far too little at far too distant a date.

While the Federal Government has, in a half-hearted way, taken steps to begin to abolish certain discriminatory practices on the ground of colour, there has been little evidence of a sincere desire to implement the policy of partnership, European Trade Unions have, for the most part, shown themselves to be solidly entrenched behind "rights" against normal and general African advancement. Socially, the colour bar is very strictly maintained by most Europeans. A perusal of some of the letters addressed to the Press during the last few years has made one burn with shame. On the whole, one regrets to say that the general aspect presented by the Federation is one of White domination maintained by White—dictated policies.

One can, therefore, understand the real hesitation the moderate, politically-minded African has in looking towards Salisbury rather than London, and the grounds upon which very many vociferous Africans bitterly oppose the present governmental structure. One is bound to condemn the violent, anti-social actions of many of the latter, but it would be wilful blindness not to acknowledge the grounds for provocation.

Diagnosis is, however, easier than prescribing a remedy! I am absolutely clear in my own mind that no weakening of Britain's remaining control in varying degrees over the several countries forming the Federation should take place, except with the free consent of a majority of the population in each of the three countries. Indeed, I am of opinion that when the review of the constitution is undertaken later this year, that certain powers which were given to the Federal Government should be returned to the territorial governments, including health and European education.

Although one wishes that, to meet the crucial decisions of this hour, the general level of education among the African population had been much higher and that there were many more informed leaders of integrity among that population, one cannot avoid the conclusion that there should be a much broader basis of enfranchisement now.

One could hope that even now, and in spite of what has (and what has not!) taken place, some form of federation would be maintained. It could help the development especially of the more backward of the peoples in each of the federated territories. But, if the majority of the population in any of the associated countries insists on that country seceding from the Federation then it would appear to me that Her Majesty's Government would have no honourable alternative but to allow such a secession.

Mporokoso

6th February 1960

THE BAROTSE NATIONAL SOCIETY, NKANA-KITWE BRANCH

Submitted by D. Mangambwa, Chairman, and other members of the Committee.

784

We, the undersigned leaders of this Branch of the Barotse National Society, beg, with great respect, to submit our resolutions to the Commission as follows :

- (1) That Barotseland Protectorate be declared a Black State within the Federation after the forthcoming constitutional review of the Federation.
- (2) That the Barotse National Council be recognised as the only Legislature of Barotseland in all internal affairs and that that Legislature should consist of two Houses, i.e. Upper and Lower, namely Saa-Katengo and Sikalo. These Councils do exist now, and existed even before the White men came here. What we suggest is to modernise them democratically. The Saa-Katengo should be an elected Body and Sikalo for those nominated for life by the Paramount Chief in recognition of their good service to the country.
- (3) That Barotseland Protectorate as a Black State should be directly represented in the Federal Assembly but not in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council.
- (4) That in all internal affairs, the policy in Barotseland Protectorate should be paramountcy of African interests. Partnership should only apply in external affairs.
- (5) That in recognition of Barotseland Protectorate as a Black State, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia should be styled "His Excellency the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and Barotseland" and the Resident Commissioner should be styled "High Commissioner for Barotseland".
- (6) That a date should be fixed at the Constitutional Review Conference for the independence of Barotseland Protectorate within the Federation.
- (7) That Barotseland Protectorate be directly represented at the forthcoming Constitutional Review by a selected delegation to be led by the Paramount Chief of Barotseland Protectorate.
- (8) That to protect the Paramount Chief from political attacks and to encourage parliamentary government in Barotseland Protectorate, the next Paramount Chief should be a constitutional monarch.
- (9) Lewanika was styled King but his successors were styled Paramount Chiefs. If it is not possible for the Paramount Chief to be styled King as Lewanika was, the Paramount Chief of Barotseland should be called "Litunga of Barotseland". "Litunga" means king in Silozi Language.
- (10) In conclusion, we humbly beg to emphasise the points of evidence we have made in this Memorandum and we hope they will be considered to the best interest of Barotseland. If the Commission would like to see us to answer any question arising from our Memorandum, we are prepared to appear before it in a group.

Kitwe

15th February 1960

P. B. BECKET

Capacity and Subject on which evidence will be given :-

The Federation through the eyes of an ordinary citizen. A citizen born, and brought up to adulthood in the United Kingdom, who now considers this country as his home. Under the following headings :-

- (1) Northern Rhodesia as it was from 1949 until Federation was agreed on in principal by the British Government. As seen by a young man fresh out from the United Kingdom, his life, his hopes, his opportunities and life about him.
- (2) Northern Rhodesia from when Federation was agreed on in principal, until the 23rd October, 1953, when it became fact. The great hopes for the future, the opportunities it would bring to all races, and the benefits it would bring to Northern Rhodesia.
- (3) The Federation from the 23rd October, 1953 until the present day. As seen by a now married man with a family. Showing a gradual upsurge in African Nationalism, the growing uncertainty of the future, the gradual slowing down of development, the pessimism for the future of ones children, giving reasons for this situation as I see it.

Lusaka

26th January 1960

A. E. BEECH

It was not my intention to give evidence, or to submit written memorandum on Federation. But, I now feel that perhaps my little effort might help in some small way to strengthen the case for Federation.

I would like to begin, by saying that I came to what is now known as the Copperbelt in 1912, as a youngster, and have lived in these parts ever since.

I can still remember the good old days of the British South Africa Co. and have watched the gradual economic and political development of this country.

When amalgamation of the two Rhodesias failed and Federation was mooted in its place as an alternative acceptable to the British Government, I treated it with suspicion and caution, as did many others at that time, for we did not then know what sort of a federation the British Government had in mind. But, as the issue became clearer, I became interested, and like many others felt that any change that involved a move away from The Colonial Office was a move in the right direction, and was worth a fair trial.

The British Government did little to develop Northern Rhodesia, and no credit is due to them for the development that has taken place in this country. Real development only started with the opening up of the Copper mines, and to the wise counsel of our elected Members of the Legislative Council, who, although they had no real power in the say of the country, did help to formulate a local policy acceptable to all races, thus, keeping the Colonial Office in some sort of check, whose policies were sometimes unacceptable, and on many occasions has left a nasty taste.

It must, also be borne in mind, that this part of Central Africa has remained dormant since the beginning of time itself. Hardly any of its natural resources had ever been tapped, and what had been, had been done by foreign natives. Even food was quite a problem for a good part of the year, and the local population had to subsidise it with wild berries, roots, mushrooms, honey, caterpillars, rats and whatever else they could trap or shoot. But today, the African population enjoys a carefree life of comparable comfort, and enjoys freedom unknown to them, in the past. Indeed, he enjoys it so much, that he abuses it.

The recent upheavals, and acts of barbarism and hooliganism by African Nationalism, is no indication of the true feelings of the majority of the law abiding Africans, these people are forced by intimidation and threats to join political parties in which they have no interest. It is no use looking for protection from the Government, for it always comes too late. Crime after crime is committed on these innocent people, and the culprits in many cases get away with it. So to protect themselves, they join the party.

We want a *strong* government capable of handling the situation, and I feel that the Police should become federal in order to combat the murders and acts of violence that are an everyday affair in the country at present. British lives have always been *too cheap* with the British government. It's time a halt was called, and law and order *maintained*.

The six years that Federation has been in existence, has proved beyond doubt that as a unit it has been a huge success, economically. We have men at the helm of the Federal Government whose calibre is equal to any in the world today, and I fully support federation in civilized hands to the full.

I would oppose any form of an inferior form of government in any of the governments of the Federation, where the reins of government were to fall into the hands of an uncivilized and barbarous population. Particularly where the leaders were committed to jail. Some so called civilized Africans, are not civilized in spite of their learning. They only have a very thin veneer of what they, themselves term civilization. Their acts of violence prove it.

Mufulira

26th May 1960

H. BEHRENS

- (1) My own history is as follows : I have been living for the last 21 years in Northern Rhodesia, first right in the bush, then in Livingstone and now for the last seven years in our quiet little town of Kalomo. Just before the last war I came out from Nazi Germany, where I was not only detained for several weeks in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, but also lost a good job.

property, and, most of all, my parents and about 20 other relatives, having been killed by Nazi gangsters. I most certainly would not like to go through this again in this country, and therefore would like to state my views herewith to your Commission.

- (2) I have worked for all these years in real partnership with the Africans and have got on with them extremely well, understanding their mentality. I help them in every possible way with their problems which are as serious to them as our problems are to us. I have spared no effort to send out a vehicle any distance to any sick African and I can say that this is done by any European living in our community. For the last seven years, my wife and I have been running a European store and several Native stores, and every customer, irrespective of colour, is treated by us in the same courteous way, and for that reason we have made a success, being liked by black and white alike, and being honest, fair and straight to everybody.
- (3) I am of the opinion that Federation should stay and with it the European in this country, so that it can be built up to a higher living standard for the African gradually, but at not too fast a speed. This has happened over the past years and should continue steadily. The changes in this country have been terrific over the past 20 years. The above firm employs approximately 50 Africans and the average wage per month is well over £10 per person. Two of our Africans are paid £30 per month, as they do their jobs and are responsible people. We are trying very hard to find more like these, but have great difficulty in obtaining them.
- (4) With regard to "One man One vote," it is in my opinion far too early to bring this about at the present stage of development, as I take it that at this stage there are only about 5% of all Africans who would understand the meaning of the vote and know for what to vote. The majority of Africans would be carried away by a few people who shout for freedom, at the moment, and most of the people would not know what they are doing. As said already, the standard of living and education has to be brought up gradually and surely in unity between the black and white population of the Federation, which will lead to success and progress and a peaceful working together of all races.
- (5) Lastly, I would like to mention that I have never indulged in politics in my life, but as your Commission requires the opinion of the ordinary man in the street and wants to find out about his experience in the countries of the Federation I have made this statement.

Kalomo

18th February 1960

H. B. BENNETT

As a resident and farmer of N. Rhodesia of forty years standing I now beg to present the following points for your consideration :—

- (1) It is my opinion that the masses do not and will not for many years qualify for self government nor the franchise, as they are completely dominated by the few agitators and/or self termed politicians; and the most common form of domination is through secret intimidation for which they have far more respect than for any form of Law and Order as we know it. The majority would be quite happy under the Federal system and appreciate the great improvements which have taken place since federation came into being, such as education, health, etc., but are not allowed to settle down. I feel that the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland is working, and could be improved upon as it undoubtedly will do, as the Members of our Federal Government are men of integrity and are of course fully aware of the needs of all the races concerned.
- (2) The greatest difficulty at the moment is that certain Africans are not looking to the Federal Government for the resolution of their problems, the main cause of this is due to their being completely misled as to their capabilities and inability to adopt responsibility, by fleeting unofficial visitors from overseas. We must not lose sight of the fact that these primitive peoples are made up of several different tribes who have no love of one another. It would seem to me that the only way

to overcome this would be to entrench the Federal Government for a definite period of say forty or fifty years before any radical change in the Constitution could be considered; while the British Government maintains their protection of the indigenous people through the Federal Government, which I believe is already included in the present Constitution. This would give the backward races time for further education and development when we hope they would be better able to assess values as to good and bad economically, politically and socially for the Country as a whole. I should like to submit at this point that it must be remembered that it is only since the Second World War that education, social services, etc., have been available to the masses of the African population in Northern Rhodesia and they are many years behind Nyasaland and still further behind Southern Rhodesia; I do not refer to the few who were able to gain education mostly outside N. Rhodesia and trained in foreign countries at that, prior to this time.

- (3) You will note I have not mentioned the fears of the European; the only fear of the European is of domination by primitive peoples who I am convinced would wreck the Country and themselves included, because, with the exception of a very few they have no idea of fair play or gratitude in any shape or form. And it is the Settlers I feel, who would be the hardest hit; undoubtedly should there be an African majority in the Government, legislation would be passed against the European and Asian; were they not actually thrown out their position would be made so intolerable that they would have no option but to quit; leaving their life's work and possessions behind them.
- (4) For the Federal system to be successful a scheme must be devised whereby agitators cannot go over the heads of the Federal Government direct to the Colonial Office.

If required to do so I shall be willing to give oral evidence before the Commission at Lusaka.

Mazabuka

25th January 1960

O. B. BENNETT

Rhokana Corporation Ltd. Nkana

The writer commenced work in Northern Rhodesia in 1936 as a Night Shift Ganger in charge of 25 Africans and has been, for the last nine years, General Manager of Rhokana Corporation Limited. He has been closely connected with both European and African labour throughout this period and for the last twelve years intimately concerned with labour negotiations, both European and African. He can therefore claim to have seen something of the evolution of the African and his relations with the European, certainly within the mining industry and, to a lesser extent, outside. Apart from his long service in the country, both his children were born in Northern Rhodesia and are being educated in the Federation. He has sunk some of his capital in a farm in Northern Rhodesia. He can, therefore, justly claim to be regarded as a Rhodesian.

Before considering the problems that beset the Federation at this time, it is as well to examine the social, political and economic pressures under which they have to be solved.

In the following paragraphs, I am speaking of Northern Rhodesia, with which I am more familiar, but the basic truths apply to both Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Country

This vast country, generally under-populated, was completely undeveloped until the advent of the European. Even today it is largely undeveloped.

The chief assets are abundant water, which makes for considerable agricultural potential, great mineral wealth with which to initiate and finance development and last, but by no means least, an indigenous population with a standard of living well below that of the rest of the world—an advantage which, if properly used, would enable the country to compete industrially with the older and more technically developed countries of the world.

The chief disadvantages are the difficulties of transport and the cost of exporting and distributing any but the most highly priced commodities; the backwardness of the indigenous population and, as a corollary, the smallness and lack of purchasing power of the internal market.

The Indigenous Population

The reasons why the indigenous population is so backward are legion: The relative ease of keeping warm and maintaining a subsistence existence through agriculture; the debilitating effect of malaria, dysentery and other tropical diseases; the lack of communication to the coast, where most inter-continental contacts are first made; the continual inter-tribal warfare which insulated tribes and prevented large-scale trading and freedom of movement through the country; tribal customs tended in times of want to regard basic necessities as communal—a primitive form of communism, in fact, which discouraged the individual from ever doing more than the minimum, because he might not reap the benefit of his additional labour; rule by small despotic chiefs, with complete power over life and death, whose system of government depended on fear and the elimination of rivals; chiefs who themselves were in fear of witchdoctors; the constant feeling that long-term planning was useless, because tomorrow one might be dead of disease or tribal warfare or famine, or the chief's envy.

Whatever these causes, and many were outside the control of the African himself, the fact remains that they were and largely are today, by Western standards, a primitive people, living a hand-to-mouth existence, (and a not unhappy one), uncomplicated by all the complex demands of Western civilisation.

Although it may seem trite to say so, it is significant that a written language and the use of the wheel and the sail, all discovered independently in other parts of the world, were never invented in Southern Africa. Nor has there ever been, South of the Sudan, any significant civilisation with a complex central government and development of its own in culture, in arts and crafts, and in commerce, as has occurred independently in so many other parts of the world—India, China, Japan, Polynesia, Europe, South America and the Middle East. Even the Zimbabwe ruins, not much of a monument to past enlightenment, is attributed to outsiders.

Since the independent development of these various civilisations was not the result of some God-given education, but a product of the energy and abilities of the inhabitants, does it not follow logically that there is more to the difference between the African and the more civilised people of the world than the commonly accepted "lack of education and opportunity"?

Here I must digress and say that I am dealing with averages and not outstanding individuals. The wide and general development of a country must, of necessity, depend on the average mentality of its people, and this is particularly true of democracies, where the decisions ultimately rest upon the ordinary man to make the right choice.

It is therefore with the average and not with the outstanding individuals that we must be concerned. One can no more design a democracy round a set of qualities in the components which does not exist, than design a bridge round a material which has not yet been invented. Both must fail.

This "X" factor which is lacking is difficult to describe. It consists of a restless inventiveness and mental drive, the inability to let things be, and the urge to see what lies beyond the horizon. These are the broad attributes which have led to the quick development of Western civilisation.

These qualities carry with them a parallel ability to reach quick conclusions, to sum up a situation *ab initio* and from there make decisive plans to meet the changed conditions. This "X" factor is inherent, and although it can be developed by education, it cannot be instilled by education alone. It does not exist in every European, but enough have it as the result of centuries of competitive existence under more difficult living conditions to energise the mass.

In addition to this lack, the average African, due to his background over centuries past, has little appreciation of what it takes to run a business or a country under the complexities of modern civilisation. The tradition of integrity, of pride of workmanship, of dedication to the service of others, of long-sightedness and the Western subjection to time and system are all, understandably, foreign to him.

Naturally, with education, he will acquire these attributes, but it will take more than a single generation, because new norms cannot be established overnight. And norms of behaviour, in particular, depend not only on education, but on customary, accepted standards.

Examination of the finances of any African organisation, whether business, political or Trades Union, will bear this out.

It is also illustrated by the most senior job on the Mine, that of Underground Sub-development Cleaner, which was taken over by the African from the European four years ago, and where the turnover has been 39.6% per annum, despite careful choice and training of the appointees.

The African, gifted as he is with a phenomenal memory, trained by centuries of having to memorise all he wished to record, is a quick learner and passer of examinations. As a result, too, of discussion and argument being one of the few relaxations requiring nothing but a camp fire to sit around, he is an able debater. (The above is probably the reason why so many Africans adopt the Law as their profession).

Because of these attributes, and because education is the only obvious sign of difference between the Europeans and the African, education has become something of a fetish. The African has difficulty realising that the mere passing of an examination, and the ability to talk well, is no criterion for success in government or industry, which demands many of the qualities that have been mentioned earlier.

It is understandable, but unfortunate, that he is apt, therefore, to blame his lack of success on the colour bar.

The lack of these qualities, incidentally, also explains the necessity for an additional supervisory level—"The Ganger", between the man actually doing the work and the first line supervisor. This unique and expensive dual labour structure is only found in conditions such as have been described, where the workers require continual overseeing.

Much has been said of the natural disadvantages, (most of them products of a situation over which they have no control), against which the African is struggling in order to reach parity with the European and to fit himself into an increasingly European Western-style world.

Here it is only fair to state what amazing strides the African has taken along this path during the 30-odd years that he has been in contact with industrial life. This is particularly true over the last ten or fifteen years with those who have given up tribal life, and are struggling to fit themselves as permanent residents in an industrial community.

Thirty years ago few had seen a piece of machinery as complicated as a wheelbarrow. Today, many own bicycles and can do their own simple repairs. Many drive lorries, cranes and locomotives and all types of machines. It is true they lack a sense of feeling with regard to machinery, but they do become remarkably skilled operators, particularly on repetitive work.

The measure of this improvement is the increase in the tons of ore produced from underground per man shift which, in the case of Rokana, has increased in the last ten years from 2.0 to 4.5—a fantastic improvement in so short a time, as compared with increase in productivity, achieved by the rest of the world, which averages about 2.5% to 3% p.a. The figure of 4.5 is, however, still well below the equivalent figures for "European" mines of similar type, which achieve efficiencies of 10 to 15 tons per man shift.

As a matter of interest, the average cost per eight-hour shift of African labour has increased over the same period from just over 2/6d. to just under £1—an eightfold increase.

In addition to the general improvement among the masses in industrial labour, there are emerging a few educated and responsible Africans, capable of going further than their fellows. It goes without saying that these exceptions must be allowed to progress to the fullest extent of their capabilities and accepted as equals both on the job and socially.

It also goes without saying that with continued contact with civilisation, the number of these people emerging will increase in geometric progression. The numbers are at this moment, however, woefully small in comparison with the population of the country.

The European Settler

The European settlers came first as traders and missionaries, then as administrators and lastly, and only within the last few years, in the case of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in large numbers, to develop the resources of the country in agriculture, industry and commerce.

They came to a primitive, unhealthy country, with an appallingly low standard of living and without even the beginnings of a form of government, trade, industry and commerce, such as had existed in Europe and in the Middle and Far East for a thousand years. They and their families took

a big gamble in coming into so wild and unhealthy a country. They have devoted their lives and their skills to developing it to the point it has reached today. Every road, every railway, every building, the prosperous farms through which the roads and railways run, the towns, the factories, the mines, the very schools and hospitals and system of impartial government and justice the African enjoys today, is entirely a product of the European's skill and initiative and "know how."

In addition to all this, the European has immeasurably increased the African's standard of living and expectation of life—standards which the African, left to his own devices, had left unchanged for centuries.

Many of these Europeans have so identified themselves with the country they are living in that they have cut their ties with the "Home" country and regard themselves as permanent inhabitants. Some are second and third generation and can justly claim that they have been in the country as long as the indigenous population, much of which is of "foreign" origin, and none of which, in fact, dates back to before A.D. 1700.

Having done so much for the country, he understandably feels that he has a right to be regarded as a permanent resident, and to enjoy the fruits of his labour and the risks that he has taken, under a stable and civilised government—a government which will ensure justice and equality and progress in line with the system that he himself has imported and towards which the more uncivilised countries of the world are still struggling.

A complicating and less defensible, although equally understandable, feeling among the Europeans, particularly those who would elsewhere be considered "the working class", is the fear that the Africans will undercut the high standard of living they have achieved and which they wish to preserve, both for themselves and for their children. A high standard, considering the type of work done, which cannot be maintained if the country and the African is to progress logically along the lines of greater industrialisation to a higher general standard of living.

The African, equally unfortunately and because he has no other example before him, regards the European's rate for the job as being the correct rate and is aiming at this, rather than the rates paid for similar jobs in other parts of the world with an homogenous population.

In pursuing their course, both the African and the European have failed to realise that to accept the present European standards of pay in relatively junior jobs as the "normal" standard makes competition with the rest of the world uneconomic and will halt further industrial progress; progress which is needed to open up more jobs giving a reasonable standard of living for the African, and also more jobs in senior and technical spheres for the European.

A less defensible but equally understandable feature of life in these territories is the social colour bar which, although it is changing with remarkable speed, still exists. The origins of this are twofold: first, the genuine differences in the way of life, standards of living and hygiene existing between the original European settlers and the Africans—a difference that still exists with the masses, as opposed to the comparatively small number of educated and advanced Africans who have emerged during the past few years.

The increasing civilisation and economic power of the Africans is causing a rapid change in this outlook and the rigidity with which the colour bar is still applied in some places rests not so much on the fear of mixing socially with the educated African, as on the fear that by doing so, the European will open the floodgates to the entry of the uneducated African, who he still feels, with justification, is not up to his standards.

The second reason for the colour bar appears to be the question of prestige. Maintenance of law and order and leadership in all spheres by such a small minority in so vast a country depends primarily on complete acceptance of authority. This in turn depends on the European being accepted as a rather mysterious and "superior" being—an attitude of mind that can only be fostered when the relationship is a distant one. (The technique is as old as armies and even the Russians were quickly forced to abandon the idea of officers and privates living and eating together.)

This automatic acceptance of superiority has also had its mental effect on the European, particularly on those who are not accustomed to it. He therefore resents it being destroyed by undue day to day contact and familiarity. The reaction is understandably but regrettably even more intense between Europeans doing junior work and the educated African.

The existence of "poor whites" would, of course, immediately destroy this illusion and this is the reason why the emergence of a poor white population is so feared by the Europeans.

Government and Politics

The Government of the Territory and its acceptance, politically and economically, by the rest of the world started with the advent of the European. Because of the conditions that existed, it was initially of necessity autocratic, first by the British South Africa Company administration (until 1924) and later by representatives of the Colonial Office. As the European population—and so the people capable of judgment and affairs—increased, the demand for a say in the government of the country also increased. This was met in 1924 by the provision of elected members, who have increased in numbers over the years to an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council.

During this period the interests of the African were looked after by the Civil Service and by members of the Legislature (when this was formed) nominated by the Government. Even at this stage Africans with certain minimum qualifications were given the right to vote, and in 1948 the first African members were nominated by the African Representative Council to the Legislative Council.

In 1959, in a desperate attempt to maintain the Government in responsible hands, and yet give the mass of uneducated Africans an opportunity of electing leaders who would represent their interests in the Legislative Council, the present system of dual voting was introduced and Africans were, for the first time, admitted to the Executive Council itself, and freely elected to the Legislative Council.

In the Federal field Africans were first elected to the Federal legislature in 1954.

Compared with the normal speed of democratic progress elsewhere in the world, the changes that have taken place are remarkable, and show how very anxious the Government and the Europeans were to allow the inhabitants of the country to have a say in the handling of affairs. If the African politicians of today had thought ten years ago that they would be sitting in Legislative Council and in the Executive Committee on equal terms, both as regards status and pay, with their European conferees, they would have greeted it as most remarkable progress.

Unfortunately they have taken the attitude that the more that is given the more they desire, which—although natural—is not something that need necessarily be granted.

During the whole of this period that has been covered, there was never any doubt in the minds of investors from abroad, or in the mind of the European who was sinking his personal capital and energy and labour in the country, that the Government would remain in responsible hands and as a result, the development that has taken place has been phenomenal.

In 1936 the total Government expenditure in Northern Rhodesia was under one million pounds. Sixteen years later it was over 23 million pounds and in 1958/59 it was 29½ million pounds. The African has had his full share of the prosperity arising from this expansion, not only in the services such as education and health, but also in direct income.

In 1954 the national income of Africans in the Federation was 64.4 million pounds; by 1959 it was 110 millions—nearly double in five years.

During most of this period, the administration, under the control of the Colonial Office, did outstandingly good work in the just and wise administration of the country and it is only within the last few years, when Central Africa became "news" and the future of the country became a political football between the parties in England, the members of which, I am afraid, have little knowledge of the ultimate effect of their maneuvering on the inhabitants of the country, that the defects of Colonial Office control have become apparent. There is no doubt that the effect of contradictory policies pursued by different political parties who may be in power from time to time, and the fact that any type of trouble would be magnified by the newspapers, cause questions in the House, and so rebound, via the Colonial Office, on the head of the wretched administrator, has had a weakening effect on his single-mindedness to say and do the right thing in the light of local circumstances.

When dealing with primitive people the fact that "he speaks as one having authority" is as important today as when the New Testament was written. Nowhere was this lack of decision

better exemplified than in the instructions given to the Administration regarding the formation of the Federation, when this was first canvassed with the African population. The Administration was told to give no lead—an unprecedented lack of direction which immediately aroused the African's suspicion, because it had never happened before.

The fact that his destiny does not depend upon people with an intimate knowledge and personal interest in the affairs of the country, but on the political whims of an ignorant (if well-meaning) British public, stirred up by certain newspapers and Members of Parliament for political reasons is, to the European settler, the most terrifying feature of the present position.

This, with the precipitate negation of responsibility in handing over Government to a totally unprepared, indigenous population such as has occurred in many other parts of Africa, is causing a profound loss of faith in the future of the European in this country. Many Europeans, in fact, are already considering removing themselves and their capital elsewhere.

Unless there is some firm lead to give settlers long-term confidence in the future and an expectation of a just and responsible Government by whatever colour, he will withdraw the very skills and money which have made the present development possible, and which are so necessary for its continuation.

The backwardness, illiteracy and traditional subservience to the local chief of the indigenous population makes a democratic form of government, depending on "one man, one vote", completely impractical at this time. The very African politicians who are promising Utopia after self-government would be the first ruthlessly to crush any opposition when they come to power. Their cry, "one man, one vote" is levelled at the uninformed idealists of the Western world as a means of arousing sympathy and achieving their own ends. They know, as the European who has lived here knows, that a Government cannot achieve democracy under conditions such as exist in Central Africa today.

No better proof of this can be given than the example of other countries (countries more advanced than this), which have been granted self-government under an initially democratic regime. All have gone the same course—either the Government has eliminated the opposition by force, or Government has become so inept and corrupt, that they have been taken over by a *coup d'état*.

Good government depends on sound finance, on justice and the control of malpractices, either in agriculture, industry, local government or personal relations. All these are a form of restraint accepted by educated people as necessities which Government of their choice can do more than alter in detail.

This awareness is not present in primitive people, who believe and support the most blatantly impracticable promises by unscrupulous politicians. Power under these conditions always gravitates to the extremist, regardless of his inability to carry out his promises.

We who have lived in Africa for some time have been amused by the disappointment among journalists and other liberal travellers who have recently visited Ghana and complain of the suppression of individual liberty of the Opposition, of the Press, and free speech. We knew that this was inevitable; nor do we blame Dr. Nkrumah, for we know that it is impossible to rule a primitive and backward country under normal democratic liberties.

Political extremists who preach class warfare in civilised countries are not followed by more than the lunatic fringe, but when a Roman Catholic priest, who has devoted his life to the Africans in Northern Rhodesia for 20 years, denounces to his congregation Kenneth Kuanda for saying "You parents must teach your children to hate anything walking on two legs with a white skin", (*Northern News* of April 15th, 1960), he is breaking a lifetime's rule against preaching politics, because he knows the terrifying simplicity and credulity of his flock.

Under such conditions true democracy with one man, one vote and complete freedom of speech, and the tradition of "Her Majesty's Opposition" cannot exist.

The choice to be made is not therefore one of Western-style democracy versus autocracy, but one between autocracies which will ultimately do the country and the people the most good. The world "autocracy" has been used deliberately because, unfortunately, there is in certain British thinking no half-way house between complete democracy and dictatorship.

No one believes that a nation of people can be kept in subjection who are basically and personally bitterly unhappy. This is a very different situation from a people who are basically happy, with few personal hatreds and who, because of their ignorance, are being deliberately made discontented by self-seeking opportunists.

Economy

Although a rising standard of living and increased security is not the only objective towards which mankind strives, it is probably true to say that to the bulk of the people this is the major factor that influences their thoughts and passions. Even in England today "You have never had it so good" is a potent political war-cry, and the fear of unemployment is the spectre which haunts and dominates politico-economic thinking. True as this may be in the context of the Western world, it is even more important in Central Africa. Here we have a primitive people with, in the country districts particularly, a low standard of living—a people who are just beginning to appreciate and reach for the comforts and benefits of civilisation with which they are being increasingly brought into contact by their work, or by visits to the industrial centres in the Territory.

The population (thanks to European administration and medical care) has risen explosively from 811,000 in 1911 to 2,200,000 in 1958 (Northern Rhodesia figures); a population which is receiving in ever-greater numbers an increasingly high standard of education; a population coming more and more into contact with the material benefits of industrial life and, therefore, because of these changes, is increasingly opposed to a subsistence existence in the villages.

This situation is being aggravated by increasing economy in the use of African labour by employers, due to the rising cost of urbanised African workers. As an example of this, it is estimated that at Rhokana, with the present production levels and labour being used as it was ten years ago, the African labour strength would be over 20,000, as against the present day figure of 7,500.

How then can this vast and increasing mass of potentially discontented people be given the ever-increasing standards of living, of education and health that they demand and which they see enjoyed by the European population, both here and elsewhere?

However much agriculture is helped and subsidised, it cannot absorb this flooding mass and provide it with the standard of living and of enjoyable gregarious life which it will demand. The size of the country, the lack of cheap transport facilities and a nearby market make any form of mass peasant agriculture impossible; nor, if this was successful, would it prevent the flow of young people to the towns, any more than it has in other countries.

The only possible answer is industrialisation of the type by which so many backward countries are competing with the more developed and technically skilled parts of the world—industrialisation which makes use of the one great advantage that an undeveloped country, with a primitive population and great distances from the world's markets, has—a people with a low standard of living would be content to receive more than they are getting and yet much less than their equivalent in Europe. Hong Kong, Japan and Puerto Rico, among others, are outstanding examples of this truth, as is the success of one or two small industries such as Supersonic Radios of Bulawayo, in this country.

Only by exporting can the real wealth be increased and the standard of living of the population raised. Such mass industrialisation as this country so patiently requires to meet the demands of its economy and people requires immense amounts of capital and administrative ability and of technical skill at all levels. All of these must of necessity, now and for a long time, be imported from abroad.

A prerequisite for their importation is a sound, responsible Government—A Government which will honour its debts and undertakings, which will provide sound internal and external finance, give absolute justice and provide the atmosphere in which both business and the individual can plan a generation ahead. Without these assurances, individuals will no longer risk their money nor their personal capital of skills and industry in a country.

The European, with his experience of this country and its peoples, and informed financial opinion from abroad, which provides capital for development, has little faith in the achieve-

ment of these ideals in this country, under a system of one man, one vote. There is little doubt that such a step would halt the progress that has been made, and reverse the flow of money and skills, upon which the country and the advancement of its people so vitally depends.

The African Nationalist politician hopes, of course, for massive loans for development, and the use of expert advice on his own short-term conditions. He must be made to realise that deficit financing, based on foreign loans, cannot go on forever, and that an expert hired for a short period has neither the loyalty nor the long-term interests of the country in which he is working at heart. The Mercenary was never a very satisfactory soldier in times of stress!

The Federation

Since the dismembering of the Federation is not within the terms of reference of the Commission, there seems little reason to expound on its benefits in this memorandum. It must be obvious to any person of breadth and intelligence, who is not prejudiced by ulterior motives, that there is no place in the world today for the small, backward, undeveloped country, with a narrowly based economy. The greater the size of the country and the spread of its income, the greater the confidence and hence the flow of capital for development.

Despite the parrot cry, "Federation is bad", which one hears from all sides, as the result of the propaganda to which he has been subjected, I have yet to find a single African who could tell me in what way the advent of Federation had affected his personal life. Few, if they are asked, have even the most rudimentary idea of the meaning of Federation. Indeed, the outcry against Federation is an outstanding example of the danger of applying Western-style democracy and free speech to a primitive country. It has been denounced by African political leaders for one reason only—because they fear that it may hinder their rise to absolute power and the control of the country. These politicians themselves can give no concrete example of where the Federation has affected the life of the people in economics, in health, in schooling, in justice or in any way of life. On the contrary, the sudden bound forward in the economy and the development of the country as the result of Federation cannot but have affected them for their good.

The greatest pity is that Federation was ever canvassed as a "great event", and this is equally true of the 1960 Constitutional Talks. A gradual and economically sound amalgamation and integration of services and control agreed from time to time between the Governments would never have been noticed, and could logically have been followed by Federation, or better still, Amalgamation, when it became obvious that, except in name, this was a unified country.

The Solution

The political and economic problems to be solved in the Federation are so complex, particularly when seen against a background of British and world opinion and of emergent African nationalism, that it is difficult to see where the solution can lie.

The writer offers this thoughts on this subject not in detail, but in general terms, in the hope that one or two of them may be of interest and help in crystallising the ideas of the Commission. Before doing so, and at the risk of repetition, it is probably as well to recapitulate the fundamental factors influencing the situation:—

- (1) The Federation, particularly Nyasaland and to a lesser degree, Northern Rhodesia, is crying out for development.
- (2) There is an exploding African population which, due to education and contact with the outside world, will no longer be content with the subsistence existence of their forefathers.
- (3) This situation can only be met by industrialisation, and to a lesser extent, in improved agricultural techniques.
- (4) Leaders in these fields cannot be supplied by the indigenous population, the bulk of which is still primitive to the extent that it has to be protected from exploitation by special Government legislation.
- (5) This leadership must, with outstanding exceptions, therefore come from the European for some considerable time.
- (6) Those Europeans on whom the whole of the existing development of the country, and improvement in African

living standards, has depended, and who consider their contribution entitles them to be considered as settlers, will not remain, nor will the many others come who are necessary to develop still further these advantages, unless they are assured of just and equitable government for themselves and their children, and the certainty of reward for their efforts.

- (7) The capital necessary for such development, whether raised abroad or in this country (again from the European) will not be available unless the same assurance is present.
- (8) Having regard to the ease with which the indigenous population can be misled, and the very few Africans of education and experience in affairs of state or business, neither the European in this country, nor the investor from abroad have much faith at this stage in a Government based on one man, one vote.
- (9) A rising and vociferous African nationalism pushed by politicians who hope to achieve personal power whilst they are still, by contrast, outstanding among their fellows—a personal advantage which will deteriorate with every year.
- (10) These African nationalists are being fed and supported by uninformed Liberal opinion abroad—a situation which is further complicated by the fact that self-government has become a political issue in England and at such Assemblies as the United Nations, where the other countries are ever on the lookout to attack "repression", regardless of their own record in this field.

Having regard to the circumstances I have outlined, it seems to me that there is no alternative but that the balance of power in government must remain in responsible hands, elected by educated, mature and responsible people.

Conditions as they existed in Central Africa must preclude a democratic system based on one man, one vote. Any approach which does not accept individual merit as a basis of political power is delusive expediency and cannot but result in the slowing down of the very development which the mass of the people so vitally need if they are eventually to achieve the standards of living and education required to operate a true Western-style democracy.

Some method must therefore be found to distinguish those, whether white or black, capable of exercising judgment. This can only be done by laying down certain minimum qualifications for registration on the Voters' Roll. These qualifications should be applied rigidly to European and African, and should include not only a minimum standard of education (I would suggest Form II) but also minimum requirements in income or property, to ensure individuals with the right sense of judgment. This standard should, in the case of the urban dweller, be a minimum income (including indirect allowances), of £300 per annum, or property valued at £600.

Lest this should be thought to be high, I may mention that 782 Africans at Rhokana received more than £300 last year—a not inconsiderable number in comparison with the 1,600 odd European voters.

The amount should be reduced for the rural areas, where it might well be £200 and £400 respectively. These minima should be increased automatically in conformity with the Government Cost of Living Allowance, to compensate for the decreasing value of money.

I venture to predict that, given stable Government and expanded industrialisation, parity of voting between the African and the European under these circumstances in the urban areas may well be reached within ten years. No great time in the life of a nation!

Notwithstanding my contention that the balance of power must remain in the hands of people capable of exercising it, in the context of this country, some means must be given for the mass of the Africans to express their views with sufficient force to ensure that their reasonable desires are implemented. This proviso is doubly important when, as will be the case, the balance of power will remain initially with the European, for the European member elected by a European majority will, not unnaturally, be influenced by his electorate. The legislature should therefore contain sufficient African members representing the African people not yet able to exercise a vote, to make their presence felt and, if joined by the more liberal elected members, decisive.

Although I have little faith in the ability of the average African to resist the promises and blandishments of the politician, I have considerable faith in his choice when this is confined to a representative whom he knows and respects personally, because of his local standing.

Most tribal chiefs and leaders, even if not educated, have the wisdom, dignity and soundness of people who, when they have given a decision, are answerable for it. The same is true of the Boss Boys on the mines, who, though they may not be as well educated as the clerks, are infinitely sounder in their judgment of men and affairs.

The African representative I have outlined should therefore not be chosen by ballot but by some system which starts by choosing tribal leaders who, in turn, choose district representatives, who choose delegates to the Legislature. Only in such a way can the real wish of a scattered, illiterate and simple population be expressed.

It is, moreover, in line with their own custom, and not so removed from the system of T.U.C. election in the United Kingdom!

Only one qualification should be placed on these representatives and that is that they should be over the age of 35, and therefore have proved their ability in local affairs over a period.

Lack of knowledge of English or literacy, as I have found in my own negotiations with such Africans, forms no bar to their ability to present their case. They do so very well through an interpreter.

These chosen representatives should be replaced by elected members as the district concerned achieves a voting population of over 50% of the inhabitants.

I have dealt up to this point with the Territorial Governments, particularly those applicable to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. When it comes to the Federal Government, however, I feel there can be no alternative to elections by voters of both races, who have proved their ability to exercise a responsible vote.

The interests of the African, whilst he is still in the minority, should be served, as it is at present, by the provision of African members elected by both races. The number of these Africans should be greater than at present and sufficient, if they feel strong enough to vote for the Opposition despite their Party affiliations, to form a formidable political factor.

As parity of voting is reached between the European and the African, the Special African Member should fall out and be replaced by a Special European Member elected by the voters of both races.

Finally, to protect the rights of the minorities (representative minorities), which is the African today and may be the European some time in the future, there should be a small "Senate", a "watch-dog committee" which is solely concerned with, and has the right to refer back to the Legislature any measures which it considers are discriminatory, and which it feels may affect the personal liberties, life, well-being or business of the individual.

The numbers of Europeans and Africans on this Senate should be equal, and the members appointed by the members of the Federal and Territorial Legislatures, preferably not from among their own ranks. It should be chaired by a Chairman (with a casting vote) chosen, if possible, by the members of the Senate and if not, by the Queen, from among the residents of the country.

It will be seen from the above suggestions that the basic concepts that I have been endeavouring to meet are:—

- (1) Control of Government should remain in responsible hands.
- (2) That the present African voting minority should have its interests looked after by sufficient representatives to sway opinion, with the aid of Opposition support.
- (3) To allow time for Africans to be given experience and insight into the responsibilities as well as the power of Government.
- (4) To preserve the rights of the representative minority in the Legislative Council, both now and in the future.
- (5) To ensure a system which will provide an automatic change from a quasi democratic Government to a true democratic Government, as the electorate attains the ability to achieve a responsible choice.

Of the above, the last point is of particular importance. It is absolutely essential that both European and African understand the country's objectives, and the European the changing conditions facing him. Anything that calls for an interim Constitution and a further review in a few years will utterly destroy the European's faith in the future of this country and irreparably damage the faith of the foreign investor. If the population has to continue to live in suspense, it will result in growing bitterness and acrimony between races, and provide a "Tom Tiddler's ground" for opportunist politicians to exploit. (Also of both races!)

Last, but by no means least, provided a progressive system of transition between rule by an intelligentsia and eventual rule by normal democratic means, with the rights of the minorities protected in both cases can be worked out, is it too much to hope that the United Kingdom would take the bold and obvious step of granting self-government? Because of its embarrassment in local politics and world affairs, it has, against the experts' better judgment, in many cases, granted self-government on democratic lines to countries where the administrative potential is less than that of the Federation, and where none but the most ignorant pragmatic supporter of "one man, one vote" could possibly believe it could be a success.

Here is an occasion where it is obvious that for the best interests of the country, both African and European must work as a team. Partnership in fact; a new and vital concept for the rapid development of a backward country, which is certainly worth a trial, when the obvious benefits are so great. This is surely the logical step to take, provided the United Kingdom is satisfied that they have left a progressive system of Government, leading eventually to true democracy and the protection of minorities.

There will, of course, be growing pains until the African politician and the racial extremist on both sides learn that they must play the game according to the rules—rules which the United Kingdom itself has agreed. Under a progressive Constitution such as I have outlined, such means as are necessary to control intimidation by terrorism will be nothing like so repressive as already exist in countries which have been given self-rule before they are fitted to exercise it.

Self-rule is as essential as a responsible Government for the quick development of a country, as any impartial examination of the Empire will prove, for men have little faith in the future of their investments and the future of their children, when the Government is dependent on the political manoeuvrings of a people who are not only unacquainted with the problem, but are basically unaffected by the success or otherwise of their decisions.

Since England appears to be determined to disengage herself from Africa, whatever the results, the decision in Central Africa is clear—either to grant self-government under a Constitution which ensures that the best resources, African, European and Natural, are utilised for the benefit of all, and ensure a progressive advance towards true democracy, (always safeguarding the minorities), or a Pilate-like surrender to the cry of the multitude and the granting of self-government on the basis of "one man, one vote", knowing that it will not be in the best interests of the country and the people, (either the European who has done so much, or the bulk of the African people), smug in the knowledge that whatever ensues, they have washed their hands of their responsibilities.

Kitwe

22nd April 1960

BISA NATIVE AUTHORITY

Our Opinion on Federation

Mr. Chairman, I beg to move that, the BISA people who sent me to represent them, rejected the Federation and instead, demand, that the Northern Rhodesia Government be the basis for discussions for the future constitution of self independence in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Chairman, sir before I come to the motion I would like to thank you on behalf of this council for bringing along a Commission stenographer who we hope will record everything that is said in this council. I need not stress, sir, that this is a very important subject, it is one on which the destinies of both races in Northern Rhodesia depends. Every word said in here should be reported.

Now I turn to the motion, Mr. Chairman. The Federal Government as presented to us is totally rejected. It is rejected

on the advice of the vast majority of the people I represent in this Province. However, sir I would not like to say that I have been to every corner of my country but I have had discussions with very many important personages. I am opposed to it I agree with everything without exception that my people say about the contents of Federal Government.

Furthermore, sir I have had advice from these people that they are opposed to two or three reasons in Federation which are most important and I should say these are the facts on which they have rejected Federation.

- (a) That Chieftianship would be demoralised.
- (b) That the Local Government would not have more power as the existing power they are having on present Northern Rhodesia democracy of which it imposed in Native Authorities.
- (c) That people would have no Freedom of more say over their affairs.

Some bad examples which have been shown since the imposition of Federation

- (a) Purchasing of cemetery in Towns wherever Hospitals run by the Federal Government.
- (b) Burning of dead bodies in Hospitals run by the above mentioned.
- (c) Ambulances which carry patients are being paid now.
- (d) Things in posts such as selling of stamps registered envelopes and postage have been increased highly. Also customs too.
- (e) Generally speaking they said the Federal Government does not make for future harmonious relations between all races in N. Rhodesia. Sir since the imposition of Federation a lot of things have happened. It is these which have made the Africans in the way they are thinking now. They say that if we do not get self independence through *Her Majesty's* Government, then our freedom is doomed.

Northern Rhodesia Gov. they say, is the minimum demand that all power be placed of which we want to direct us in our needs of Democratic ways.

Luwingu

C. BONAVENTURE

A Catholic Teacher

I am very pleased to have the chance of expressing my views to the Commission on the future of Central Africa. A country of black Africans and white Africans.

My points read as follows:—

- (1) Federal Government in Central Africa under the black African leadership will bring peace to all races.
- (2) Federal Government in Central Africa under the white African leadership will bring death to many people of Africa.

Africans and some Europeans of Central Africa do not want the present Federal Government. Why?

- (1) It has proved a failure to bring in dull democratic government as that in America and Britain.
- (2) It has failed to clear our colour bar. Instead it encourages colour bar through U.F.P. and D.P.
- (3) It is a one sided government that is a government for white Africans not for black Africans.
- (4) It is only improving Southern Rhodesia, because S.R. got responsible government for white Africans round about 1923. Not for black Africans.
- (5) Christianity is affected by the Federal Government under the leadership of cruel white Africans.
- (6) Injustice is their pleasure.

What Government then that will clear out all bad things brought in by the Federal Government since 1953? It is a democratic government (Federal Democratic Government) under the black African leadership, with the help of some white African leadership of Mr. G. Todd and Sir John Moffat.

The two parties that will bring happiness in Central Africa are:

- (1) U.N.I.P. Leader Kaunda.
- (2) N.A.N.C. Leader Banda.
- (3) R.A.N.C. Leader Nkomo.

The United Federal Party Leader Sir Roy, the Dominion Party Leader W. Field. These parties will bring war and death in Central Africa. They are the causes of Central African troubles. Now black Africans are capable of holding posts (offices) as Prime Ministers—Ministers Governor Generals and other high posts which are in the hands of white Africans who cares for their own interests only.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thou love thyself" was the policy of first man (white) in Central Africa (like Dr. Livingstone) Dupont and many others.

We want a government which will bring together the races of Central Africa under partnership in reality.

Ministers of Central African people. Not for Africans and for Europeans.

Federation under the white African leadership is no more wanted. It should come to an end by this year.

If one acts against human rights or natural rights of a man is against the will of God.

Charity is the way to peace.

With thanks to the British Government.

Kasama

27th February 1960

BROKEN HILL FARMERS' ASSOCIATION

J. Gardner-Secretary

1. In presenting this statement we are conscious that the members of the Commission will have heard what we have to say over and over again. It will contain the most commonplace clichés, which we justify by the importance of the occasion and our sincerity.

2. The first point we wish to make is that the Federation has not been given a fair trial. It is impossible to do so in five or six years. The second is that there should be no thought of breaking up the Federation in this early stage of its history.

3. We wish to repeat that the Federation has not been given a fair chance. Apart from the time factor, it has been the sport of numerous outside influences, notably of the British Labour Party in its endeavours to discredit the Conservative Party; of a great variety of cranks and notoriety-seekers all over the world and others more sinister; of a disgracefully irresponsible Press which shows itself ever ready to sacrifice accuracy in favour of a striking headline; and of bigoted churchmen and missionaries.

4. From this witch's cauldron, in which truth is the one ingredient lacking, there has burst forth certain African politicians who have set a new pattern in extremism. They claim to represent a people who in fact do not know what they are talking about and cannot foresee the disaster that will overtake them if the extremists get their way. This could be one of the greatest betrayals in history of a people who are still very simple and easily misled by promises. They are promised a Utopia which is unattainable in this hard competitive world but this fact is beyond their powers of perception. In their simplicity and in their tradition they expect to get something for nothing.

5. It is easy to become derisory about the Africans' political ambitions, and we do not want to be guilty of this. However, it is our sincere belief that the time is not ripe for the balance of power to be handed to the African people. That they will attain it in due course is sure, but they must do so naturally, taking time to mature and become aware of what is going on around them and what is happening to them. Until they have this inner consciousness they will not rise to western civilised standards.

6. We wish to inform the Commission that we are entirely opposed to any relaxation in the franchise at this time. There is provision in the law for Africans to become voters and if they are genuine and sincere they will seek to qualify. There should be no more handing out of rights and privileges on a plate. They should be earned.

Relaxation of franchise qualifications will result in the extremists getting into power. Then there will arise swarms of petty bullies and tyrants who will in their turn be paying tribute, extorted from the masses, to higher and probably more subtle bullies and tyrants. We make these statements with complete confidence. We are sure the members of the Commission know African history.

Under present conditions the suggested universal adult suffrage is so ridiculous as not to warrant mention.

7. We also wish to state that there is nothing to be ashamed of in the record of European settlers in Northern Rhodesia. In little over half a century the country has been transformed and with it has been carried what were among the most primitive tribes in the world, who lived in misery and semi-starvation and in constant fear of violence not only from wild animals but their fellow-men.

8. As there are others who will certainly deal with the Colonial Office and its Civil Servants we shall refrain, except to say that since its institution in the distant past the Colonial Office has been noted for its lack of sympathy with pioneers, and what development has taken place in Africa has been effected in spite of the Colonial Office and not because of it; and the civil servants have never become part of the life of the country. For this reason its members seldom inspire confidence.

9. There is a large body of opinion that the selection of Salisbury as the capital was a major blunder that has done the Federation much harm. This is one of those intangible points that balks the mind. We urge, however, that the Commission take the bull by the horns and recommend that a new capital be built on a virgin site dead in the centre of the Federation. This would be a magnificent gesture to set the Federation off triumphantly on its second leg.

Broken Hill
12th February 1960

A EUROPEAN WOMAN RESIDENT OF BROKEN HILL*

From one who has worked amongst African women for the past 40 years.

It was 1916 when I joined the Nursing Service of the British South Africa Company at Livingstone and there I put my first African woman to bed, thinking how nice she looked with her little black head on a red calico pillow with a red blanket tucked around her. A few minutes later I went back to see her but she had disappeared, then the orderly pointed her out to me under the bed still wrapped in the red blanket, these women have advanced a lot since then. The big wages earned by their men folk on the Copperbelt have upset their sense of value and they are awake to the fact, there is more in life than sitting over a fire stirring a pot, but they are still a lot of poor ignorant people very easily led by a few hot-heads, but not understanding in the least what these agitators are talking about. They live in deadly fear and are still influenced by witchcraft.

I think the Government have been extremely kind to them. In the old days they looked upon the local Native Commissioner as their Father Confessor, but these educated ones that the Government have sent overseas to finish their education, come back full of Communist ideas and are real dictators, as one of my helpers remarked. "They all want to be Prime Ministers," which is true.

They are a very happy people in spite of many domestic upsets, a man never being satisfied with one wife. Unfortunately the men and women are drinking a tremendous lot of beer these days.

One of my women came to me last month and said she had no money for food. I said, "Your husband works in the Local shed, so earns a good wage." "Yes," she said, "He gets £15 per month, he gives me £5 for food (a bag of meal cost £2 12s. 6d.) then spends £10 on beer."

In the old days they used to have a glorious beer drink when the moon was full. I stitched up many some heads and stab wounds but to-day they drink every day, men and women and neglect their children who are growing up a lot of hooligans. We need more schools more trained teachers.

People at home in England do not understand. How can we sit down in Cafés and Hotels and drink out of the same cups when there is not a family in any Compound that has not a history of V.D. somewhere. This sounds a sweeping assertion, but unfortunately it is true. I help at a clinic here each week with the women and every ante-natal women is Kahn tested and if Positive is given 12 injections at the Government expense. The women tell me they only want "Peace and no bloodshed"!!

* Name withheld at the request of the witness

I do not think we have given Federation a fair trial. How can we tell in only a few years. What we really need is more schools more trained teachers so these people are taught to think for themselves and learn the value of principals at present they have none.

Broken Hill
22nd February 1960

BWILE SUPERIOR NATIVE AUTHORITY

We, Senior Chief Puta and Chief Councillor Edward Chisimba Mumpa, the Representatives of the Bwile Tribal Area, put before the Commission the following memorandum on behalf of the Bwile Tribe:—

The following will be the witnesses to our words:

1. Headman Mukunta (Kalobwa Parish)
2. John Chikange (Kabwe, Katete and Chiengi Parishes)
3. Headman Mwabu (Luau and Kisebwa Parishes)
4. Morton Mumba (Mabanga and Lurchinda Parishes)

1. We do not want the Federation to continue in Central Africa for the following reasons:—

- (a) We feel that the Federation means Amalgamation because last year the United Federal Party pressed forward the immediate secession from the United Kingdom by demanding Dominion Status, which meant that if that was done we could amalgamate with the Union of South Africa.
- (b) As protected people we feel that if Federation leads to (a), promises made by England for our protection from oppression and protection of our Land Rights will be broken.
- (c) If Federation leads to (a), the powers of Chiefs and Native Authorities will be taken away. This will result in trouble and the coming about of fears expressed in (b).
- (d) If Federation leads to (a), the wealth of Northern Rhodesia will be distributed amongst other countries as it is already. This is bad because the wealth should only be spent on Northern Rhodesia people for their advancement.

2. We put before the Commission the following recommendations:—

- (a) We recommend the breaking-up of the Federation and reversion to the form of Government that existed before Federation. This is desirable because—
 - (i) Nyasaland has already shown its dislike to Federation.
 - (ii) We feel that the wealth of Northern Rhodesia must remain in Northern Rhodesia.
 - (iii) Southern Rhodesia does not want the Northern Rhodesian form of Government as they have direct rule.
 - (iv) We feel that the people of Northern Rhodesia will have greater attention paid to them if all ministries are controlled within the Territory.
- (b) Supposing we have (a) we insist on Indirect Rule.
- (c) Supposing we have (a) we insist until we are capable enough of governing ourselves on having protection from the United Kingdom.
- (d) Supposing we have (a) we insist on the enforcement of the Native Trust Land Order in Council 1947.
- (e) Supposing we have (a) we insist that a policy be followed whereby there is the ultimate majority of majority peoples in the Legislature and the Executive of the Government.
- (f) Supposing we have (a) we insist that ultimately there must be *Universal Adult Suffrage*.
- (g) Supposing we have (a) we insist that there is equal opportunity for all races—
 - (i) Equal wages for equal work.
 - (ii) Equal opportunities for education.
 - (iii) Equal competition in all spheres of life.
 - (iv) No racial discrimination.
 - (v) No domination by minorities.

Kawambwa
12th February 1960

THE CENTRAL AFRICA PARTY, NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE

The third meeting of the Central African Committee reads as follows :—

- (1) Europeans fought Southern Rhodesia Africans, because "Mandebele" people did not want to live together with Europeans, and this did not occur in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
- (2) Federal Government has brought in misunderstanding between Africans and Europeans. Because European Road Foreman are killing Africans' goats with their rifles when travelling on duty in their Land-Rovers. This occurred in North Western Province in Headman Salupako's Village Chief Chizera Kasempa District, in the year 1960. Therefore, people in Northern Rhodesia are all against Federation as it has no respect for traditional customs and to our Chiefs.
- (3) North Western Province Native Authorities want two (2) chiefs and one traditional Councillor, Mr. Y. G. Chikombe to go overseas to discuss the review of Federal Constitutional changes of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1960, and we are quite prepared to pay for our two chiefs and one traditional Councillor's transport by air to England, if the British Government will grant it before 1½ months time.
- (4) Federal Government ill treatment. The Portuguese Africans of North Western Province, removed from their original country to join Democracy Government in Northern Rhodesia Provinces, because of Portuguese Europeans ill treatment. We are reporting all about these to the Mountain Commission Mr. Monckton, to inform the British Government that we all Africans in Northern Rhodesia are against Federation and Dominion Status.
- (5) Federal Government has taken over all the duties which are supposed to be done by Africans such as: Road Foreman, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Driving, Clerical Duties, Clinic Assistants, and Managers of Schools. All these duties are handed over to Europeans and including European ladies.
- (6) We all Northern Rhodesia Africans want human rights of freedom of movement, Freedom of Assembly, Freedom of Religion, Freedom of speech, Habeas Corpus and the rule of law.
- (7) All Africans in Northern Rhodesia do not want Government such as autocracy and Dominion where by one race dominate the other. Democracy is a Government we all Africans rely on.
- (8) Federal Government is the Government by one man in which no one has right to oppose him or to elect a leader to speak on his behalf at all.
- (9) All Africans have strongly opposed the Federal Government to rule Central Africa and Nyasaland. Because it will weaken our chiefs powers and our rural development manners, as we know that, will have no right to oppose him in any ways. These we have already known. We are quite perplexed with our minds about our chieftainships, since Federation came into being in the year 1953.
- (10) Federal Government has not fixed up Africans employees as regards their wages, it has only raised up school fees to African children which have caused most Africans to fail to educate their children. Likewise, what is the use or goodness of having Federation when it does more harm than good to Africans.
- (11) The Federal Government has brought in a bad system whereby in-patients and out-patients are asked to buy medicines especially in Kaonde Hospital in the North Western Province. Also, the Federal Government Hospital in the Kitwe mines, Africans visiting their brothers in-patients are asked to pay for entrance, and when an African dies in the Hospital, brothers parents are asked to pay five pounds for a grave rent and a box for the dead person. Therefore, what is the goodness of Federal Government when it gives more bad rules to Africans although we all Africans pay in our Native Poll taxes to the Government. These are overlooked by the Federal Government.

- (12) The Federal Government has also brought in a bad system of increasing post offices charges of stamps. We want these high charges of stamps reduced. And that Federal Government promised to improve communications and transport. This will be only on extension of our old roads. The fares being charged nowadays are extremely high. We want these high charges reduced.
- (13) The Federal Government has also, raised up the costs of Europeans store prices and European wholesales. This is all wrong, and it gives hard labour to all African employees and villages. Because all Africans labourers wages is from four to six pounds. This is including ration, children school fees, hut rent, firewood-rent, buying clothes for his family, and washing soap including paraffin and etc. We all Africans are against all these charges and bad rules.
- (14) Nobody in Northern Rhodesia wants Federation or any other Government apart from our British Government because our Democracy British Government allows everyone to have a share in his chieftainship.
- (15) Federation should be imposed in the countries where one race fought the other race, and then gained power through fights. This did not occur in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland where friendship between Europeans and Africans has been recognised by the British Government and no other alternative to this.

Kasempa

11th February 1960

CENTRAL AFRICA PARTY, CHIZERA BRANCH

I have the honour to forward the minutes of the Central Africa party in North Western Province of the fourth meeting held at Chizera.

The minutes read as follows :

We have a saying whereby one wagon is pulled by four bulls. Which one of the four is will be fed more? This means that since the present Government commenced in 1924, Africans and Europeans have been working together to promote the weather of this country.

Therefore, the two races ought to be considered equally on the last Constitutional talks in the following things :

- (1) Removal of industrial colour bar.
- (2) Wages should be equal.
- (3) Great increased educational facilities.
- (4) Undesirable form of taxation such as Indirect tax.
- (5) Removal of African Chiefs fear about the word "Federation".

If these things are not considered well, Federation must be exported to unknown country. This copy should be forwarded to Sir Roy Welensky in Salisbury for his information.

Africans must not be rendered inferior in comparison to new settlers although they have brought good things with them. We do not want to adapt a sort of Government similar to that of Kenya, Tanganyika and Nyasaland as long as our present one is quite satisfactory, until we feel ourselves to have self-government.

Kasempa

21st March 1960

W. E. CHEESMAN

I submit the following evidence for your Commission.

1. Whilst Compound Clerk on the Roan Antelope Copper Mines an aged African due for pension next day came to give details of his family (wife and seven children) to enable me to arrange their free transport to their village. Next day the pensioner asked me to make the arrangements for himself only. This was because he was married out of Tribal law and his family would not be accepted by the tribe.

2. In 1953 my African garden employee at 78E Tuanshya asked for leave to procure a wife in the Mazabuka area being sold for two shillings and sixpence. I was disgusted to see on arrival that this child wife only appeared 12 years of age but on my phoning the Police I was informed there was nothing I could do except discharge my employee, a course of action I decided against. Approximately a month after the (supposed?) marriage there was no Joubert the African garden employee but a small pool of blood each in the kitchen sink, washing sink, where he made his fire, his door step,

and at his bed side. Officially I the householder was never advised what transpired but I learnt that this man suffered 13 stab wounds from a compatriot next door over the child wife and spent six weeks in hospital and no case was ever tried at Court. (That was up to 1955 when I last saw Jouberg).

3. Late 1953 after case just mentioned two of my farm employers Joshua and another (whose name eludes me) produced daughters of my employees who having been brought up on my farm I was in a position to swear were under twelve years of age, but I felt helpless.

In due course Joshua cycled 14 miles to inform me his wife was in a critical pregnancy stage.

I said Joshua why did you refuse to let me take her to hospital prior to this stage now I am not free from my employment until six hours time beg your tribe or her tribe to help her to the nearby clinic but they refused and this poor woman? died and none would help the husband bury her. The next day Joshua came to borrow money to purchase condensed milk for his day old orphaned baby but I said Joshua our medical men realize that is almost fatal and it must be mothers milk plead with the women of your or her tribe who can, in mercy to suckle the baby. All refused and the infant died. The succession of child marriages that had affected my employees disgusted me and I put the cases to the District Commissioner. Copy Doctor Fisher Chief Medical Officer of Health Roan Antilope Copper Mines asking what could be done to remedy the state of affairs and I was ignored by the former and praised by the latter. I then put the whole issue before Sir Roy Welensky (then plain Roy Welensky, Leader of the Elected Members Lusaka) and this produced rapid results, the District Commissioner visited my private house and the farm 14 miles out in person after hours on a Saturday had all concerned warned to appear at Court and the guilty were fined.

4. April 1959 farm labourer Saidi got a boil under his arm but would not agree to go to the Clinic or hospital and with my politicking it appeared to mend but later worsened but Saidi still would not agree even when he developed what I presumed to be pneumonia (rightly as it transpired) to let me take him to hospital.

Jeremiah (Saidi's father) asked for a day leave which I granted and simultaneously three other of my employees asked to see me alone. The delegation was to implore me to drive Jeremiah and Saidi off my farm immediately as thanks to witchcraft the father would see all were dead unless Jeremiah's son recovered that day. I forced the issue just in time the sick man was in the open in the night with two braziers in the front and cold at the back and it was pneumonia.

5. In 1954 finding the burden of employing 5 African bricklayers on my farm too great I approach three Nemba Tribe and said "You are daily paid men and paid up to date bring your identity certificate and let me sign you off after which seek work elsewhere." A week later the three concerned having made no move I repeated my previous request in the presence of my entire 25 then labour force and my temporary European Manager. I was shocked to have my African in charge (six weeks after the last conversation and instructions and after the temporary European Manager had left my employ say "You should get rid of those three Nemba tribe men as they are causing trouble." In the presence of some 15 of my African employees their wives and children I said "Chomba Kalomba you have overstayed your welcome vacate my premises and leave my farm". This man came to within three feet of me and waving his finger within six inches of my face he said "You are a F Bastard" getting no reply or reaction he put his hand over my shoulder and pointing to my dog he said "You are worse than that dog in the vanette only gaining my warding his hand away from my shoulder he then said "If you weren't an old man I would kill you" I then said "You are very anxious to indulge in some snarling and biting and I would not prevent you if you find your subject off my farm immediately". I then approached this man's two compatriots and instructed them to vacate my farm immediately.

Two days later one of the three men having complied I saw the Officer in Charge Northern Rhodesia Police who informed me I the owner of the farm or my man in charge were empowered to evict squatters as long as we did not use force. I replied that this was poor legislation that left me at a complete disadvantage, and I was given one African Policeman to ensure that the eviction was without damage or violence. All three concerned were warned not to return to my farm but returned and occupied my African quarters the

same night. The Police approached then arrested the three men but they were let out on bail and no case ever came before the Courts.

I through Mr. Rodney Malcomson M.L.C. asked the Chief Secretary if the Magistrate was in order in allowing bail to such a trio and could he advise me how I should handle similar cases should they arise in the future.

The written reply handed me read "I have discussed Mr. Cheesman's letter with the Governor. Yes the Magistrate is entitled to allow bail in such cases and the only advice I can give Mr. Cheesman should a similar case arise in the future is to consult the Police. This case is given to illustrate the technique of the thugs who invariably get control in African communities terrorizing the decent and possible witnesses and gaining accomplices.

Law and Order in the Colonial Administration's hands and more power in the Africans' hands leaves me with the desire to sell out at much below valuation and I am a 20 year resident.

My credentials are :-

Grandfather—Wesleyan parson. 1820 Natal pioneer hunter and guide.

Miss E. Cheesman (Sister deceased)—20 years teaching in Indian and coloured schools.

Mrs. R. Offer (née Cheesman sister)—brought up 5 children adopted 4 waifs. Pres. war funds, Pres. Federated Women's Institute of Natal promoter 2 Indian schools 2 Zulu Clinics 2 Churches, etc.

Mrs. T. Dickinson (née Cheesman sister) wife of Durban's Senior Magistrate.

Miss J. Cheesman—Headmistress 39 staffed Girls School Durban and thrice President of the Natal Teachers Asscn.

Self—First Railwayman in Transhya 19 years on the Roan Antilope Copper Mines 15 of which I have managed my farm 14 miles out as a part time proposition.

Luanshya

25th January 1960

S. CHIBANZA

I am an African aged, born and grown in the Solwezi District, Northern Rhodesia. I sometimes joined the Government service on 17th September, 1924, shortly after the Imperial Government had taken over the Administration of Northern Rhodesia from the British South African Company on 1st April, 1924. Before that I was a Teacher at the Kafue Training College from 1920 to July 1924.

From December 1936-1947 I was made a Clerk-in-Charge, Solwezi Boma and have retired from the Government Service in 1949. Thereafter I was a member of both the African Provincial and Representative Councils since 1953—representing the people of this District till 1959 when it has since been abolished. I had been again elected Councillor for the Solwezi Native Authority for at least 5 years.

Sir, from this short biography of mine, I think you will agree with me when I say that I have studied the differences between the Colonial Office Government and the Federal Government. What is more, also, is this that I have been able to come in contact with as many people as possible and I have been able to hear all shades of opinions.

There are Sir, many reasons why we Africans do not want Federation. I am going to give you a few of the many reasons:—

1. History has shown that Her Majesty's Government undertook to protect Africans and train them until such time when we would be able and capable of looking after ourselves politically, economically and socially when it took over the Administration of Northern Rhodesia from The British South Africa Company. Agreements were also signed between our Chiefs and Her Majesty's Government. In spite of all these undertakings and in spite of the great opposition of the African people of Northern Rhodesia, Her Majesty's Government handed us over to the minority of European Settlers—much against our wishes.

2. In the Federal Assembly there are 59 seats of which only 15 seats are reserved for African Representatives to look after more than 7,000,000 people and while the rest of the seats have been offered to Europeans who represent not even half of the African population. Again under the Territorial Constitution

which is under the influence of the United Federal Party only 8 seats have been reserved for Africans—out of the 8 seats in question two of them had been snatched by the United Federal Party—leaving only six for the African Representatives. You will see, Sir, that both Constitutional Changes have been worked in such a way of putting it up right on top of Mount Everest so as to make it almost impossible for African who are economically disabled to have a full share in the Government of their country—hence our fear of the Federation.

3. When Federation was being imposed on us we were told not to worry because there would be many good things in store. But it is the opposite. Federation has brought a lot of hardships upon the people in Medical Services. Before Federation we enjoyed all free Medical Services. Before Federation we used to enjoy all free Medical facilities, but, now an African—who is economically poor, is required to pay for special treatment. It is obviously seen that medical services have deteriorated considerably.

4. The Federal Government, Sir, has allowed the cost of living to increase e.g. mealie meal which is the staple food of the African people—postal services, customs on goods mostly used by the African people and also pots, pans, blankets, etc.

5. The Federal Government has failed, Sir, to implement the African Advancement on the Railways and other industries.

6. The actual proportion of Africans being admitted to Rhodesia and Nyasaland University is proportionately very small when taken into account with the greater number of the African population.

7. The Federal Government with its mean Federal Franchise has influenced the Territorial Government to put its Franchise too high for the lowly paid Africans to qualify as voters.

8. Since Federation there has been a lot of trouble throughout Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In Nyasaland many people who were asking for a full share in the Government of the country before all these changes were killed and Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia many people were detained.

9. Our greatest fear of the Federal Government is the bad influence of European settlers in the Southern Rhodesia who have denied entirely the African rights as a human being to take part in the Government of his country.

Sir, from the facts given, we as Africans of Northern Rhodesia are aware that the only safeguard for our political, economic and social interests is through the Protected Government for which the Colonial Secretary is responsible to the British Government.

Sir, apart from what I have described on the above items, I am going a bit in details trying to explain what we are feeling at present.

It should be noted by the Commissioners that this is not my personal statement, but, a general grievance and complaint coming out of every African's mouth in this part of the country and beg to Commissioners to distinguish and sort out what is really required and what is not required by the as I have only given a mixture statement without knowing what is mainly wanted by the Commissioners.

It is widely known that Federation was imposed on the African population without their consent. It was formed into a Federal Party Government in about October 1953 against the wishes of the Africans. This was also a form of Government made up by a group of Europeans Settlers for their own benefit—especially those who immigrated from the Union of South Africa.

We had a reasonable reason to object of being ruled by the Federal Party Government other than the Monarch, because, we had already experienced in another Party Government of Settlers of the late British South Africa Company which ruled the people of Northern Rhodesia in a tyrannical way say from 1900 to April, 1924. We were greatly relieved (from many human hardships of which I cannot describe) when Sir Herbert Stanley the first Governor of Northern Rhodesia took over the Administration of Northern Rhodesia from 1st April, 1924 from the British South Africa Company. This was the first imposition of the Imperial Government in Northern Rhodesia. So from that time the people enjoyed living under the British Government's Rule up to the period of a Mixture Government of Federation in 1953.

So during that time the people compared the difference between the Queen's Regime and the British South Africa

Company. So if at any time the British South Africa Company wished to come back and resume its original status from the Imperial Government. The indigenous people would have not agreed to be ruled once more by the B.S.A. Company, unless by a force of arms.

We all wept at the time of being shoved into the present Federation in spite of our great opposition before our Local Government officials whom we expected they were going to help us as we were under the protection of the Queen's Government, but, in vain. We fell again into another Party Government of Settlers as hitherto. We failed to understand what was the desirability of being governed and ruled by two Governments and each of the Government issuing its own laws and restrictions upon the same bodies of people.

So, under the circumstances, we are now asking you the Commissioners sent by the British Government to look into this matter very intently, indeed, and not only to listen to the Party in power.

As we were redeemed by the British Government from the yoke of the B.S.A. Company, it will be a pity to drop us and hand us over into the hands of the European political Parties. The British Government is sound because of being administered by the people of the British lineage. We are strongly opposed to the Federal Party Government because it is full of people from the Union of South Africa who have no sympathy with an African and are mainly wanting to form up another South Africa in this part of the world. It will be quite impossible for the British Government to redeem us once more from the Federal Party Government once they have taken us over into their future independence from the Colonial Office Control. It will be no use for the British Government to think of boycotting their goods on seeing us suffering in great atrocities under them.

We did not think that the Federation was also going to dominate both the African and his Government of Northern Rhodesia. The Northern Rhodesia Government seems to us as a small Council under Federation. The Federation's Constitutional Franchise and qualifications up to £720 was deemed on dominating an African voter—making it as hard as possible for an African to qualify as an Ordinary Voter. The Northern Rhodesia Government also instead of going its own way, followed in the footsteps of the Federal Government.

There are many other ways in which we have observed that the Northern Rhodesia Government has been dominated by the Federal Government. We found it very hard in the way of paying our allegiance and Loyalty to the two Governments in Northern Rhodesia.

As Federation was imposed against the wishes of the Africans, we would like to get rid of it from us and remain with only one Government under the special protection of Her Majesty the Queen, for so long as we desire. We will, of course, breathe soundly and freely when Federation will be wiped out altogether from us at the next Conference of its Reviewer, as it brought us lots of difficulties and miseries whilst we are still under the protection of the British Government. We will suffer at large on our reversion once more to the Settlers Government manned by themselves.

There is a great dirge amongst the people at present on Medical Services since the Department had gone Federal. Hitherto the patients enjoyed free transport services to and from the Hospital for medical treatment. Since Federation a patient would only be taken free once to the hospital, and then, after treatment he or she would look for money for the returning from the hospital—which is a great hardship on the patient who went to hospital empty handed for medical treatment to obtain money for returning home. Federation has recently stopped any patient to be taken to the Mission Hospitals on free Requisitions unless the patient pays for his own transport to the Mission Hospital, and for doing so the Missionary Doctors have now dispensed with free medical treatment to any person as what they were doing before the advent of the Federation. It was publicly said that the only patient to be given free medical transport was the one sent to the Federal Hospital at Nkana—which has a very bad reputation amongst the people of demanding burial fees etc. on their own soil.

That we demand the whole of the Medical Department to return to our Territorial Government as hitherto, so that we may be well looked after and be relieved from many hardships caused by the Federal Department of having sometimes no medicines in our Rural Dispensaries.

There is another disadvantage caused by the Federal Department in connection with the Postal Department. We are again experiencing with much difficulties from the Post Office since it had gone Federal. Every postal article, stamps, telegrams etc. have extremely gone up than hitherto. This is again a very great asset among the African Community. We again request you the Commissioners to look into this matter and have our Postal Department reverted to the Territorial Government as hitherto.

The Federal Government, if it goes on, in spite of our refusal and opposition should confine itself to things like the Railways and Aerial transport and Surveys.

Finally, in my conclusion and summing up and comparing what we had seen in the British South Africa Company's regime and what we have seen during the past 5 or 6 years of the Federation's activities of disadvantages, we implore you, Sir, to report strongly to the British Government that we prefer to remain under the protection of the Queen's Government without the Federal Government—and that there would be no further adherence and loyalty would be paid or given to the Government of the Settlers after the Federation's Conference in about October of this year. We earnestly beg the British Government to uphold our original and present opposition against the imposition of Federation. We do not want any further Political parties playing their doleful record of cutting us altogether away from the Queen's regime.

The Holy Bible teaches us that no one would serve two Masters—you would cleave to one of them and hate another. i.e. We cannot serve under two Governments—the British and the Federal Governments and put us in confusion of paying our loyal allegiance to the Queen by sharing it also to the Federal Government of the minority of Settlers.

The Federation has been formed in great fear and suspicion. They suspect, deport or restrict any person white or black who may speak against it for fear of dissolution.

We have seen the first experiment of its trial over Northern Rhodesia—it had only brought upon us lots of troubles and so we strongly beg for its dismemberment from this Territory. Solwezi

17th February 1960

REPORT OF A MEETING AT CHIEF CHIKOLA'S COURT ABOUT THE FEDERATION

With many thanks to hear that you will stand on our behalf and hear our Evidence about the Federation.

Herewith six important views on 1960 talks about the Federation and why we do not want the Federation :—

- (1) Hospitals should be in Northern Rhodesia Government.
- (2) Federation has immigrated many Europeans and Afrikaaners.
- (3) Chiefs have no much power. We want them to have more power as what they had before in past years.
- (4) We do not want to live like the people who are in Southern Rhodesia
- (5) Federation has come with much troubles.
- (6) We all want to be in our old Government under the Queen of England.

The names of the Headmen at the Meeting are as follows :—

1. Luambula	17. Kalima
2. Mukukomi	18. Kanyundo
3. Mwape Mutusu	19. Mwale
4. Mwape Kyobela	20. Pondamali
5. Shinunka	21. Malona
6. Kaleleka	22. Kasumbalea Lubafu
7. Kobolya	23. Kunkanda Kimbala
8. Mututubanya	24. Kauseni
9. Mankishi	25. Kalusa
10. Kyoshi Mutabika	26. Lilefwe
11. Yambwana	27. Mutambila
12. Mutasa	28. Muombe
13. Kiwila	29. Mwansa Kilimba
14. Kanyamata	30. Ngungu
15. Kishatama	31. Mufukulo
16. Kasanga	32. Kimya
Chief Chikola's Village	33. Kutwale
Solwezi	

SENIOR CHIEF CHIKWANDA, MPIKA DISTRICT

(Born in 1922, Chinsali District of Northern Rhodesia. Educated at Lubwa Mission Church of Scotland and Munal Secondary School, completed Teachers' course 1942. Mission Teacher for 4 years. Became chief 1946. Elected member of Northern Province African Provincial Council. 1956 obtained Diploma in Public and Social Administration at South Devon Technical College Torquay, England, and at present Leader and Senior Chief. Representing more than 30,000 Bemba people living in this District.)

What should be the purpose of the 1960 Conference as visualised in 1953

In discussing the question of constitution development of Federation, one has to remember various facts which prevailed in 1953 when it was imposed. There were those who favoured Federation and those who did not. Those groups still exist today. On the whole in practice, it has been proved that Federation has not brought wonderful economic development to Central Africa, but friction among the races resulting in declaration of emergency in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and detention of African Leaders and their followers. In all the three territories, more stringent legislation has been brought about which has led to frustration among the Africans. In these circumstances, one has to consider the 1960 conference not as an easy one, but one in which the claims of various communities and groups shall look for the entrenchment of their own position.

When the decision was taken to review the Federal constitution in 1960, it was hoped that African opposition to the scheme would disappear as it was anticipated that the economic benefits which would accrue as a result of Federation would manifest themselves. But it has been found that that was false hope and African opposition today has grown in magnitude. It was also hoped that the idea of Partnership would succeed and that the Federal Government would carry it out, and by so doing convince the Africans. Unfortunately, the Federal Government has found it impossible to do so. It is impossible to do so as it can be instanced by the question of African advancement on the Railways. Federation has therefore brought about greater friction among races and the Federal Government has failed to carry out the idea of Partnership.

The 1960 conference has to consider the view held by various communities and groups. In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Africans want Secession. I would say that in Southern Rhodesia, European opinion has changed in the two Northern Territories and also there are those who still want to see the Federation unchanged in its present form and there are others who would like to see a loose Federation with strong economic ties. And yet there are others who would like to have a Central African alliance. The 1960 conference has therefore a difficult task to perform and yet it has to be faced.

It is therefore obvious that the 1960 conference shall be presented with several plans and suggestions and that the question of secession as a possible solution shall not be ruled out. The Africans of Northern Rhodesia shall seek a Federation between Nyasaland and Tanganyika, but excluding Southern Rhodesia because of its policies towards the Africans.

Apparently, Southern Rhodesia shall find itself in an embarrassing position and it is possible that representatives from that territory shall also see secession as the only possible solution, should this take place, the work of the 1960 conference shall be simpler, but otherwise its task shall be impossible. With the growth of independent states in African, Britain shall have difficult time, more especially as world opinion is against white domination in Africa. It seems to me that she too, might find secession as the only answer.

Franchise

In regard to the question of franchise, there is no alternative but the democratic form of one man one vote. Any other

form of franchise to protect certain groups are never satisfactory and are bound to lead to friction. What is required in this country is democracy, freedom and security for all. These things are only possible in a state that offers its citizens Universal adult suffrage. The Africans today are quite alert and world opinion is against any form of franchise that gives opportunity to a few, because of their skin, colour or wealth, or education. A human being is a human being because of his creation, he is a creature of God and is entitled to vote for those he wants to rule his country. There is adult suffrage in countries which are less advanced than Central Africa and it is morally wrong for any person to protect his position by denying rights to other people. What Central Africa wants is goodwill between Africans and non-Africans and this cannot be brought about by denying to Africans their rights to which they are entitled. In asking for democracy they are fulfilling their duty as citizens of these Territories. In my view, therefore, the only equitable franchise is universal adult suffrage applicable to all persons irrespective of race colour or creed.

Safeguarding of Individual Liberties

Safeguarding of individual liberties can be brought about by constitutional arrangements. Rights of individuals should be enshrined in a very constitution in a Multi-racial society, so that the individual no matter what colour may be must feel secure. In this way, he will be able to develop full and use his power for the good of all races. However, it is also necessary that all individuals should condition their behaviours in such a way as to win the good will of every race residing in Central Africa. Those communities who have advanced politically socially or educationally should assist others who have not advanced to their level. Every individual has therefore a duty to see that, he does not offend others in as much as he would not like them to offend him by work, deed or behaviour. In this way legislation or constitutional arrangements for safeguarding individual liberty will work properly.

The Governments of Federations therefore have a duty to see that they create conditions which will bring about security for all make the countries happy and prosperous. But this will be impossible unless the Africans who are the majority felt sure that they were being given equality in education, employment, social life and education facilities. The Africans should be given opportunity to acquire skills in Government Commerce and Industry so that they can play an equal part with Europeans

Responsibilities of H.M. Government in London

Her Majesty's Government in Britain should accept democracy for Central Africa as the only way of making Africans and non-Africans to live together. They must stop listening to those running the Government alone as these Governments are Europeans and Africans are still outside the main channel of them. Since Africans have not much say in the Government, the United Kingdom Government must protect their rights and find out from them how they can protect them. But a greater duty still rests upon them in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to hasten the handing of power over to Africans immediately. Any delay in this direction is fraught with danger. The voice of the majority must be heard and accepted by the British Government.

Constitutional Development in the Northern Territories Prior to the Holding of the 1960 Conference

As regards the constitutional development in Northern Rhodesia the view of my people is that, the present constitution should change before October 1960, in favour of African Majority, so that those who shall attend the 1960 conference shall be true representatives of the majority of the people. European and Asians in Northern Rhodesia like those in Nyasaland should be willing to face facts and accept the view that a minority cannot force its will against the majority. It simply cannot work and they will never get any acceptance for such an idea in the international world. What is needed in Northern Rhodesia is democracy for all, irrespective of race, colour or creed. There should be freedom and security for all. European must accept African leadership. Tanganyika and Kenya have shown good example in demonstrating as to what can be done in living together in multi-racial society. The rights of individuals can be written into the constitution so that the European should feel that they are secure, but the rule must be democratic. Each person must have a vote and should be free to live as he likes as long as he obeys the laws of the state. As I said before, Northern Rhodesia should join Nyasaland and Tanganyika. The Europeans and Asians would be

willing to accept this idea as they have seen that Tanganyika would not oppress them. To strive to remain together with Southern Rhodesia is to look for troubles in the long run and to court the condemnation of the whole world. Southern Rhodesia will never succeed in changing her policies to suit Northern Rhodesia and because our connection with the whites in Southern Rhodesia was accidental. In Southern Rhodesia it was by war and conquest. In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland it was by treaties. So there will never be any stability in such a Union or Federation. Africans can no longer tolerate such a situation and with the growth of the University and African education generally, the friction between white and black shall grow and no one shall feel safe to invest in such a country. With the mineral resources at our disposal human progress should be faster if democracy were to prevail in 1960. My suggestion is therefore that both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should have constitutions which should have African majority before the sitting of the 1960 conference.

Provision for Further Constitutional Change

Provision for further constitutional change is a matter which should be gone into at the 1960 conference. Southern Rhodesia could have its Dominion status provided Africans there were given complete equality in Government commerce and industry. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would have to consider Federation with Tanganyika and would eventually obtain their independence within Commonwealth. In this way, we would have settled territories and Britain should never again attempt to impose her will against the wishes of the majority of inhabitants.

To my mind this is the only way to solving problems in Central Africa and I believe that this statement will provide those who think that they shall suffer when Africans take over the Government in Central Africa with new thoughts and appreciation of the ideas. There is no other way but the democratic way of peace happiness, security and freedom which should be acceptable to Britain and Europeans in Central

Africa.

Mpika District.

A. CHILUMBA

Born 1914

46 years old

I regret the federation Government

- (1) I do not know what it means.
- (2) I have been in Central Africa about 46 years. I have not heard of this Government of its work.
- (3) I know only the Local Government, which is still on use now.
- (4) British Government prommissed us he will be looking after us. If grew enough he will give us power to do what we think.
- (5) Although there will be enemeys, they have to them defend us.

I regret the Federation.

Chiundaponde Village

Mpika

CHIEF CHILYABUFU

On the evidence given by Banamwaze Residents

7th February, 1960

We have never accepted Federation and therefore dislike it.

Since the establishment of Federation there is nothing good that we have seen but only more evil things.

- (1) The Federation has withdrawn much money from Northern Rhodesia and this money does not help us at all. For example, we Banamwaze people applied for a dispensary to be erected but we are not allowed. We firmly believe that if the health services did not come under Federation, our Northern Rhodesia Government would have already given us a dispensary on the northern bank. In this regard we find that Federation is altogether bad; the money that it has withdrawn is not properly used. It is, perhaps, best used within S. Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There are no good roads in Namwala. We want all powers that have been usurped by the Federation to be delegated to the N.R. Government. We want to be ruled through the Colonial Office, under the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and not the Federation.

(2) We know that since the Federation withdrew the money from Northern Rhodesia Government, the latter because of trying to keep things up to date, many taxes have been introduced and raised. This is because the money which ought to help and stop the necessity of additional and rising of taxes has been drawn by the Federation. The cost of Beer and Game Licences are higher than they should normally be were it not that the Federation has dished-up much money from Northern Rhodesia. Now that we had never accepted the Federation, the powers and money should be restored.

(3) Since Federation was established, we are not at ease because there are several things of which we are threatened. We are threatened of paying tax for cattle, the Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia are threatened of being removed from Chieftainship, such threats did not exist before Federation was established. African Meetings are withheld from time to time. There are endless investigations in the country—people are gripped with fear—the life which they have not lived before. Apparently all powers usurped by the Federation must be delegated to the Northern Rhodesia Government.

Namwala

7th February 1960

CHIEF CHIMBOLA

I, Chief Chimbola and the people of the Matengele Area of the Kasama District do this letter reiterate once again that we are as opposed to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as we were in 1953, when Federation was imposed against our expressed wishes.

Since Federation came into being, Her Majesty's protection has been shadowed and the promise which was made that after we have been taught to govern ourselves the British Government would grant us self-government has continually been obscure. Continuation of Federation means severing us from the protection of the British Government. We want to remain protected by the British Government until we get self-government, which will be democratic in that the majority will have equal rights with the minority; at present the Europeans dominate the territorial legislature as well as the Federal Parliament; partnership has failed completely and has lost all meaning. Thus the only course is to let Northern Rhodesia break away from Federation.

Federation is responsible for misunderstanding between the Europeans and Africans—this sort of thing did not exist before Federation came into being. We have found even in the rural areas the people under Territorial Government and the Native Authorities have had their relations strained because of the existence of Federation all these are the fruits of Federation.

Under Federation Northern Rhodesia stands to lose for:—

- (i) Southern Rhodesia emerged to be the major partner and dominates the other territories. It is Southern Rhodesia which is dictating the terms to be followed by Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
- (ii) Southern Rhodesia is getting more economical benefits brought about by Northern Rhodesia's financial contribution to the Federal Government.
- (iii) Southern Rhodesia has self Government and its laws are designed to keep the African people down always. Past events have proved this.
- (iv) Southern Rhodesia has a great number of Representatives in the Federal Parliament and this has weakened effective bargaining position of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland in the Federal Government.

All the Ministries in the hands of the Federal Government have done badly so they should be handed back to our Territorial Government and Federation discontinued. Post Offices built and staffed have been few and far between compared with what was done in the same time before Federation. This is with particular reference to the rural areas, Customs duties instead of going down have in fact gone up than they did before Federation; postage charges have continually been going up that increase over an ordinary and of minimum weight letter has doubled, i.e. from 1½d. to 3d. Apart from some few hospitals built in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia has had the lion's share of the fund provided for Health Services. In the rural areas provision of

dispensaries has been nothing in time of Federation compared with what was provided for by the Territorial Government before Federation—this is true of Northern Rhodesia.

We do not want Federation to continue but that we should remain under protection of the British Government. We want to be protected until such time as we are trained to rule ourselves and also be able to protect ourselves. This is the promise which was made by the British Government and we trust it to honour its promise.

Matengele Area

Kasama

27th January 1960

D. M. CHIYENGE

Against Federation in any Form

1. Federation stops African advancement

I have seen from the start that Europeans like federation because they want to hinder African progress.

Before federation African education was very rapid. No children were left without schools. This time there are many boys and girls in the territory without schools.

The income of 1930-1940 was ten times less than the income of 1945-1960. The money is selfishly spent on the things which federal government wants. Those which they know are bettering the living of the white citizens. This Department which advances Africans' knowledge is not minded.

Within federation African education will not be minded. No matter territorial government is held by African still this inhumane government selfishly control the central funds that no real progress will be experienced in the country. Northern Rhodesia alone can do this better.

2. Against any suggestion to better federation

I am against any suggestion to better federation. Europeans know very well that no African will agree to co-operate with Southern Rhodesia. So they will try all they can to use all federation money to better Southern Rhodesia which they know is already in their hands.

3. Colour bar

This will not end while co-operating with Southern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia there is hatred between black and white. The white will not like to work together, to play together, to dine together with black because they looked into one another's blood. So this will weaken our co-operation in this country. Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council is working hard to create proper partnership between races. But it fails to work properly because of this inhumane government.

Even in this country the whites from Southern Rhodesia with wrong supremacy treat the blacks like low creatures. They do not agree with territorial governments policy to work friendly, to play friendly, to dine friendly with the black partner.

This is not the case with most of Northern Rhodesia white partners who come straight away from overseas. They are willing to do all these. Why? We are not enemies from the start.

4. Federation has caused trouble

From the time colonial government was ruling alone 1924-1945 there were no troubles in Northern Rhodesia. Black and white enjoyed complete peace. Federation has caused bloodshed and riots in the territory. Why? Europeans have selfishly taken the policy of their white friends of south. They show poor wrong and cruel supremacy at work and ruling to satisfy the policy of federation. Forgetting their black friends and made them to lose interest in them.

5. Federation is the enemy of the black

Since the start of this inhumane Federation. All people of all races who try to speak in favour of the black are not liked by this government. Why? They do not want those people to tell the black how to work to advance their living.

Many humanitarians have been deported. Others from overseas are always badly treated because of treating African in a friendly way. Giving proper sympathy to the black sufferers. Were hated by federal government.

6. Federation does not like African political bodies

Africans have been made wild because they are not allowed to form free political bodies. The government enforces rules

on African political bodies only. There are European political bodies. The federal government does not stop these bodies. But African bodies are stopped. They cannot hold meetings freely any time they like. They have to ask for permission to hold a meeting. The policemen must be there while there are reporters who can put everything in the papers. This does not mean to control riots and other things but to hate African expression.

7. Federation hinders self Government

Northern Rhodesia wants the government in which all black and white take share in ruling. This is impossible when federation is in existence. Why?

Northern Rhodesia will do this. But the government will still be pure federal government because many members from United Federal Party will likely take more seats and rule according to the policy of their body which works to support federation. This will make N.R. to be dominated by white settlers.

8. Federation has created fear in white settlers

Before federation black and white were faithful to each other. Whites are now afraid of the black because of the bad treatment this inhumane federation has given to blacks. This fear will lead to dislike to recommend the African rule thinking the black will give the same treatment to them. So within federation they will be supported to stop African to take their government.

To check this fear from the whites we must secede from federation. This will give black and white time to work together and regain confidence in blacks before blacks ask for self government.

9. Territorial Government has failed in its duties because of federation.

Before federation roads were maintained every year. This time all the country money goes to maintain federal roads. The roads which go to rural black homes are neglected.

Examples (1) The road from Senior Chief Puta to Mporokoso has not been minded for many years. It is almost out of use because the road has lost many bridges. This has made the people of that area to loose the easy and quick transport they had because Musango Brother Buses have failed to use the road.

(2) The road from Mbereshi Mission to Senior Chief Kazembe's village via Mukolo, 13 miles road. I have not seen this road being maintained from 1956 up to date. This area has a big population. The buses of 3 African transporters have been serving this area. People enjoyed this transport which dropped them at their doors. The conditions of the road have made the transporters to fail to serve this area. People of this area are now carrying loads to Mbereshi or Kazembe the remain bus stations.

(3) Road from Mbereshi mission to the junction of Kawambwa Fort Rosebery road. This road is very bad with many ditches. People have uncomfortable journeys on this road. This is because the roads are territorial roads. This is not the case with Federal roads. The money is given to federal roads.

10. Federation weakens the sympathy of Her Majesty's Government to Black people.

Before federation Her Majesty's Govt. tried very hard to do what was good for black and white. In 1945 the federal minded people made false reports on black thought about federation which made Her Majesty's Govt. to accept the federal constitution. From that time the British Govt. stopped to mind to see who voted in favour or who voted against federation. Strictly saying all black unminded sufferers were against federation. Their heads the chiefs and the leaders of Congress flew to United Kingdom to protest against federation but no one minded their protest. From that time black sufferers have been asking British Govt. to release them from ill treatment they get within federation. The British Govt. does not take any notice of these. It is only looking at false reports sent by leaders of federation. It does not mind to listen to whoever tries to tell them the truth about the treatment of blacks in the federation. This is because federation has gained confidence in British Govt. by their false reports. This is the reason why we want N.R. to secede from federation to make the black sufferers to regain that sympathy the British Govt. had to them.

11. Federation is the weapon to pure white Dominion.

From the time Monckton Commission was introduced. Federation has been asking for the full membership of the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister and his supporters the United Federal Party and Dominion Party are planning to stop the federation to look back to the Whitehall. He knows that once federation is given right to do what it wishes without asking the Colonial Office it will be easy to dominate the black sufferers. So the Prime Minister and these two parties are very much willing to accept the new constitution. Knowing that there will be a day when they will be granted the full membership of the Commonwealth. The British Government will no longer control federation and Africans will be nowhere.

The above are the reasons why I do not like federation. I know these reasons will not be given consideration since your terms of reference are not about secession of this territory. Which is the reason why many black fail to waste time to give evidence. I give them because I know this is what black people want.

Kawambwa

CHIZERA TRADITIONAL COMMITTEE

The following is a list of points against Federation discussed on 24th January 1960, in the Kaonde Traditional Africans executive Committee as follows :-

1. Sir, we all Africans in the North Western Province don't want Government such as *Autocracy* and *Dominion Status* where by one race dominate the other. We want *Democracy* Government.

2. Sir, Democracy is a Government in which everyone has right to elect a Leader to speak on his behalf.

3. Sir, Federation and Autocracy is a Government by one man in which no one has right to advise or oppose him. This is bad Government.

Sir, we are reporting all these words to you and inform the British Government that, people in North Western Province don't want Federation, because the British Government promised in 1918 that all the Colonies belonging to it will be developed and eventually given self-government. Such as *Ghana* and *Nigeria*. But why should other race inforce in Federation?

4. Sir, Federal Government wants to abolish customs duties and introduce Free Trade. This is all wrong, for we know that Free Trade will hinder our improvement in our industries. By saying that Federal Government will improve communications and transport. This will only be on extension of our old roads. The fares being charged nowadays are extremely high. We want these high charges reduced.

5. Sir, we have strongly opposed the Federation because it will weaken our chiefs' powers and all Africans' ideas, as we know, will have no right to oppose and advise the Federal Government at all. This we have already known. We are quite perplexed with our chieftianships since Federation came into being in the year 1953.

6. Sir, Nobody in Northern Rhodesia or in North Western Province wants Federation or any other Government, apart from our old Great Britain Government. British Government allows everyone to have a share in it.

Sir, Federation has not considered Africans employees as regards their wages, it is only raising school fees which have caused most Africans to fail to educate their children. But what is goodness of having Federation when it does more harm than good to Africans.

7. Sir, Federation and Dominion is a Government in which one race should dominate the other. This is against Africans' traditional customs of Northern Rhodesia.

8. Federation should be imposed in the countries where one race fought the other and gained power through fights. This did not occur in Northern Rhodesia where friendship between Europeans and Africans has been recognised by the British Government.

9. Sir, people in North-Western Province don't want Federation with its several unknown reasons. No race should dominate the other. Sir, also, people here don't want to meet those strangers coming to visit Northern Rhodesia because they want to come and inforce in Federation, they must not come in. Sir, Africa is for Africans and Europe is for Europeans and no other alternative to this.

10. Sir, the North Western Province *two Chiefs and one Traditional Chairman* to go overseas to discuss Federation 1960. This Committee is asking the British Government to grant it, if possible. We are quite prepared to pay for our own self transport by air to London.

11. Sir, The Federal Government has brought in a bad system whereby in-patients and out-patients are asked to buy medicines especially our Kaonde African Hospital in Kasempa District. Also, the Federal Government Hospital, Africans visiting in-patients are asked to pay 2/6 entrance. This is very bad ideas too.

Kasempa

30th January 1960

J. J. COOPER

Salvation Army, Kafue

May I please get a space to give my personal letter writing evidence about the Monckton Commission, which had been published for any one who feel like giving his personal evidence about the Federal Government.

The visit of the British Prime Minister and Lady Macraillan had been a blessing to the race of African. The British Prime Minister will witness us in his return to Britain to whether the people of Federation like it or not, this will be from his experience from what he saw and hear about the Federation in his African tour.

I have a very shape idea that Monckton Commission will do a great deal of help to the people of the Federation to drive them away from the Federal Government and remain under the previous Government of Northern Rhodesia or under Independent.

The Northern Rhodesia Government had improved the country until it was decided that the country should be taken by the Federal Government. Therefore, if the previous Government had failed to rule the country, let Northern Rhodesia be under Independent Self Government Country.

Coming to the point of Federal Government the word Federation in Northern Rhodesia is just like a rotten smelling dead animal to all the people of Northern Rhodesia. I mean it because it had brought us many troubles since the Federal Government started.

Before the Federation we had not many politician who could fight for self government as we are doing now, because the ruling Government at that time was a bit kind to its people.

Since the practice of Federal Government so many people had been threatened and imprisoned some killed, e.g. in Northern Rhodesia in Chief Chipepo's area many lost their lives when they were refusing to move to Lusitu Area. After their arrival at Lusitu many lost their lives and are still dieing even now.

In Nyasaland also many lost their lives and hundreds of them imprisoned. If we think of our comrades who lost their lives and some imprisoned and are still in prison now, it becomes an enemy to us and shall not want it until at the end of the world.

It would be a very stupid thing for a N. Rhodesian and Nyasaland fellow to favour a *Loin Federal Government* while his sisters, brothers, uncles, friends and fathers had perished because of it.

Speaking in Salisbury Sir Roy Welensky Federal Prime Minister said, the Federal Government should get complete independence in the field for it was responsible and it must get it quickly—this year or at the latest in 1961. He added, it was essential to destroy the belief that the Federation could be broken up.

For these words spoken by the Federal Prime Minister, we can not blame him, because what he is fighting is to get his rank not broken up, but it could be a stupid thing if the Government of N.R. can agree to his words because it can just favour one particular person who needs money or promotion for rank and put back the lives of millions of people who live in Federation. *Remember in the Bible Jesus was sold only with 30 pieces of silver.* This is what you are trying to do. We don't want to shed blood because of this Commission. How can you not wonder that since the beginning of it none of the Africans favoured it.

It would be very wise for British Government to use the other work for that money which you are planning to give the

Commission to find some evidence about the Federation which you very well know that the people don't like it.

We had a very fine Government before the Federation. We paid little for our taxes and had very cheap education. We at present pay more and education is expensive.

We used to brew beer in our local areas without licences, but now we have to get licences and pay for them. I use my own food for making it, why should I get a licence?

All these headlines come under the heading Federation. I tell you if we had weapons to fight, we would have had already done so, but we don't.

If it is true that God is there in heaven and will judge some people who ill treat their friends surely he will do so to such people

If we had a strong team as you have for example Police, we could make every body who speak the word Federation to be sentenced for life imprisonment.

We ask the British Government to take away the Federation as soon as it can please. We plead you to do so please. People in Federation are perishing.

Kafue

6th February 1960

P. K. CRIGHTON—a farmer of Broken Hill

Subject: The effect on African Opinion in the Northern Territories caused by the siting of the Federal Government and Parliament in Salisbury and the vital necessity to re-site it.

1. The major mistake in Federation was the obviously incorrect siting of the Federal Capital, Government and Parliament in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. In this the "Commission of Inquiry into the Siting of the Capital" failed dismally in their duty in that they did not take due note of the effect on African opinion in the North, nor did they appear capable and competent to look even a few years into the future to foresee the very obvious effect such a decision (Salisbury or anywhere in Southern Rhodesia) was bound to have. It would appear that the majority of that Commission had firmly made up its mind at the start that Salisbury had all the advantages *and all the amenities*, and the decision (apart from all the formalities of taking evidence) was made, and nothing would unbend it.

2. Whilst it is fully agreed that Salisbury is ideal for the Parliamentarians and the Government employees, surely they are of small concern compared with the public opinion in the North, which was, and must be, against Southern Rhodesia for reasons so obvious to all that it is hardly necessary to tabulate them.

3. African opinion in the North has been, is, and will be for years to come as suspicious of Southern Rhodesia as they are of the Union of South Africa. In their semi-educated state they have reason for this distrust, however unjustified it may be in actual fact. Among these are :—

- (a) "The North" (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) has always looked upon Southern Rhodesia as "The South" and many Africans, far more than the average person imagines, link "The South" with South Africa, and all that that means to them.
- (b) Those with slightly more intelligence realise that South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are two separate countries but still think and believe that Southern Rhodesia, being right on the border of the Union, is secretly part thereof, if not geographically and politically certainly in thought spirit and sympathy.
- (c) Many of them believe that the "British South Africa Police" are merely an off-shoot of the "South Africa Police Force", for whom they have no high regard, and argue that if there be no connection why are they not called the "Southern Rhodesia Police". To the somewhat lower standard of intelligence this is understandable.
- (d) They hear of talk from time to time of the desire in certain quarters of Southern Rhodesia for that country to form some sort of alliance with the Union of South Africa, and believe then that the Parliament and Government in Salisbury would introduce South African laws and justice, South African methods and policies, and above all, South African racial discrimination.
- (e) Southern Rhodesia is not under British Law, but under Roman Dutch Law, which they naturally connect with South Africa.

- (f) Southern Rhodesia is not under Colonial Office rule but has internal self-government with no Africans in Parliament and hence, so they believe, no protection from Whitehall.
4. Whilst all the above-mentioned facts appear trivial and petty, they are not so to the semi-educated mind, and the thousands of even lower intelligence who will believe anything that is pumped into their minds by extremist agitators.
5. They have been repeatedly told that Southern Rhodesia is not a good country, it is a land of many "White Men", it is a land with South African ideas and ideals, and that Sir Roy Welensky deliberately had the Federal Capital sited there so that gradually all that was of Southern Rhodesian origin, thought and belief would be disseminated northwards throughout the whole Federation to bring them into line with Southern Rhodesia and (to their minds) with South Africa eventually.
6. It is abundantly clear therefore that from the point of view of African opinion in the North, the siting of the Federal Capital in Salisbury was the worst possible mistake that could have been made, and without any doubt a very large contributory factor to the intense suspicion and mistrust which has been built up towards Federation.
7. Federation these days, to the African, means the Government, and the Government means Salisbury. Salisbury embraces Southern Rhodesia or "The South", which in turn brings the shadow of the Union of South Africa to their minds as a natural sequence.
8. It is *vital* therefore, if Federation is to continue, that one of the main causes of suspicion must be eliminated. *It can be and it must be*. It is not too late, but very nearly so. Fortunately the millions earmarked for the Warren Hills site at Salisbury have not yet been spent. Before more irreparable damage is done the siting of the Federal Capital must be changed, and moved not only away from Salisbury but right out of Southern Rhodesia altogether. This would immediately remove the stigma which Northern African opinion attaches to "The South".
9. The actual siting would again have to be left to a Select Committee, but let them bear heavily in mind that it is entirely and basically wrong to have a Federal Capital and Territorial capital in one and the same city (*vide* Canberra in Australia). Head offices and branches are the two things apart, and must be so. Jealousy, favouritism etc., must be avoided. The lesson has been sorely learnt with Salisbury. Never let us make the same mistake. This emphatically eliminates Lusaka as a choice.
10. The Copperbelt, including Ndola, must be ruled out of any consideration as it is too remote and, being right on the International Boundary, too strategically exposed, more especially so now that the Congo is to become an Independent Republic this year. Furthermore, it is essentially an industrial and mining region whereas a Federal Capital should be a "Garden City", a centre of learning and culture and a focal point of Foreign Embassies and Legations.
11. Livingstone could have been a choice geographically, but climatically it is highly undesirable for many months of the year. Furthermore, a capital was once sited there and removed for the very reason that it was unsuitable. But, more important, a choice of Livingstone would *not* remove the African suspicion of the South; even though it be actually in Northern Rhodesia it would be bound to spread, as it grows, over the Bridge to the South Bank area. And let us not forget the impact on the African mind of the fact that *only recently* the Livingstone Municipal Council actually debated the possibility of seceding from Northern Rhodesia and joining up with "The South". Whether or not they would have succeeded in a somewhat fantastic idea, the fact still remains that they considered it, and the African opinion in the North would believe that if once the Federal Capital had been chosen at that place the same thing could be tried again. A Federal Government would have more chance of making the transfer than a Municipal Council. And the stigma of the South would immediately return with all that it implies.
12. Whatever place be chosen, the Committee must bear in mind the following :—
- Reasonable altitude, rainfall and climate.
 - On line of rail.
 - Geographically central for the three territories.
 - Good communications, Territorial, Federal and International.
- Not highly industrialised.
 - An educational centre.
 - Adequate supplies of Electrical Power and Water.
 - Surrounded by a good agricultural area, and capable of reforestation.
 - Good hospital facilities.
 - Good sight for an airport.
13. A Federal Capital in "The North" would give the necessary boost and impetus for the influx of capital and settlers to the Northern Territories where they are both needed so badly. The balance of power has been thrown completely out of all proportion due to the magnetic effect of Salisbury in the South. The Federation is tending more and more to become no more, and no less, than the area of Greater Salisbury and District.
14. Federal Government Departments would have a much clearer *on-the-spot* insight into the needs and difficulties of the North, whereas those of Southern Rhodesia are only too well known by virtue of length of occupation and history.
15. Military and Air Commands *must* be further North, together with their personnel and equipment. Trouble in the future is unlikely to emanate from the Union or Portuguese East Africa, *but* from the North of the Federation. At present everything is concentrated between the area Salisbury and Bulawayo except for a few Native Troops, which is fundamentally and strategically unsound.
16. To establish a Federal Capital costs money. To quell a rebellion costs money, damage and human lives and establishes a hatred that may linger on for years. Either way the taxpayer has to foot the bill. I leave it therefore to the superior wisdom and judgment of this Commission to decide which is the right, just and honest solution to a problem which basically is really so simple.

Broken Hill

10th February 1960

P. G. CUTHBERT

I qualified as a Chartered Accountant in Cape Town in 1946 and took up residence in Livingstone in May, 1948. Since then I have become senior partner of my firm, I met my wife in Livingstone and have built my house and established my domicile here. My two children were born here and are being educated here.

I wish to offer the following comments and information which I hope will assist the Commission in carrying out its Terms of Reference.

The aim of the United Kingdom Government has been to get away from racial representation and to safeguard the interests of the minorities—whether minorities by numbers or by representation. The existing franchise laws of the Federal and Territorial Governments are designed to accomplish this and are working very satisfactorily. They have been based on a recognition of the facts that the African population is a minority when regarded from the point of view of rarely being able to organise beyond tribal affairs, and the European and Asian population is a minority from the point of view of numbers. The franchise is designed to give greater representation through larger numbers of Africans as they become more civilized. It is to be hoped that with advanced civilization the Africans will get away from the present strong nationalistic tendencies which, if given full representation today, would negate the aims of the United Kingdom Government.

Individually the vast majority of Africans is not appreciative of what functions the Federal and Territorial Governments carry out. Very few Africans have the ability and training to take positions of responsibility, and it would be dangerous to expect this of every African prepared to stand for a vacancy in a local, Territorial or Federal Government. From what I know of local conditions there are only two Africans in this area who have shown themselves capable of holding down responsible positions, and even they have their capabilities channelled to their own particular affairs. While the main proportion of the Federal Assembly can be elected of any race, the adoption of the idea of "one man one vote" before the social, educational and economic advance of the majority of the African population, would spell disaster for the social, educational and economic advancement of all the peoples of the Federation.

It is opportune to mention here the inequality with which the African males treat their females. Until this is changed

and the African women are given a better general opportunity for education and social equality, the general advancement of the Africans will be retarded.

In 1951 the Secretaries for State for the Colonies and for Commonwealth Relations in their Report on Conference on Closer Association stressed that the scheme that they put forward (and which was subsequently adopted in the main) was not a mere compromise between divergent views. They believed that the scheme had great positive merits in the interests of all the Territories and of all the inhabitants, and that it is fully consistent with the United Kingdom Government's responsibilities towards the African inhabitants. In my opinion the circumstances have not altered to justify any change in their statement. The only change has been a rising tide of African nationalism which if allowed to get into power, would soon produce the worst possible interpretation of representative government. Central Africa would soon become a very remotely connected part of the Commonwealth, prepared to share in, but not to contribute to the benefits of membership of the Commonwealth.

Besides being politically necessary to continue the Federation on its presently established basis, economically it is just as essential. Nyasaland is not rich enough to be able to stand on her own and advance the health, education and standard of living of its inhabitants, and similar advancement in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia would be greatly endangered if the present forms of their Governments and of the Federal Government were to be debased in any way.

At the present time the Africans' only claim is numerical superiority. The ultimate aim of the present Governments is the economic, social and political advancement of the Africans. Until a large number of Africans have shown their ability to play their part in the administration and politics of their own areas, and until they have convinced the majority of their race that their best interests lie in the aims of the present Governments (advanced equally in all sphere and not merely politically) Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will not have discharged its special responsibilities under treaty and otherwise for the protection and advancement of the African Peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Livingstone
26th March 1960

D. R. DUBAH

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. If all things concerning Federation were equally divided, would be a good thing to carry out without any discouragement. But being a monopoly to Northern Territories therefore I don't favour to continue and the reasons are as follows:—

1. The Federation was forced to take place in 1953 with the view in minds that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be dominated by the Southern Rhodesia where they are majority of the Europeans and make these two subordinate. This can surely proved by you and many others by (a) Federal Capital, (b) University College, (c) Kariba Dam all these are in Southern Rhodesia and by these things I am sure you understand by the word monopoly.

2. The composition of the Federal Assembly members. When you look at the composition of the Federal Government, you will find out that Southern Rhodesia has many more members than these two territories. The figures are Southern Rhodesia has 29 members in all, Northern Rhodesia has 19 members in all, Nyasaland 11 members in all. Is that not monopolising?

3. Federation has made our country Northern Rhodesia poor. Northern Rhodesia, had it not been for the Federation trouble would be far much ahead than the two countries, because it had quick advancement in all parties educational, Agricultural and mineralities. I am sure and certain that this thing had brought our country behind.

4. The Federation is good for the Europeans because they are favoured, and have found it a very good thing because it hinders African advancement. Nor a long time do I remember very well about the trouble of making Africans advanced in the railway. Ha! Many Europeans opposed it and it was surely turned down therefore this thing favours only Europeans. No Northern Rhodesia being on African country, would not favour the thing which is only for one race.

5. I have wondered a great deal that both the Federal and the British Governments have the fear of carrying this thing

out as they did in 1953 to force it. I think if this thing of asking the feeling of the individuals about the Federation was from the beginning I am sure it would not cost many deaths as in Nyasaland, but being a forced thing, therefore has caused many misunderstandings and troubles between races throughout the period of seven years.

Fort Jameson
8th February 1960

H. S. EKELENI—Court Clerk for Chiundaponde Native Court.

Born 1924 in Chiundaponde Village.

I am 36 years of age.

I regret the Federation for 5 reasons.

- (1) I donnot know what it means?
- (2) Nobody has told me of it use since I have been in Northern Rhodesia for 36 years.
- (3) I donnot know the use of this Government.
- (4) Unless some one told me of it.
- (5) I am living far from the main road. I know nothing about this Government of today.

Mpika

R. E. FARMER

Memorandum and Extract from Federal Government Gazette dated 5th Feb. 1960

1. The Federation came into being in 1953 as a result of political enticement, i.e., the promise of financial benefits to the white population of Southern Rhodesia to persuade them to vote for it.

2. The inhabitants of the two Northern territories were not consulted, although it is reasonable to assume that a majority of the white population of those territories, if given a chance would have voted for Federation at that time. It would be well worth while consulting the white population now by referendum.

3. If it can be accepted that the overwhelming mass of the black population of the two Northern Territories dislike Federation, that dislike, however blind or unreasonable it may be, must not be ignored. (I attach pages 38 and 39 of the Federal Government Gazette dated 5th February, 1960, which may provide a partial reason for this dislike.)

4. The copper mines, the economic bastion of the Federation, are in Northern Rhodesia. As inferred in 1. the Income Tax derived from their profits made possible the reduction of taxes in Southern Rhodesia, notably on liquor and cigarettes.

5. Northern Rhodesia is an economically viable unit. It could cover its budgetary requirements with lower rates of Income Tax than the present Federal rates, or alternatively could abolish personal Income Tax altogether and confine it to companies. If the Northern Rhodesia Government had done what it was urged and could have afforded to do before Federation, i.e., relieve Income Tax, Federation would have been politically more difficult, because it would have been necessary to increase Income Tax after Federation had come into being.

6. If it can be accepted that the present exact Federal set-up does not command majority support among the European electors of Northern Rhodesia (it is difficult to check this without a referendum) then the following solutions present themselves:

- (a) An unscramble, each territory "going it alone". (The fact that Nyasaland might not be economically viable is neither here nor there. There is no reason why outside taxpayers should be forced to support it.)
- (b) A considerable transfer of powers from the Federal Government back to the Territorial Governments. This would be in line with the Federal system in America, where, in the words of Winston Churchill, "innense and sovereign rights to local communities" were "preserved". Health and education suggest themselves as matters essentially appropriate to control by the Territorial Governments and there may be others.
- (c) The annexation of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as part of Metropolitan Britain. I think this would be quite justified and could be made to work. It would satisfy African opinion as under an eventual common role there would be direct African representation in the British Parliament. Europeans would feel secure as they would have the protection of the British Crown. All the social services existing in Britain would be available in

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and of course, Income Tax would accrue to the British revenue. There would thus come into being a solid buffer (part of Britain) between the African controlled countries to the North and the European controlled countries to the South.

Kitwe
11th February 1960

Annexure

EXTRACT FROM FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GAZETTE
Federal Notice No. 85 of 1960

CUSTOMS AND EXCISE ACT, 1955

Forfeiture Notice No. 2 of 1960

It is hereby notified that, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by section 177 of the Customs and Excise Act, 1955, the Controller of Customs and Excise has declared to be forfeited the articles specified in the Schedule (which were seized at the places specified in the Schedule) from the persons whose names are specified in the Schedule and whose present whereabouts are unknown.

(The attention of these persons is shown to the provisions of section 177 of the Customs and Excise Act, 1955).

NAME OF PERSON	PLACE OF SEIZURE	ARTICLES
J. Kapenda	Ndola	8 dresses
S. Kachingwe	Ndola	2 dresses and 9 ties
S. Pambi	Ndola	5 wire baskets, 1 blouse, 1 muffler, 1½ yards of cotton piece goods, 2 bowls and 1 gallon of vegetable oil
Unknown	Ndola	106 pair trousers
Unknown	Ndola	4 suitcases
M. Chulu	Ndola	3 jackets
Unknown	Ndola	7 jackets, 14 ties and a quantity of washing blue
Unknown	Ndola	34 pairs trousers and 1 suitcase
J. Kaniki	Ndola	9 ties and 6 dresses
S. Kachingwe	Ndola	23 ties
J. Kambama	Ndola	6 ties and 4 dresses
Mushepati	Sakania	4 yards cotton piece goods, 1 plate, 1 bottle cooking oil and 1 blouse
A. Kayongo	Sakania	A quantity of cotton piece goods, 1 jacket and 1 pair trousers
A. Chikamba	Sakania	A quantity of cotton piece goods, 2 mufflers, 3 jackets, 3 pairs trousers and 1 dress
C. Malichabe	Sakania	3 overcoats
S. Phiri	Sakania	1 pair trousers and 1 hat
B. Kapondaga	Sakania	3 pairs trousers
G. Mwanyali	Sakania	2 pairs trousers
J. Kabindu	Sakania	6 jackets and 3 plates
J. Mwatifuna	Sakania	5 jackets, 1 pair trousers, 8 plates and 2 pots
M. Mumba	Sakania	1 pair sheets
S. Ndandu	Sakania	2 dresses, 1 muffler and 2 pairs of shoes
A. Chikamba	Sakania	1 lady's bicycle
Unknown	Sakania	5 bowls and 2 pots
K. Kabanda	Mokambo	1 gramophone record
J. Kalunda	Mokambo	1 bowl
R. Kabamba	Mokambo	A quantity of cooking oil
J. Simeo	Mokambo	1 jacket
Chisenga	Mokambo	2 bowls
W. Shimoko	Mokambo	5 yards cotton piece goods
Unknown	Mokambo	1 x 6.35 revolver
Unknown	Mokambo	1 x .303 rifle
Unknown	Mokambo	1 x .303 rifle
I. Zimba	Mokambo	1 pair trousers
Unknown	Kasumbalesa	11 jackets
Morris	Kasumbalesa	9 bowls
L. Moton	Kasumbalesa	1 gentleman's bicycle
G. Chisulo	Kasumbalesa	5 bowls and a quantity of matches

NAME OF PERSON	PLACE OF SEIZURE	ARTICLES
T. Lozi	Kasumbalesa	4 mufflers and a quantity of cotton piece goods
Berghout	Kasumbalesa	A quantity of cotton piece goods
A. Lungu	Muliashi	9 dresses and a quantity of miscellaneous clothing
L. Nyimba	Muliashi	1 plate
B. Chalufu	Muliashi	2 plates
L. Chipoya	Muliashi	A quantity of cotton piece goods
L. Kasumwa	Muliashi	1 fan belt
A. Chilibe	Muliashi	1 gallon palm oil, a quantity of cigarettes and a quantity of washing blue
Mwanzange	Muliashi	1 article of underwear
C. Kabita	Muliashi	1 lb. beads
Lazalo	Muliashi	2 blankets
Chipoya	Muliashi	1 jacket
John	Muliashi	6 cups and 8 plates
P. Kalebwe	Chembe	A quantity of cassava
W. Pwasha	Chembe	A quantity of chikanda
Kafindu	Chembe	1 blanket, 2 shirts and 1 bottle beer
S. Nakaza	Chembe	A quantity of sugar cane
S. Kambole	Chembe	1 bag of millet
N. Mutalepula	Chembe	1 dress, 1 blanket, 1 pair short trousers, 1 shirt, 1 blouse and a quantity of misc. clothing
S. Sebastiano	Chembe	4 dresses, 1 pair trousers, 1 blouse, 1 pot and a quantity of misc. clothing
L. Chambanenge	Chembe	2 bowls
S. Sindoma	Chembe	A quantity of groundnuts
A. Matthew	Chembe	A quantity of meat
Nase	Chembe	1 bag of Cassava
S. Kalumbu	Chembe	A quantity of dried fish

(Remainder of extract not copied can be obtained from the Secretariat if required.)

W. H. B. SHAW,
Controller of Customs and Excise.

THE FEDERAL THEATRE LEAGUE OF CENTRAL AFRICA

A. Lewis—Hon. Secretary

The Executive Committee of the Federal Theatre League, at its last meeting, instructed me to set down information concerning Amateur Theatre in the Federation, as it may produce evidence of the development of culture on a Federal pattern, which could be of use to the Commission. The Amateur Theatre movement is exceptionally strong in the Federation.

History. European Drama Clubs have been active in the Rhodesias for many years, and in the North united to form a National Association (N.R.D.A.) in 1951, with the object of developing "Little Theatres" in all the main towns, holding Festivals, playwriting competitions, sponsoring professional tours, etc. In 1957 the Northern Rhodesia Drama Association persuaded Southern Rhodesian Societies to form a sister association (S.R.D.A.) and last year N.R.D.A. and S.R.D.A. set up the Federal Theatre League which joined the International Amateur Theatre Association, as the "summit" organisation for Theatre in the Federation. The F.T.L. has attempted to set up a Nyasaland Drama Association of European Groups, thus completing the Federal organisation, but without success.

Achievements. F.T.L. has, in fact, accomplished very little to date, due to lack of funds, apart from acting as a liaison group between the two Associations in matters of finding and sharing an Adjudicator and setting up a Federal Theatre Library in Salisbury. It now has the possibility of a UNESCO grant, which it proposes to use to import a producer of world status to advise and instruct groups of all races in the Federation.

African Theatre. F.T.L. recently co-opted an African, interested in Theatre, on to its Executive Committee with the object of finding out the state of development, of any, in African Theatre movements, and how F.T.L. could help its growth. A survey throughout the Federation showed that there are eight comparatively active African Groups, and

two multi-racial groups. The African Committee member reported at a meeting that, as soon as he mentioned to groups that the organisation wishing to help them was called the *Federal Theatre League*, they were no longer interested. We have, indeed, given thought to changing our name which would satisfy this African antagonism.

It would appear that the only really active African Clubs are those under the direction of European Welfare organisation, who are trying to stimulate community activity. The Youth Organisations are particularly active and well organised in this respect. It is difficult to see how any African indigenous Theatre can be developed or helped by F.T.L. or indeed whether it wishes to be helped. It would appear more likely that, as the African emerges from his present primitive state, and as the European comes to accept this emergent individual African, so absorption into European Theatre groups will take place. There are signs of this already, in, for example "Thursday's Child", a powerful play by a Rhodesian author about our racial dilemma, which several groups have played with a mixed cast. Two years ago this would have been unthinkable by Europeans, which is a sign of recent moves towards more liberality in the Arts and the social activity generated by Amateur Theatre. This year, for the first time, a multi-racial club, The Waddington Players of Lusaka, is entering a play in a hitherto European-only event, the Annual N.R.D.A. Theatre Festival.

Admittance to Auditoria. Until last year, Africans have been excluded from all the Federation's Theatres as patrons, but recently many of the European Drama Groups have changed their policy. Those still racially exclusive are mainly Theatres administered by Mining Company Club Committees, with a preponderance of South African influence. The Salisbury "Reps" have recently challenged a ruling by the Salisbury Municipality that they must provide separate toilet facilities for each race using the auditorium. It is the matter of separate toilets that provides the most controversial arguments among Amateur Theatre groups when considering allowing Africans to attend performances. The Nkana Kitwe group recently conducted full medical research into this question, and found that no health hazard exists. It is thus purely a psychological objection, and is naturally very strong in women.

Kitwe

14th April 1960

W. FFOLIOTT FISHER

Soon after my birth in Southern Ireland in the year 1898 I was brought to Angola with the rest of the family by my parents Dr. and Mrs. Walter Fisher who were medical missionaries at Casombo on the Zambezi where they worked amongst the Lovale people for many years. These Luvale have latterly infiltrated into Northern Rhodesia in large numbers and are, in fact continuing to do so at the present time.

About the year 1903 we children were taken back to England for reasons of health and schooling. I personally, remained there until the end of the year 1919, having spent the time at school, university, and for three years in the Army during the first world war.

Having been invalided out I decided to settle in this part of Northern Rhodesia where my parents had moved in the year 1906 and where the British South Africa Company approved of my application of 3000 acres of farming land (Crown Land). My wife and I took possession in the year 1922 and have remained very happily ever since.

The country was then very sparsely populated. In fact, when we began our primitive houses there was only one African village within three miles of our boundary, and that made of a few grass huts which "housed" possibly eight adults and a few children.

Since that time, attracted by the chances of some employment and by a place where they could sell produce and buy trade goods the African population of the area steadily increased. Now, nearly forty years later there would be about 3000 people living in villages within a few miles of our boundary.

We ourselves subsisted by ranching, at first, in a small way, and by dairying, also in a small way. We traded with local Africans, bought their produce exporting such as would find a market. Beeswax, for instance, we purified and sent to England by carriers and our nearest railway line which ran through the adjoining Province of the Belgian Congo.

In the year 1935 we were asked to take over an orphanage for African children which had previously been managed by my mother at Kalene Mission for the past eighteen years. This increased in size until latterly when the medical amenities offered in the village clinics and the hospital of the Christian Missionaries working in this district began to reduce our intake which continues to be one of the happy results of their work.

These activities in which the Lunda language has been our medium of contact with local Africans has given the whole of our family (we have had six children all born here) a wider knowledge than is possessed by most Europeans of the mode of life and customs of the Lunda people.

In our early days the country was administered by the British South Africa Company and little use was made of village headmen and Chiefs who still had little power and influence over their people who were still unsettled and scattered as a result of the slave trade.

Indirect rule began to be practised through the Native Authorities after Colonial Government took over from the B.S.A. Company, Sir Hubert Young introduced it in this particular district during a passing visit and it is now a potent factor in our rural administration.

In considering the general position in regard to Government it needs to be remembered by visiting administrators and politicians that the African people in Northern Rhodesia have as yet attained a low standard of education as compared, for instance, to that of the Ghanian or the Nigerian. Headmasters of African schools, though many can talk reasonably well, cannot comprehend the basic or abstract ideas discussed by the European. Very, very few can understand "all this talk" of Federation. Some years ago I was asked by one chief what was behind this strange word which was being constantly mentioned, "this word—ventilation"!

At the present time almost none of the rural Alunda understand what Federation means and they are vocally dead against it. This is because tractors and graders were introduced by the Federal P.W.D. when the transfer of power took place. The machinery deprived the hundreds of road workers of their usual job which they usually performed with hoes, shovels and wheelbarrows and by which they found money for their taxes and clothes for themselves and their families. These points quite overshadow in their eyes and benefits which might come to them by way of the smoother roads though of course they are appreciated by all who own motor vehicles, very few of whom are Africans.

Rural Africans do not really understand or like "democracy" and I doubt if many town ones do either. He does understand and respect "autocracy". If it can be "benevolent" also, so much the better. He likes to feel that he can, in some distant way, come under the protection of our Queen, and the Chiefs like to feel also that they can appeal to their own Paramount Chief (of all the Lunda people) Mwatianvwa whose capital actually is situated in the Congo but for all that is revered by the Rhodesian sections of the Lunda people.

The same characteristics in regard to Government area clearly recognisable in the Katanga Province of the Congo just to the North of us. Recently Mwatianvwa (a wise and elderly man of fairly good education) pointed out personally to the King of the Belgians that the Lunda people would not be ready for self-government for another twenty years at least, and that they would, in the meantime prefer to keep their Chiefs and their Belgian administration which had done so much for them.

In discussing Federation let it be understood by the Africans who had suffered so much in the past from their own people, also from other African tribes, from Arab slave-traders, and by freebooters of European races from time to time, that they can still claim the protection of the Queen who can still be reached through the medium of their Provincial Government who act for them now just as they did in their B.S.A. Company and Colonial Government days when it was necessary.

It should also be remembered that the fear of witchcraft is still, with most Africans, the strongest influence in their lives just as it was fifty years ago. The diviner or witch-doctor may in Rhodesia be afraid to come into the open but he is available "over the Border". When there is a death the divining of the cause is done and the conclusions are sent back to the enquirers who had sent payment for that information. The unfortunate accused must then run for it or take the consequences, possibly fatal ones.

The unpopular Chief, or in the future possibly the unpopular political candidate, can be attacked by weapons which to the European are perhaps ridiculous but which to the African have occult powers and which if ignored will result in his death. He must step warily therefore and respect the wishes of his people.

It is an accepted fact that the African distrusts what he does not understand, Congress Members and other agitators have worked on this knowledge of their own people to turn them from Federation of which the honest ones would admit that they themselves have no comprehension.

Ikelenge
Mwinilunga

DR. MARGARET M. FISHER

I am a member of the Capricorn Africa Society and the Central Africa Party, but the following views are my own:—

I am a native of Africa, of English Missionary parents and was educated in England. I have lived here the last 21 years in Northern Rhodesia and my four children were born here. My husband's family numbers four generations in this country. We have built our home here and have no other. We are as much concerned with the future of Northern Rhodesia as any other immigrant tribe.

Although I have mostly lived on the Copperbelt, I have also lived some years "in the bush" and travelled in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. Practicing medicine has led to an intimate contact with Africans in their homes, especially among the women and perforce I speak one of the most widely understood dialects, Cibemba. This has also led to my having taught African assistant midwives midwifery and the dialect to Europeans in Language classes.

Federation:—There was no referendum for us in Northern Rhodesia, but we tried to take an intelligent interest in our fate. The need for it was fairly obvious economically; but also it was advocated as a bulwark against Communism on the one hand and the apartheid policies of the Union on the other. These seemed reasonable arguments to me and I was at a meeting organised by the Women's Institute where a debate was arranged with some African teachers. Their interest was profound and they particularly made clear that they had not had these defensive arguments explained before. That meeting was frowned on by the District Commissioner and it was not permitted to be reported! This incident pinpoints one of the fatal errors made at the institution of Federation. The reasons for it were *not* explained or *advocated* by the District Commissioners (especially important to the rural population). Taught through the years to rely on the opinions of the Boma, the fearful and ignorant countrymen naturally assumed that not to advocate Federation was tacitly to advise or warn against it. This mistake was appreciated later but alas too late to put right—the damage was done.

Secondly, partnership, the avowed policy of Federation was not actively put into practice. The Churches did actively continue and indeed intensified their true Christian partnership and have proved successful in their own field, but Governments, Territorial and Federal utterly failed to do more than make a few feeble, belated token gestures towards their loudly proclaimed policy. In their own departments, the colour bar still flourished. If it had been energetically abolished in 1953, they would have been in a strong position to initiate legislation against it in other walks of life now. Even now almost daily one can see advertisements for Army personnel applying to Europeans only. Only recently have the Civil Service, Police and Health Departments been made even faintly colour-free and Education is as slow as ever to progress on this score.

And education in its widest sense was the number one priority if abolition of the colour bar was to be achieved. In 1953, years after the war was over, and when the price of copper assured funds, one would have imagined that an energetic programme of teacher training would have been undertaken. It was indeed planned but the long gestating plans and complicated and expensive buildings have been allowed to hold up the actual implementation of this most urgent idea. Fantastically luxurious secondary schools have been put up for a few Europeans when there is a widespread need for all levels of education for Africans, and there is still totally inadequate provision for secondary schooling for Indian and Eurasian children waiting for it. A fine show has been made by the multiracial University. If this had been paralleled in other

levels of education, we should have reaped the benefit today. Ever since I came to Northern Rhodesia in 1939, I have heard all and sundry talk about the importance of stepping up women's education. But very little has been done and that mainly by voluntary agencies. Technical education too for Africans has been deliberately withheld, presumably to "protect" the poor whites. What partnership is this? Yes, it is coming now but too little and too late.

What can be done?

It is so late that drastic remedies are called for and they must be *immediate* to restore confidence to Africans and Europeans alike. The present very equivocal fate of freedom in Ghana and the Sudan and the Congo does not give confidence to either race. The sudden scuttling in India precipitating tragic and massive slaughter should have warned us, but it has not.

Confidence for Africans is linked with fair representation in Government. Thus the franchise must be widened, yet so that in throwing out the bathwater, we may yet save the baby. I cannot agree that mob law, one man one vote, (Give us Barrabas) is the answer. That is the slogan, which takes no account of widespread illiteracy and lack of responsibility. But nothing short of a common voters' roll is needed, any other device is basically unfair. To qualify for the vote, mere age is not enough and literacy, ability to earn a living, possession of property or position, some indication of responsibility must be demanded and yet this assures that a very great number of Africans will be admitted to the roll. To qualify the franchise, at any rate for a time will give confidence to minorities and assure justice to the majority. Maintenance of Colonial Office control and the institution of an Upper House or Senate should be included in this development period. And the establishment of a Supreme Court to safeguard the Constitution for all minorities should be urged.

This must be linked with an energetic and realistic programme of increased education at all levels, again assuring confidence for all including potential investors. Thus can the level and standard of living be raised. To meet the rising clamour of nationalistic aspirations, which surely cannot be denied, only dramatic action by Governments can give sincerity to promises so often made and dishonoured in the past. Colour bars must be totally abolished on railways, throughout police departments, the Army, Health services and so on. At the same time, there is no need to lower standards of qualification if training facilities are adequately established. Immediate plans to open multi-racial secondary schools would at once help to restore confidence to Indians especially. While new buildings are awaited, better use could be made of existing buildings and more teachers attracted from overseas if necessary. An inspired and intelligent use of part-time educated European women to teach in the afternoons could surely be attempted.

Yet will these steps restore confidence in the Federation as such? The Africans' fears that Federation=Southern Rhodesia=Apartheid is so deeply ingrained (and with considerable justice) and the years have been wasted to such an extent, that I am inclined to believe that the present Federation in this form must go.

Would "another rose by any other name" be possible? It surely should be attempted, but first and foremost must have the willing agreement and co-operation of *all* if it is to succeed. This new association must de-centralise if it is to be viable. Health, part of Agriculture and Education up to secondary level must come back to the Territories. The high handed actions of the Federal Government and Southern Rhodesia in the past make this essential. Transport, roads, Airways, University Education, Agricultural and Medical Research, Posts and Defence could remain to the Central organisation. Finance would have to be modified accordingly.

Lastly where should the new Headquarters of this Association be? Alas Bombazonke has become so true that it is hard to undo the damage and waste already incurred. The outcry would be bitter, but the imaginative choice of a new and central area for the Capital should be considered. Chilanga? Mkushi? Somewhere on the Copperbelt, could all fairly claim to be considered. Reasonable altitude, good water supply, either existing or projected railway facilities (the long considered railway to the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia would be a great development) should make these suggestions possible.

Finally, unless a new attitude of goodwill, understanding and Christian Charity is possible, I can see no hope. Perhaps the

91

tragedies being perpetrated in the Congo will bring in a new attempt at compromise here. Above all let us unite as Rhodesians and in that spirit drown the colour bar for ever.

Kitwe

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF FORT JAMESON*

I send my greetings to you the Commission who are the leaders of Europeans and Africans will all their wealth, the leaders of Britain, our Saviour.

I lodge my complaint because your country like Northern Rhodesia is slacking. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are two British countries which for so many years have been under your protection. Alas! you are now throwing us into the hands of hyenas to be eaten up. As Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland helped Britain in the 1914 and 1939 Wars what crimes have we committed after that that we should be thrown into Federation and receive various punishments. Some Africans are imprisoned and yet others too receive the penalty of death, because of the Federation which Africans are opposing. Under Federation the Africans receive very bad treatment in Federal Hospitals. Under Federation the Chiefs' power is threatened. Africans are receiving no help on their Store businesses. There is nothing good forthcoming from wireless sets in respect of licences as well as motor cars. The political organisations of Congress are everywhere causing troubles because of the Federation.

Is the British Government now tired to rule us? If you are now unable to rule us we ask to be ruled by another nation rather than to be ruled under Federal Government. Federation is not wanted here in Northern Rhodesia. Is it the Home Government which is tired to rule us or is it the Europeans now in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Government sent here by the Colonial Government who are tired to rule us? But, however, in the past the Europeans sent by the British Colonial Government into Northern Rhodesia had been ruling us well and giving us good education. For example chiefs used to be sent to England for their education and also many other students from Northern Rhodesia went.

Are you so quickly tired to rule us, when, in fact, it is only a few years ago you started ruling Africa? We Africans are opposed to Federation, if you do not want to rule us we ask you not to throw us into the Federation. I think you know that when a hyena is after catching a goat it comes very stealthily and quietly, but after eating that goat the hyena thinks nothing of the owner of the goat. So Mussolini was your ally in the war of 1914 but became your enemy in 1939 war. We all are refusing Federation.

Chadiza

Fort Jameson

21st January 1960

C. L. FRIZELL

Particularly to the members of the Commission from overseas

The Commission will be hearing so much evidence, a great deal of it conflicting, that the fundamentals will be in danger of being pushed into the background.

It is hoped therefore that it will not be considered presumptuous if the following is placed before them, in an attempt to prevent the trees from obscuring the wood.

It must always be borne in mind that the indigenous population of Northern Rhodesia consists of a very primitive people, who only a few short years ago were living the life of naked savages. They were subject to the depredations of the slave raider, the ruthless whims of chiefs and witch doctors, riddled with disease, cowed by superstition, and decimated by tribal warfare.

It is safe to say that with the coming of the white man, their standard of living and freedom from fear, advanced far more in a score of years, than it had in the previous thousand.

Today the African floods to the relatively minute area occupied by the European.

There is no compulsion.

He does so to better his lot.

All the knowledge which the European has painfully, and laboriously acquired over the ages is being placed at his disposal.

*Name withheld at the request of the witness.

It must not be supposed for one moment that the European grudges passing on his knowledge to his less advanced African Brother. He is eager and happy to do so, but with the best will in the world, it is impossible to bridge the evolutionary gap of centuries in a few short years, and convert a people, who only a generation ago, were literally primitive savages, into a race of responsible citizens, capable of governing a modern State.

There will be exceptions to the rule, but for the majority, it must, in the nature of things, take little time

In this connection I would earnestly beg the members of the commission, especially those from overseas, to meet, and talk with a dozen Africans, picked at Random in the streets. Most of them speak English. Their response to a few simple questions—they cannot be too simple—would do more to form a true estimate of African thought, than listening to the arguments of a dozen deputations of whatever race or colour.

The Commission will meet Africans who will tell them they represent the African people, and that these people demand freedom and liberation. One might well ask with the utmost sincerity, freedom and liberation from what?

The question arises, are these African politicians working solely for the good of their fellow Africans, or are they inspired by the hope of wielding a much greater power themselves, almost certainly at the expense of their fellow countrymen, once the restraining hand of the white man can be removed.

Albert Schweitzer, whose knowledge and humanity is unassailable, answers the question thus:—

“What so-called self government means for primitive and semi-primitive peoples, can be gathered from the fact that in the Black Republic of Liberia, domestic slavery, and what is far worse, the compulsory shipment of labourers to other countries continues down to our day.”

There is a widely held belief overseas, that the Britisher living in Britain, is fundamentally more liberal minded than his counterpart living in the Federation.

This is not borne out by the facts, if deeds, and not words, are taken as the criterion.

This is exemplified by the millions spent here by the white man, out of his own pocket, to advance African health, husbandry, and education. He contributes far more per capita than any outsider.

The population of Northern Rhodesia is largely composed of recent emigrants from Britain. Many come to take up employment of a manual nature. It is reasonable to assume that a large proportion were supporters of the political party which is most vocal in its criticism of the Federation. Speak to any of them now that first hand knowledge has replaced political theory, and it will be found that their previously held views have undergone a profound change.

The African has been given a very great deal in a very short time. It has been gladly and willingly given. But in the anxiety in some quarters, to give the African politician everything he asks for, as soon as he cares to ask for it, the fundamental rights of the very people who have made his advancement possible, are in danger of being ignored.

The writer is a Britisher with four years residence in the Federation, and holds no position in any political party.

Kitwe

L. GIBBINGS

and associated documents

I have been resident in Northern Rhodesia for nearly ten years, out of which I have spent the last eight years farming.

During this time I, like many other people in this profession, have been in close contact with Africans of all walks of life. As one encounters with any race, one gets the good with the bad, but from my experience, I have found the rural African in particular, very easy to get along with. This can be substantiated by the fact that most of my African labour has been with me practically since I started farming. Most of these labourers I refer to have never had any education at all. I have found that those Africans who have had a little education are by no means any better off for it. On the contrary I feel that far too much emphasis has been placed on

the academic side without sufficient thought for the fundamentals of integrity and responsibility.

At their present stage of advancement, the African who forms the majority of the population, is a natural craftsman. It is with this in mind that I would like to say that had Federation not come about, Kariba Dam would never have been a practical reality. I think that the Federal Government is to be admired for the courageous decision it took in bringing this great venture. The primary aim, through the availability of cheap and plentiful power, industrial development will be greatly accelerated, ensuring that the African of today and the future will be assured of an increasing share in the development of the country to the mutual benefit of all.

Monze

5th February 1960

Appendix A

EXTRACT FROM *NORTHERN NEWS* DATED 10th FEBRUARY 1960

"African Faces Store Boycott: Drank at Airport as Mac Arrived"

Livingstone, Tuesday

An African storekeeper who had a drink in the Livingstone Airport restaurant when the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, arrived there last month, is being boycotted by the African Congress and the United National Independence Party.

Pickets outside his store in Libuyu African township are asking his customers to return their purchases.

Police are standing by in the township to maintain law and order.

The boycott of the storekeeper, Mr. Mwale, began as the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council's select Committee on racial discrimination recommended legislation to ensure that nobody should be refused admission to restaurants, hotel dining rooms and other places on the grounds of race alone.

The Government has accepted the report.

The A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. allege that Mr. Mwale and a friend of his, Mr. Chimbuze, went at the instigation of the Provincial Commissioner for the Southern Province to give Mr. Macmillan a false impression about the colour bar and partnership.

The Provincial Commissioner, Mr. A. J. St. J. Sugg today denied these allegations.

"I do not know Mr. Mwale, although I have once visited his store, I certainly did not ask him to drink in the airport building."

Mr. Mwale said today that he and Mr. Chimbuze were requested to attend a joint meeting of the A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. in Libuyu the evening after drinking at the airport.

Mr. Mwale said he decided not to go. He was later visited and questioned by three men.

"I replied that, if people wanted to see me, it was up to them to come either to my house or my store."

Apology demanded

The next day, three others asked him why he had had a drink in the airport restaurant at the time of Mr. Macmillan's arrival.

"I told them that as far as I knew, there was nothing to prevent anyone having a drink there. If the A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. wanted to keep Africans out of the restaurant, they should have made their intention clear."

The men "demanded an apology for what I had done," said Mr. Mwale.

"I refused to apologise, and they told me I would be punished."

A few days later, pickets were posted outside Mr. Mwale's store.—Sapa.

Appendix B

EXTRACT FROM *ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL* JULY-OCTOBER

Speech by Sir Alexander Grattan

"My fourth point concerns democracy. When these newly emergent countries in Asia got rid of or threw over, as they thought, colonialism, they said: 'We must be democratic;

we must follow the example of Westminster and Parliamentary democracy.' We and the United States of America thrust that down their throats. We made a fundamental mistake. We regarded democracy as an end in itself, whereas to my way of thinking democracy is merely one of the means to an end—the liberty of the individual and the rule of law. For the attainment of that end it is not essential that there should be democracy on the Westminster model. That is now being realized in Asia. China tried democracy, and as a result of the complete failure of it she has gone Communist. Democracy on the Parliamentary model is temporarily suspended in Pakistan, in Burma and in Indonesia. It may well be that something on the lines of guided democracy—which may well differ from country to country—may be the solution from many states in Asia. But for goodness' sake do not let us try to thrust our Westminster ideas down their throats. That is my fourth point: I challenge that Parliamentary democracy is automatically suitable for all countries, whether in Asia, Africa or elsewhere."

MRS. S. A. GIBBINGS

I would like to submit a small memorandum about the seldom heard of section of the country—the farmer's wife. In my opinion, they play a large and important part in the welfare and goodwill of their own little community, and this can have a snowballing effect.

When I first came to live in this country in 1951 I was shocked by the health, hygiene and living conditions of the Africans I saw. Like many others, I tried to do something about it, but naturally made a lot of mistakes. As long as I was prepared to cook for and feed babies with malnutrition, the mother was quite happy to do nothing further. Sometimes it wasn't even convenient for the mother to fetch the child's food from me.

After several such experiences I came to realise that my efforts were doing more harm than good. The home is the pivot. What use was it to educate the men and leave them without a home background. The women needed an incentive to learn to keep up with their menfolk.

It was then that I heard about this wonderful scheme sponsored by the Government, called "The Badge Club" and the "Dorcas Club". What a pity that these schemes do not get any publicity. Dorcas Clubs are maintained in centres where African women can come for intensive courses on homecraft, cooking, baby and child care, sewing, health, etc. and are encouraged to form their own clubs in the villages where they can pass on their new knowledge to others.

I am more familiar with the Badge Scheme which is more for the rural areas. European women all over the territory hold similar classes for the wives of their labour force or the women in their own vicinity. The African women are keen and in most cases eager to learn all they can. When the desired standard is reached in a certain course, the women receive a badge. (Some of my pupils earned as many as ten badges in one year of classes). Later, as the women become more proficient, they are encouraged to become the teachers and hold their own classes.

Homecraft has improved as I never believed possible. It is significant too that whereas my day used to begin with a queue of naked and grubby children waiting for medicines, there now might be two children per week needing attention, and they are clean and proudly clothed in homemade garments.

To my mind, these schemes alone show the tremendous goodwill we have toward the African. We want to see their advancement and not a lopsided country of educated men with no background. From woman to woman we do our utmost to help.

Monze

5th February 1960

B. E. GIBSON

I am a Southern Rhodesian who came to Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, in 1953 solely because Federation had taken place. With a capital of £3,000 I started two businesses providing commercial services.

My wife and I have worked extremely hard to make the businesses a success and during the years of their existence I have provided employment for at least six African clerks, two African drivers, and eight Europeans. We work happily and peaceably together, and the African clerks earn salaries of approximately £30 per month, have the same working

conditions as the Europeans, and one month's paid leave a year. Once employed by us, we find our African staff do not leave, and most have been with us since first employed.

I submit that in my small way, with little capital, I have used my European brains and initiative to provide congenial and safe employment for these Africans, and there are undoubtedly many other people like me who by putting everything they have into the country, have helped in its recent prosperity. None of us would mind being governed by black or white, but we must be responsibly governed or we lose all.

Federation is important to us because it provides a sound economic block, coupled with the steady influence of settled and peaceable people in Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia can help us with our problems because she has a fund of Europeans who know and love this country and who know and respect the African. Her long history of happy race relations has shown her wisdom in this respect. We cannot stand alone, and Britain would not be successful in protecting minority interests if we were to stand alone, because English personnel—be they civil servants or soldiers—do not understand the African, and even more important, the African does not understand them.

The picture here at present is that of a school—the Europeans are the teachers now, but we know that one day our scholars will be teachers too. Meantime, it is so important that the outside world stops decrying us to the pupils, or we shall find all discipline gone, the schools will close, and the pupils will never again have the same chance of prosperity, security and happiness.

It follows from this that there must be stability in the country, and that as the Federal Government's responsibilities do not materially affect the protected status of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia, that this Government should be given independence in the Federal sphere.

In addition to this, it is most important that some arrangement is made whereby the British Government cannot, without the consent of the Federal Government and the Territorial Government concerned, legislate on constitutional matters in Northern Rhodesia.

For the present time, and for many years to come, it is only by a qualitative franchise, such as the present basis of income and education, that there is any prospect of keeping the government in the hands of civilized people.

Ndola

23rd January 1960

G. HANDALE

We have been asked by the Northern Rhodesia Government to say anything about Federation I can say that Federation *must* be burnt off completely. It has brought nothing to Africans but troubles only. Since the Federal Government took over, most things have been changed in a very bad way; for example, Postage and Customs have gone very high, the colour bar has become more serious. Since the Federal Government took over in 1953, Europeans have received three times a pay increase but to the African nothing only. This year rumour has been heard of a new salary but it is very little again—from 8/- to 17/6d, to each one. And there should be no rumour of saying that some Africans want Federation. No, nearly all Africans do *not* want Federation. Otherwise a quarter of the villagers who do not know what is Federation, or what has been changed. And if the British Government will force Federation to Central Africa, troubles will never end. And God, the Almighty, *must* be asked to hear the prayers of the poor Africans. I repeat to say that Federation must be cancelled as early as possible due to the very bad treatment which has been shown by the Federal Officers.

Mankoya

18th January 1960

J. HASIMUNA AND J. CHAATILA

We Africans have feared Federation from the beginning. Fear is founded on the fact that we believe that the British Government has promised to teach us the art of Government so that in distant future we can rule ourselves. This promise differs from that of S. Rhodesia where things seem to develop on the right of Europeans to rule Africans indefinite. There is clear tendency to develop a relationship of master and servant.

2. Statements made by the first Federal Prime Minister and those of his successor frighten us and make us dislike

federation. One of this statements had the theme that it is the intention of Europeans perhaps politicians—to make it known to Africans that they (Europeans) will not allow Africans to rule this country now and in the future of their grand children. The other is their wish to cut us Africans from appealing to the British Government—that we should look to Federal Government in Salisbury. We fear that it is intention to hasten breaking African trust in United Kingdom Government is for racial interest and may deal badly with African home for a time when we could have bigger say in our home politics.

3. One of the benefits expected from Federation is more chance to get work and get more money. More industries. So far in Northern Rhodesia now industries to give more employment and therefore more money are unknown. There is now belief that N. Rhodesia is having a raw deal in this respect. Unemployment is felt everywhere. Looking careful at new services—they are those which our Government had planned and could have been done social services want more money to give more children chance to learn and more adults necessary benefits but these are not Federal responsibility. We don't want Federation because it takes our money away.

(a) With regards to consumer goods, it is found that goods are mostly manufactured in Southern Rhodesia. It is also there where money from N. Rhodesia go as people buy goods at increased price. People of N. Rhodesia have little chance for employment. This makes most of us see no use in Federation.

(b) There is no bold move by Federal Government to bring an end to industrial colour-bar. They want to play on equality too much.

4. We think that the pledge to teach Africans to rule ourselves should be fulfilled before any other consideration of new plan. Federation is against the plan to teach Africans at their normal pace so we do not want Federation.

Lusitu Township

Gwembe

C. R. IMUTONANA

My personal views to the Monckton Commission

As long as there is *racial discrimination* in this Federation no sensible African will have anything good for the Federation.

Improvements must take place as time goes on. Whether Federation or not, no one can stop the human activities in trying to change for the better.

I strongly feel that the rights of race and not man should seriously be taken into consideration if this Federation must stand.

The spirit of nationalism is instilled into the minds of the Africans by some of the Europeans who try to connive at the rights of the African Race.

Mongu

4th March 1960

MEETING OF VILLAGE HEADMEN OF ALL CHIEF KALILELE'S AREA : ON FEDERATION

Sir,

The disadvantages of Federation are as follows :

- (1) Medical Services.
- (2) Removal of people from villages.
- (3) Residence.
- (4) Opposition to Federation.

There were 58 village Headmen present at the Meeting. They have chosen one Elian Chembe to speak for them.

We now finish—58 Headmen under Chief Kalilele.

Solwezi

18th February 1960

S. KALIMKUDZA

In the first instance before I go into points, would you let me ask a few questions?

1. Why should a white man be in African country as Northern Rhodesia is concerned ?
 - (a) Is he there to pin up an African ?
 - (b) Is he there to gain riches from an African ?
 - (c) Is he there to get good living from an African ?

- (d) Is he there to make a permanent settlement for himself, his family and his fellow white men ?
- (e) Is he a teacher, an adviser or else a robber ?
- (f) By whom was he sent in here ? Was it either by God, by his power or his intelligence ?

There are so many questions, but if you would try to go deep into answers of those few simple ones you would easily see that this Federation of what a white man is trying to bring to an African in his quiet country has no meaning, no value and no benefit to him.

See, you can't just bring up a thing to a person which is not going to produce anything good for him and his family in future for it has already appeared so, that the people who will be so much fortunate of it for ever plus their generations are the Europeans if it is to exist. Therefore we don't like it at all; and we don't like to hear of it anymore here. Why don't they only carry it on to their homes and countries amongst themselves ?

I can rest assure you that, this will only come in a bluff to those present opened mind Africans by praising them in some other ways in order to let it be approved but soon after in due course it will just gradually be losing its beginning by their queer constitutions of rules and laws until that at last an African will have no where to stand and no word to say but yet he is the landowner of this country as N. Rhodesia.

This Federation had been suggested and tried to come into force in 1953. Well, its pity that very lately you come back to asking the owners of the country to whether they wished it or not. Oh! I am sorry it is too late and you are now behind time by trying to cheat us at this time. Again, how could a stranger ask the owner of the house to whether he was hungry or not. Therefore, we are suspecting a lot of troubles from it. Yet, too, since 1953 during all these seven years period it has been into practice, it has really proved nothing good for an African benefits.

Though you have tried to put up a University, Kariba and so forth, all such have just made our country poor now; whereby an African will gain nothing from them. You can't put up a thing for yourselves the Europeans and then cheat Africans to be as theirs—Ha! On what purpose ?

On the other hand nothing of any development has ever been done in N.R. Only that we are very sorry that even our mines are now since Federation came into practice have been going on lower and lower instead of going on up and up.

N. Rhodesia would by this time have been with a wonderful African University with high standard hospitals plus the good salaries for Africans, etc., but because of this Federation of yours everything has gone poorer and poorer. And that an African is always taken here and there like a tame animal; from which we understand especially in the time to come we shall be nowhere, no voice, no part and the treatment towards him will be in unconditional altogether. Especially to our Chiefs for the whole administration will be in the hands of unknown people the Europeans.

For instance, this same type of Government has already entirely imperilled the life of Africans in S. Rhodesia which we in N. Rhodesia do not like it to happen. Then what more with the Federation ?

We should thank God the Almighty that such tricky way had been so quickly mysteriously stated in everyone's mind in N. Rhodesia.

If the Federation was for the benefit of the Africans in their own country it would not have caused such extraordinary strange and unknown deaths and imprisonments for so long as if we have been trying to snatch somebodies thing while it is our own country. That blood would not have cast so unkindly if it were really the Europeans sympathy of an African advancement. It would be in a luxuriant growth of both people and their land for the good show of the Federation Aims if there was any idea of bluffing people in any case. But as it stands it gives the picture that it would definitely lead into fall or otherwise perish of a certain race if God so wills.

This is a confused Federation. It wasn't properly thought into a sympathy helping or teaching the Africans accordingly from the bottom of their hearts at all. It has its own secret aims and ideas behind an European towards an African both the already settled Europeans in here and even the outsiders for the need of our riches here in N. Rhodesia being the reason that we are uncouneted people.

So many squabbles come to happen due to this queer name of Federation of yours. Therefore if Federation is to come and be approved into force, surely God is there, that the world might otherwise shake and speak in some angles or another from unknown.

It is not in a form of a threat for an invalid person or a delicate thing can't threaten anything likewise on earth.

But lets pray hard for God made an African purposely for him to suffer on earth.

The Kingdom is at hand.
Fort Jameson

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF KALOMO*

I would like to send in my views to your Commission, and would wish to give few evidence as a citizen of the N. Rhodesia. But in addition would like to point out that I am not holding any political views, and do not exactly know what to say.

1. The difficulties which faces our country is that since the constitution of 1953 on the grounds of Federation the 3 Territories, our people in this country have been looking forward to the improvement of the Federal Government. But to their surprise the action of the so called Federation went on wrong way and that meanwhile, if they were to get rid of it the better.

2. I still do not agree with so many minded and political people who seems to say that they were already matured and can do away by themselves without the aid of their white civilized brothers, I would still dare to say that it is not the Federal Government which would bring the prosperity to this country. We have the full confidence on the Territorial Government as we feel that to have the Southern Rhodesia rule in Northern Rhodesia is the case at present to crucify our motherland.

3. Our Chiefs feel that their power will be taken as is the case with the Southern Rhodesian Chiefs. So every African in this country think that has the Territorial Government takes over we will be all right again.

4. Another thing is that since the Federal Government took over there were many Settlers, in Northern Rhodesia from Southern Rhodesia and for this cause these European settlers are having the best of the bad treatment to their employees. As this is the case these employees are ill paid as full grown man is paid 30/- per month and a highly paid labourer is receiving £3 10s. 0d. per month with his family. This is too little indeed as it is including food.

5. And under the Federal government all the facilities which were enjoyed by the African people are now deprived, as all shop keepers (say) African village shops are to be licenced £5 0s. 0d. as well as the European shops in the village, of which a European keeps his highly capital of about £90000. And the poor African shop keeper who carries only the capital of £20 0s. 0d.

And this makes the worst of all items in the Federal Government. As under the Territorial Government a rich European used to own a store in the village used to licence his shop £10 and an African with a small capital used to license his shop £1 or 10s. 0d. the country is his and do not need a rent.

All these things make it impossible to an African to accept the offer of the Federation.

Kalomo
19th February 1960

S. M. KALONGA

I am hereby giving evidence on the Federation. And I appreciate your most kind visit, and hear our evidence.

The Federation in Central Africa is not satisfactory on the side of the inhabitants. I ask the Monckton Commission, when he and others fly home they should go with them the Federation, drop it in the ocean where it will perish for ever.

Reasons why it should quit

1. The choosing of the governing bodies is quite abominable. The voting system is not like in other countries, where every man who is over twenty-one years is a voter, provided he or she is normal. The Federation power has to put a bar, which all voters should qualify for. Wealth counts much in this, plus education. So many Africans don't take part, and the

* Name withheld at the request of the witness



majority of Europeans are voters. We get our voters outnumbered by the colonists. That is why some Africans have to be stooges, who claim to be in European parties, they are voted for by the settlers. After which they give them ranks in the government as ministers of certain departments. This is the cause of many riots because Africans are underlooked and swindled. When wise men try to put things right there are threats made to stop human progress in their affairs. The Federation always fails to reason and it quickly goes to a point of gun. *Colourbar* is on its feet, speed, breaking out like hunger. *Federation is a failure so away with it.*

2. It is evidence that other countries were poor because departments that had gone or which became Federal subjects were financially embarrassed. So they raised the money e.g. Posts which has been changing twice every year to enable poor countries to be on the level of charging. The Broadcasting or Information Department has been advised by the Federal Power to enforce people who own radios to pay tax for the news they hear. Is this being wise? At the same time levy has been raised. Our N. Rhodesia is a rich land. We want to improve it ourselves with less power from Federation. Let the copper that is dug from this land enrich its own land rather than other countries.

3. The Federal Government has ended lives of people in numbering to unknown figure by me. It loses temper like a woman. Because many of the leaders are from S. Africa the Bantu used to fight their grand-grand-fathers e.g. Sir Leander Star Jameson who came from Europe but grew in S. Africa, he was very cruel. One day he struck a native paddler who did not show or make sufficient effort. Any leader born in Africa, has previous hatred. Our N. Rhodesia with British rulers would look into the Gwembe riot peacefully. Shooting is not the way of living. We are not free these days, we have fear in the Federal powers. May I say:—*A bad work man quarrels with his tools.*

Partnership

4. Every African man and woman was disappointed to hear that, the head Government in England has granted the colonists their request to govern Central Africa. But nevertheless we were promised that *Colourbar* was to be stumped out of the Federal powers and life. Everyone hoped for it. And consulted dictionaries to find its proper meaning. But it did not exist and Africans have been chased dog like from the white men's magnificent trains, hospitals, rest houses and offices. Because of this riots around Federation, have been on. There are so many disgracing things that Africans have done. Boycotting strikes, railway sabotage. The slavery life is gone, we can and must build a new world fit for decent people to live in together at peace. *This can only be if Lord Monckton clears off the Federation.* And ends the dreams of other men who want the Federal power to increase.

Away with it!! We are not free with our profession.

5. The Federation over looks the human progress both in business and African Affairs its charges for Tearooms in rural areas is higher than before Federation existed. The governing bodies are persisting on more Police Force. They are suspicious for an out break of an attack. Because they know that they are doing an evil thing on the side of Africans. They say we have imaginary complaints and troubles.

6. The world that men used to think less of other races, e.g. Africans, has gone down like a clock that has been shaken by too many alarms.

7. It is not alarmism to say that tomorrow, may be too far ever too late. "*Federation away*".

8. Let us all be of high spirits. Rather than with motto:—*sene metu.* The victim race has put every hope for freedom from Federation in you sir.

9. Each country would continue independently to fly its own flag. Choose its own ruling bodies e.g. in Legco Levy and its own taxes, also enforce its own laws.

And let us not imagine that we can postpone our plans for the future, and that Federal powers still exist—until the future has arrived *No!*

I hope the Commission will spare its time reading through my evidence. Although not in the way they may like it to be. Politicians might say more. Experienced teacher fools, so is with us.

Additional points

1. Federation has ended all the hunts that some natives used to perform, stopped many ways of killing fish. Has put a fence to stop men from hunting. Forgetting that Africans eat meat and fish while a white man uses or lives on tinned foods. Dogs' licences are high, even of bicycles has risen up.

2. Nearly everyone belonging to the victim race hates Federation. e.g. The biggest school in N. Rhodesia was closed late in 1959 due to one boy who wrote an essay thanking the Federation. So all boys turned against him until there was confusion and then the school closed. This shows that even boys at school may join politics because the country in which they live is in disgust. Before Federation, politics were exercised by old men only. Today both women and children are on. What follows next then? *Disgrace!!*

Namwala

14th February 1960

J. KALUFWELU

I am an African aged forty-one, was born and Educated in Northern Rhodesia. I served in the African Education Department as a Teacher for fourteen years, then appointed Education and Health Councillor to the Lunda Native Authority in Balovale which is my home district, later in 1952 became Assistant Manager of Schools.

I have travelled widely in Northern Rhodesia and have day to day talked to and heard a lot of cries from my own people about the existence of the Federation.

In view of the forthcoming review of the Central African Federal Constitution, I wish, Sir, to present before Her Majesty's Commission my evidence in writing, due to my absence at the time of your coming to Solwezi. You will, Sir, note that my facts stated below are not designed to mould and better the Federation but to prove to you for recommendation to Her Majesty's Government why, we as Africans of this Territory want to break away from the Federation.

Statement

1. History of Colonialism has shown how the Imperial Government handed power to white minorities to perpetuate enslavement of Africans in Africa. To prove this statement two examples are given:—

(i) In 1910 the Union of South Africa was granted Independence, rather Independence for European minority to dominate the African majority in all walks of life. From 1910 to this day the position of Africans in South Africa is within your knowledge. The British Government now is powerless in the light of Democracy to liberate Africans from this indirect slavery. What chances of freedom have Africans in the Union? When will they enjoy and take part in the Affairs of their own country?

(ii) In 1923 Southern Rhodesia was given the Responsible Government. Here again power and Authority given to settlers to dominate the majority people—the Africans, thus the thirty-six years not even one African has ever sat in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament. This is 100% proof that only white supremacy has been maintained, disregarding the interests and freedom of the majority people. Africans therefore have no say, no direct representation in the government which affect their whole life. They are therefore indirectly enslaved. Any person recommending Independence of the Central African Federation is only helping the extension of slavery to Northern Rhodesian Africans.

2. In the Federal Parliament there are 59 seats of which only 15 are occupied by Africans who represent 7,100,000 Africans while 44 seats are occupied by Europeans representing only 270,000 whites. Hence a very repressive legislation. What chances have Africans in such Parliament? I am therefore free to conclude that the seats reserved for Africans are a means of bluffing the democratic world only, and meaningless to the Africans of the Federation.

3. Under the Federal influence the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council has only 8 reserved seats for Africans to represent well over 2,000,000 Africans while 14 European seats representing not even half the population of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia. We experience again repressive Legislation and indirect slavery although modified in another form.

The main reason why Europeans have planned domination of the Africans is "*fear of the tide of African Nationalism*"

in Africa, thus Federal Constitution threatens our rights, our liberties, our dignity as human beings, and our future.

4. Partnership. The policy of the Federal Government is *Apartheid* in a modified form. It claims two classes of citizenship: (a) First-rate—the Europeans. (b) Second-rate—the Africans on their own soil! From the Christian point of view this policy is contrary to the Will of God. God made all men equal and in the image of God Himself. Colour (White) is not respected in His sight. Will Her Majesty's Government strengthen this kind of constitution? If so unless the United Kingdom Government wishes to see eternal suffering of the Africans in Central Africa.

Federation was imposed upon the Africans of Northern Rhodesia against their will, knowing what the outcome would be. All the representations made by Africans were to our surprise disregarded but the United Kingdom Government accepted the plans of the minority people who desired to enslave us.

Sir, it is the plea of every African in Northern Rhodesia that you recommend to Her Majesty's Government that Northern Rhodesia breaks away from the Federation and remains under the control of the Colonial Office. You may wonder to find some Africans giving evidence in favour of the Federation. Those are *paid to do so*. They do not do it from their sincere will. They are therefore Traitors if I may say so, to their own Chiefs and people and the country as a whole.

We would like the principle of "*One Man, One Vote*" as the foundation of Democracy which in time to come will lead to African Majority Government in Northern Rhodesia. This is bound to happen as it is the only true democratic constitution.

Solwezi
18th February 1960

J. F. KAMUCHACHA

I am writing to you as a citizen of Northern Rhodesia, having been brought up in this country some twenty-eight years ago.

I have got a few things to say against the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Before the initiation of Federal Government, we people of Northern Rhodesia had a lot of privileges to enjoy and have lost them as a result of this Federal Government.

There are a lot of bad things which have taken place after the formation of the Federal Government, and are mostly resented by the vast majority of the Northern Rhodesian Africans.

Firstly, Colour Discrimination in Restaurants, Hotels, Cinemas and other public places is prevalent all over the country. Non-Europeans are not allowed to mingle with whites in such places. There are lots and lots of non-Europeans who are well educated and civilised and well behaved who wish to come in contact with Europeans in social circles but have failed to do as such, the result is that there is no sign whatsoever of the so-called partnership.

Secondly, the Universal Adult Suffrage unanimously desired by the present day African is unforeseeable due to the Federal supporters such like Sir Roy Welensky and his cabinet.

Thirdly, the Federal Government has imposed a lot of unnecessary taxation e.g. mealie meal (the staple food of the Africans) has been exorbitantly increased in price by the Federal Finance Minister from 45/- to 57/- a bag, in order to get some money for paying out part of the Kariba Project Loans. We are being compelled to pay licences for Radios which we buy with our own money for our own labour. Some increases have been made to postage stamps, poundage etc. etc. in the post offices.

Fourthly, we Africans have a fear that once this Federation is given full independence status, our valuable land would be confiscated and be given to the white settlers e.g. in the Union of South Africa, Africans have been driven to mountains and have got no proper land for cultivation.

Lastly, the African is not being given enough education because there are hundreds and hundreds of school-going Africans who are not attending school thus retarding their educational progress.

There are in actual fact a thousand and one facts too numerous to mention, some of which are probably known by you which are leading to the rejection of the Federation by

the Africans, and so I have merely jotted very briefly a few of them to bring to your notice and I can assure you that we Africans of Northern Rhodesia are strongly opposed to the Central African Federation and we shall be terribly disappointed if our needs are not heeded by the British Government.

Chingola
22nd January 1960

J. H. A. KAPATISO

I know that I am right to give up my views on how good and wrong for Northern Rhodesia to be under the Federal Government since it came into being on 1953 up to now.

It is already in my heart that the Central Africa and its people Africans as me, are truly forced to be under bondage of the white people who are now having more and more power to rule, and forget all the ways of joining the Country together. Therefore as a man of 32 old I have really proved what is going to be or how far is the Federation since it took its part in Central Africa, and what goodness it has shown and I already got it that its stage as by now, is only trouble among the two nations being black and white, for it has really missed the promise of partnership between white and black people of the Central Africa. And this is true and sure that the white domination in the Central Africa has only more power of causing tears and misunderstanding in these three countries which are Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. That is why we and I don't want even the group of the Monckton Commission to try to say on what thousands of black people are not happy with. And it is sure it will not say what to be done, as what we many wants too.

Where the partnership is since 1953 and what the Federation done in these three territories? Just trouble to blacks. I say these because if the white many foreigners who are now making their homes to be in Central Africa wants the Federation to stay, then they may have the chance to bring forth good needs and deeds indeed, for we ever ready to protect ourselves from 1960 and it is better to share the country together. This Central Africa and its only people Africans whatever they may be should be regarded as friends human being and neighbours, for this is our Africa. We and I don't want Federation to stay.

Mankoya
20th January 1960

CHIEF KAPIJIMPANGA

I have to inform you that my village headmen have agreed to give evidence before the Monckton Commission and they have chosen Headman Mukangwa to give evidence in Vernacular and Headman Remus Kalepa to interpret in English.

The following are the points they wish to mention at the time of giving evidence before the Commissioners :

- (1) That they object the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and that they wish to remain under the direct Rule of Her Majesty's Government through the Colonial Office.
- (2) That Northern Rhodesia is a Protectorate and that this Protectorate cannot be lost.
- (3) That in Southern Rhodesia the Africans there have no rights on Land, one example to this is that Ndebele people are coming into Northern to take up farms.
- (4) That our fear it that since 1953 when the Federation was imposed on us against our wishes, Federation has encouraged European immigration into the country. We fear these Europeans that they will take over our country in the future.
- (5) The Federation has brought difficulties in Medical Facilities.
- (6) That Federation has shown no intention of Educating and developing the African people so that they may rule in future. The Federal Government hate those who oppose the Federation, but like those who support the Federation.
- (7) That if Federation is forced to continue there will be troubles in the country.

List of the Headmen of villages will be forwarded to you later.

Solwezi
22nd February 1960



AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF KASAMA*

1. My people and I are totally opposed to the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We are not educated enough and not experienced enough to understand the full implications of the changes which are likely to be brought about by Federation. We should like to wait for another fifteen or twenty years in order to gain more knowledge and experience so that we could then be in a position to judge for ourselves as to whether Federation were desirable or not. We trust the Administration of Her Majesty, the Queen, and we want her rule to continue until we are more knowledgeable and experienced. We fear the Federal Government because we do not like what we have heard of the treatment of Africans in Southern Rhodesia and we fear that those ideas will spread to this country through Federation.

2. I have more than 10,000 people in my area and I have only one dispensary at my Headquarters which was built in 1936. Many of my people live more than 40 miles from the nearest dispensary and every year there are outbreaks of disease which cannot be treated quickly and people die who might have been saved. Since Federation, no new dispensaries have been built in the Kasama district. If there had been no Federation we should have seen many more dispensaries built, that is what we think.

3. No new Post Offices have been built in the Kasama district since Federation. We want a Post Office very badly at my Headquarters which is 42 miles from Kasama.

4. Since Federation there has been distrust between the Chiefs and their people because the people say the Chiefs allowed their country to be taken by the Federation. Disturbances have taken place which would not otherwise have taken place.

5. We urge very strongly that the Health and Postal Services should be returned to the Northern Rhodesia Government immediately.

Kasama District

M. KATUTA

I am not satisfied with the Present Government. Facts are as follows:

- (1) I am not satisfied with the present form of Federation in Central Africa.
- (2) I do not want Federal Government to have more say in my life.
- (3) It should have no control over affairs, and that the power should come back to the Northern Rhodesia Government.
- (4) The people of Chief Chiundaponde have been asking to a Dispensary. No action as taken place.
- (5) Stamps are being increased yearly without thing the standard of living of the villagers.
- (6) Custom duties are much more expensive. A small parcel can be charged more than they were before.
- (7) Loans are not being provided to any people because the money is now being divided into two Governments. Had we no Federal Government I hope that would have much more money in Northern Rhodesia Government at this time.
- (8) The above mentioned matters have made me it would have no more say in this land.

Kamfira mu Katasya Villages.

11th February 1960

J. KITCHIN, R. ROY, J. THOMPSON AND M. LEITCH

(All farmers in the district of Broken Hill)

Preamble

1. We are unanimous in stating that there should be no question of any fragmentation of the Federation and we are pleased to note that your terms of reference would not appear to allow for this. We cannot emphasise too strongly that, in our opinion, Federal ties should be strengthened rather than relaxed.

2. Unending arguments for and against Federation can be produced. We endorse the advantages, which are of great magnitude, and are confident that the disadvantages can be ironed out, and the short term criticisms alleviated to the extent of their ultimate disappearance.

*Name withheld at the request of the witness

3. As is obvious to any thinking man, with a knowledge of Africans within the Federation, so called African opinion is mounted, at present, by the smallest possible minority: these statements, because of their sensational appeal to the press, are accepted by the outside world at their face value, and are believed by the unfortunate semi-literates within the Federation because it is so much easier to criticise than be constructive.

4. We, as farmers, feel that we are in as good a position as anyone to assess the political opinions of the great majority of Africans. We feel that African resistance to Federation is only felt and voiced by so-called leaders whose chances of obtaining positions of uncontrolled authority are minimised, under the present constitution, until such time as people capable of retaining and correctly administering these positions rise from the mass. With no exception the present candidates have shown themselves completely irresponsible and unsuited in every way to guide the destinies of this potentially great country and its peoples. They will say that Federation has done nothing for Africans but we would ask how much the Colonial Office did for them before Federation.

5. We estimate that at least 95% of the African people are only interested in politics as they effect their own immediate domestic problems, such as taxation, labour migration, public transport, control of liquor, wages, housing and food, and that they are still largely influenced by witchcraft. They have no interest in, or conception of, wider issues.

6. A small percentage of Africans have been able to take advantage, from childhood, of the comparatively recent introduction of education, and are now feeling their way into posts in local government, business firms, self employment, etc. This section, in the main, is open to advice and guidance, but also, unfortunately, are largely subject to intimidation by the aforementioned politically agitating minority. They themselves, we feel sure, realise their limitations and are only too pleased to receive further education aimed at making them valuable members of the community, provided they are not forced into oblivion by the pandering to immature political demands by the powers-that-be. It is from this ever widening pool that the future African leaders will arise, respected by, and acceptable to, all.

7. The almost infinitesimal percentage represented by the present leaders are men with the thinnest possible veneer of civilisation, with the dangerous ability to sway a crowd. We emphasise that these people are self seekers—working for their own personal ambitions only, and we are convinced that the handing over of the balance of power to men of this calibre can only end in chaos with an ever threatening danger of communist domination for the country and its people as a whole. Any lowering of the franchise before the African masses are in a position to think and evaluate for themselves would mean national disaster to them and the country.

8. No leader of mature stature has, as yet, emerged from the various vociferous African political parties or from the African members of so called multi-racial parties. It is our contention that the present professional talkers are only too well aware of their limitations and that their agitation for immediate political power as against a gradual emancipation for the people they profess to represent stems from a desire to suppress any leaders of real ability and sane judgment rising from the ranks in the normal course of events to overshadow their hysterical outbursts with the pronouncements of mature political thinking. Their dreams of highly-paid positions, with opportunities to exploit all and sundry, will vanish and their names will certainly not go down as martyrs. Their frantic efforts to obtain power by any means before a more mature outlook prevails among the masses, must be prevented.

9. The British Colonial Government must shoulder almost the entire blame for the fanatical African Nationalism this continent is suffering from today. For the Colonial Office to say that its policy has always been ultimate self-determination is, we submit, nonsense. The Colonial Office has never had a policy of any description except when it has suited the political party in power in Great Britain to state one. The Colonial Office and its servants have never had confidence in the future of any country they have administered, as is shown by the negligible number of civil servants who have settled in these countries on retirement. We emphasise that no country can progress on sound lines where its day to day administration is in the hands of people, no matter how dedicated, who do not look upon that country as their home. We

cannot endorse too heartily a remark made recently that civil servants should go home every night rather than every two and a half years. The fact at present, unpleasant though it may be, is that the Colonial Office administration has the confidence of no single section of the community. We certainly doubt whether it has confidence in itself. We wish to emphasise that we thoroughly approve of African advancement, provided this advancement is on merit and will contribute to the welfare of the whole of our country as opposed to the prospect of advancement purely for advancement's sake as a policy of appeasement to cheer leaders and sections of the overseas public who have no conception of, or choose to ignore, the conditions and problems of this country.

10. We would point out that, to date, every agricultural, industrial and trading development in this country has been initiated, planned, financed and developed by European skill and know-how, assisted manually by the African people. This fact makes nonsense of the frequently uttered cry of African Nationalism that Europeans are usurpers and have robbed the African of his heritage. One has only to make a short study of the works of anthropologists to realise that pure chance in the migratory habits of African tribes found the present ones in Northern Rhodesia. Having, in the main, taken possession of the country by the short head of two or three generations prior to the advent of the European. It must be pointed out that only 6% of this territory is controlled by Europeans other than the Civil Service Administration. The balance has always been available to any development which the African people may have wished to undertake, because by Orders in Council the Reserves are not open for development by anyone but Government or Africans. The result is little or no development at all as will be seen by the Commission on its journeys.

11. The policy, or rather, lack of policy, of the British Colonial Office has almost completely destroyed the old tribal customs and standards which, although not civilised, did instil discipline and self respect into the mass of the people. This has caused an almost complete de-tribalisation coupled with resistance to the European set standards and code of behaviour and without replacing traditional ways with something of value. Chiefs and village elders, if they are thought of at all, are objects of derision and the Provincial Administration, shackled by petty rules and regulations made by Whitehall, can offer no compulsory system of government suitable and acceptable to the mentality and standard of education of the aforementioned 95% of the population. Nevertheless, prior to Federation, the District Commissioners of the Colonial Service were the only means of direct communication with the overwhelming majority of the African population and, as individuals, were considered by them an omnipotent source of advice and justice.

Franchise

12. We wish to impress the Commission that we are entirely against any relaxation in the franchise at present. The opportunity exists for any African to become a voter by his own efforts and we would point out that many eligible for registration have not bothered to do so, the main reason, we believe, being a complete lack of interest in things political. Any relaxation of franchise qualifications or the implementation of Universal Adult Suffrage, would not in fact result in more people having more say but domination by an African minority. In addition there would be a constant jockeying for position among the leaders of the various factions, whose unification even against so-called European repression is not very strong at present.

13. We must make it quite clear that, in view of statements made by African political leaders that a multi-racial state will, under no circumstances, be considered by their parties, we have no confidence whatsoever in legislation to protect minorities. Legislation can be altered, or fresh legislation brought in, and the position of races and interests in opposition to the government can be made untenable, with the result that the people who have made this country what it is can be forced to leave it with nothing to show for their efforts and, in many cases, the efforts of their parents before them.

14. We feel that we have a duty to make it clear as a plain statement of fact, and not in any threatening terms, that the Europeans of Northern Rhodesia—many of them in their third generation—will not tolerate the installation of a regime which will threaten the well being of their families, their properties or occupations.

15. It is our considered and reasoned opinion that the time

is not yet ripe for the balance of power to be handed to the African population. The time is approaching when Africans will hold the balance of power, but they will obtain it naturally in the course of political evolution and with little or no resistance from the Europeans, who are not, repeat not, against their advancement up to European civilised standards, but who are strongly opposed to any lowering of European standards, with the attendant destruction of all they have worked for, merely as a sop to ill informed overseas public opinion.

Suggestions

16. In order to combat the inestimable damage caused by the minority group of agitators and extremists and the ever changing views and policies of the British political parties, in particular, the Labour Party, which have made the Federation the butt of party politics ever since its inception, we put forward the following points for the consideration of the Commission:

- (a) It is essential that the British Government (and, we hope, their opposition) makes it quite clear that their unalterable policy is one of Federated Territories, that they are determined to make it a stable entity and, in co-operation with the Federal Government and the Territorial Governments, make it work.

Comment: As long as the present vacillation continues so will the talk of building a modern state based on racial co-operation be made the more difficult.

- (b) In order to implement this it is of paramount importance that strict instructions be given to the Colonial Services of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that the present negative, one can almost say opposing, attitude towards Federation be immediately replaced by one of a positive approach in favour.

Comment: It is a well known fact that at the time of the inception of Federation District Commissioners received strict instructions from the government of the day to express no views on the pros and cons of Federation at a time when their advice was needed more than ever before, and we feel that the negative attitude demanded erred, if anything, against rather than for, for obvious reasons. This directive is undoubtedly the main cause of suspicion and dissatisfaction at the present time, which is being exploited to the full by unscrupulous persons both black and white, both within the Federation and outside it.

- (c) It is imperative that the Federal Capital be sited without delay on neutral ground somewhere within the Southern portion of Northern Rhodesia as the geographical pivot of the Federation.

Comment: It is a proven fact that any Federal Capital should be sited on neutral ground, the land being the property of the Federal Government and not placed in any single municipal area. It should be insulated from any territorial towns and independent of any territorial capital. No other single factor would go so far towards smoothing out the present mistrust caused by the well meaning but unfortunate mistakes of the past. We feel that one of the greatest fears held by Africans in the Northern territories from the inception of Federation was dominated by Southern Rhodesia. The placing of the Federal Capital at Salisbury has lent great weight to those fears and has given agitators a forceful weapon. The fact that the Federal Government Headquarters and the Southern Rhodesia Government Headquarters are across the road from one another has led to mistrust, suspicion and a deep feeling that Federal Government is influenced by Southern Rhodesia.

- (d) With regard to the division of responsibility between Federal and Territorial Government Departments we feel, in view of past experience, that there is room for improvement. As examples we suggest the following:—

Prison services should be brought into line with Territorial Police Forces to place the onus of any convictions squarely on the shoulders of the territory concerned, to remove another possible cause of suspicion from African minds. It seems a curious position where Territorial administration secures the conviction of a person at law and the Federal Government has to provide the accommodation. The anomaly of Animal husbandry being a Federal concern, and the Veterinary Departments being Territorial is another

1952

administrative peculiarity. It is obvious that both these departments should be under Federal control.

With regard to Agriculture as a whole the very great benefits and stability accruing to European Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia since the introduction of the Federal Conservation and Extension Services would suggest that a survey of African Agriculture in all territories may show that similar benefits might be expected if these departments also came under Federal control.

In view of the Federalisation of European Agriculture it is felt that the formation of a Federal Land Bank must receive immediate consideration. This does not affect Africans at the moment as the Land Bank deals only with Registered land titles—a system which has not yet been absorbed by African land laws.

Finally, no time must be lost in setting a firm course for the Federation, particularly in view of the fact that the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity dominating the thoughts of European landowners, householders, potential settlers and investors is doing untold damage to the much needed development of the country. Statements, in threatening and dictatorial terms, made by African political leaders, which have been allowed to go unchallenged by the Government, do nothing to foster the confidence of the people who have developed the three Territories to their present state. A definite statement of policy on what the future holds for the Northern Territories and for the Federal state must be the outcome of the 1960 Review as until it is forthcoming, progress will inevitably be slowed down to the point of stagnation through uncertainty.

Conclusion

16. We would like to conclude by observing that inevitably the Commission will receive complaints, criticisms and allegations in its journeys through Central Africa but we would express the hope that by searching questioning of witnesses the Commission will be able to sift the chaff from the grain. We wish the Commission success in its most difficult task.

Broken Hill

A EUROPEAN RESIDENT OF KITWE*

Extracts from Letter to the Editor, Northern News (29th June, 1959) written by a Missionary at Ndola (a grandson of one of the earliest Missionaries) headed "Missionaries cause political strife".

"The Church of Scotland has, on its own admission, permitted and even encouraged its representatives to meddle in politics and to incite the uncivilised peoples of Nyasaland to strive for self-government: a policy that has resulted, as we have seen recently in riots and bloodshed for which the Church of Scotland is undoubtedly vicariously responsible.

"It is admitted that the duty of the missionary is to 'proclaim the ideal laws of God' but where, in the Bible, is it written that 'all men are equal'?

"Did the founder of Christianity ever enjoin any of His disciples to go out and stir up the people of the world into insurrection against the Roman Empire?

"On the contrary, He said: 'Render unto Caesar the things things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's'. He refused to become involved or entangled with politics".

Extracts from an Article in the Northern News (10th February, 1960) by Earl Winterton headed "Europeans have a legitimate fear regarding nationalism"—"Homeland of both main races":

"The term 'settler' for the European inhabitants is a misleading one because a large proportion of them are not immigrants, but native-born Rhodesian or Kenyan Europeans of the second or third generation.

"There is another fact bearing on that position which is constantly ignored in this country. A hundred or more years ago, the native Africans of the two territories were themselves invaders. They drove out, exterminated, or made slaves of, the African tribes whom they found there, such as the bushmen of Kenya.

*Name withheld at the request of the witness.

"While we appreciate that certain humiliating features of the colour bar must be abolished, as they are being gradually abolished, we resist strongly the idea of complete social contact with Africans.

"We must do so because that would lead to mixed marriages, which are seldom a success and which the best type of African himself dislikes: We cannot accept, even as an ultimate goal, the principle of one man one vote because that would mean complete African domination over us through the power of an electorate which is ignorant, mainly illiterate and only removed by a couple of generations from savagery."

1. I trust it can be consolidated that there will be no domination by any races in the Federation at any time.

2. I think the following should be taught in schools:—

(a) Racial courtesy, good citizenship and interest in world affairs for the good of everyone.

(b) Sex instruction by the distribution of approved Medical books and pupils told that it is better to marry within one's own race.

(c) Hygiene, especially with regard to the washing of hands before meals and after going to the toilet, to prevent Polio and other diseases. This is most important says an article in *The Observer*, London.

3. There should be Hygiene Notices in all Public Places and in Hotels, Clubs, Stores and Offices, and there should never be a toilet alone anywhere without a washbasin in the room. (This should be made a Building Regulation.)

Also, Cashiers, taking money and Counter Assistants should not be allowed to serve food-stuffs with their hands, and all bread should be properly wrapped up.

4. It would also be a good thing if the amount of drink sold to customers in stores could be limited to prevent homes being broken up.

5. There should be a stricter censorship of Films and Books, etc., and also Television when it comes.

6. It would work well if there were European, African, Asian and Multi-racial Hotels, Restaurants and Cafes everywhere, as people are happier among their own race, and then the colour bar would be forgotten.

7. Also, separate Dwelling Suburbs for Europeans, Africans, Asians and mixed races.

8. Lastly, separate schools for Europeans, Africans, Asians and mixed races. When children are grown up they can mix in Universities and Colleges, and then there will not be mixed marriages.

M. KUMALO

We thank Her Majesty's Government for the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry of which you are a senior member.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has failed and the founders are mainly responsible for its failure and deficiency because:—

(1) They forced Federation upon the Africans.

(2) The Federation came at the wrong time. The Africans themselves ought to have demanded the Federation.

(3) They failed to destroy colour bar in all spheres of life in the Federation.

(4) Partnership has no meaning and the Europeans claim to be senior partners.

(5) We believe in what Mr. H. Gaitskell said one day: "Somehow or other we have to have policies and measures which recognise and understand the natural desires of the African peoples to govern themselves and establish themselves as citizens and not second class but on a parity with white people as well".

The Federation must go and go for good.

Mwandi

26th February 1960

MRS. D. L. KYDD COUTTS

To investigate the constitutional structure of the Federation one needs to realise that less than a hundred years ago power in the greater part of Africa lay with disease-carrying insects and in witchcraft. Due to Europeans, World Health Organisations and the Valiant work of Missionaries, tropical disease is no longer a bar to inland residence.

The question is :—Whether power will be retained by responsible people and what are the prospects in those parts of the country where power is likely to be transferred to African hands. The future of the Federation is being shaped as much by a conflict of wills outside as well as within its borders.

Europeans have stopped tribal wars, established communications built house and borne children in this country—have brought Northern Rhodesia into world trading and this all within a few years. Approximately thirty years ago, not only were the indigenous people illiterate—having no written language not even a rudimentary wheel.

Both Northern and Southern Rhodesia are rich in mineral resources, these afford a base on which a highly complex industrial economy can be superimposed, such economy calls for vast capital and can only be attracted by political stability, this is difficult to achieve with a people still controlled by witch doctors and superstition.

The greatest difficulty is the incompatibility of people of different stock, of widely different standards of civilization, of different manners, and customs of language and heritage—the difference here is far greater than exists between Teuton and Latin—Arab and Jew—or even the East and West End of London.

Where the controlling government is transferred to a less responsible group of people economic prosperity and development will naturally slow up, for the standard of the greater number of people has to be brought up and with less efficiency at the head this is bound to slow up progress.

Political nationalism is in the ascendant, democracy is *not* flourishing here. Democracy means the education of the illiterate of the electorate and where 90% of them are illiterate it is more than difficult to exercise sound judgement, in choice of candidates, corruption and intimidation and personalities must creep in.

With such political instability it is not surprising that in the last few years Northern Rhodesia has been unable to attract industry. With such mass illiteracy the agitator can (*and does*) preach his policy of extreme racial policies and finds fertile soil in the uncritical and illiterate mass.

Evil such as Mau Mau would be less likely to occur if the African himself became more prosperous, more established and responsible. Strife would not be stirred up by the few politically ambitious.

If the standard of living generally were raised! But this can only be brought about by attracting Industry which in turn need the security of full self-government.

As a woman I naturally consider first the future and safety of the younger generation—they—many of them were born here and know no other country or custom.

During the last ten years we—the women—have watched with keen anxiety the demonstrations the strikes, the boycotts and the pattern of general violence, in very many cases this has been rashly advised by ignorant enthusiasts from overseas, if these “do-gooders” stopped to think it would be realized the evil that is done. It is true, that Order is restored by a very efficient police force but the damage between the races can never be wholly undone.

The alternative is to act in time *and wisely*, this can only be done by people conversant with the country and the peoples concerned, and not by endless advise and criticism by people in the United Kingdom who are too far away to be *vitaly* concerned, and perfectly safe from any threat of “Mau Mau” or worse (as has been threatened by irresponsible African politicians).

If a responsible Government were elected, then economic development would be inevitable, thus enabling a higher standard of living and so making it possible to evolve a non-racial society in a multi-racial country and create a common patriotism.

In every society there is the social bar—even in England where people have the same language customs and colour, so it is inevitable that there will be one here where the differences are so great. But the ultimate aim—the benefit of all peoples in the Federation would be brought about “By a responsible elected government, with no lowering of the standard of franchise at this stage.”

In the preceding pages I have voiced my opinion as a business woman, I would now present the other side—as a mother of the young people, who are to be the future Rhodesians.

Many of us have made sacrifices and undergone, in many cases privations and extreme difficulties in our endeavour to make our homes here. We have pulled up our roots and endeavoured to establish not only our homes but the future of our children, and assist in the building and opening up of the country; we have buried loved ones here, our children too feel that this is the land of their birth and are proud of it. Indeed they know no other “home”. How can we expose these young people (and here I mean of both sections of the community) to avaricious political gamblers, to a group of men who do little or nothing to encourage their own women in *any* form of advancement, who would and have, resorted to the most vile forms of brutality? I feel that women European and Black—if they were able, would desire a more stable government than that which is likely to evolve were affairs in the hands of the Africans.

The ever present threat of communism is now being used. The rate of progress of the individual African politician, has been very rapid—there are among them many able and far seeing men, whose opinion is of great value, and all agree that to go forward slowly is a sensible policy. It is only the extremist politician who has everything to gain and nothing to lose that is causing so much friction.

I and many other women like me have no personal axe to grind, we have sunk all our savings into our home we feel we have in a small way contributed to a wider horizon, we chopped away the Bundu to build a home for our children, we have endeavoured to take an interest in civic affairs and wherever possible attempted to create goodwill among the indigenous people, we feel we have contributed, if only in a small measure, to a better understanding.

It is difficult and bewildering one feels it has all been to no purpose, not only are the Europeans bewildered but the Africans too.

I sincerely feel that the differences could be mended—provided there was a responsible hand on the reins.

We write to relatives in England and endeavour to explain, but is it understood there? That many of the suave and well dressed African politicians leave and go back to their African villages and squat on their haunches and eat sadza with their fingers—this in itself is no crime—only to demonstrate that although their interest is in damnation the things that really matter, justice, fair play, compassion, kindness and culture are of minor importance and yet these are the things and we pride ourselves have made the British race what it is today. The Africans claim even on banners that this is the land of their birth and their heritage—my son was born in Africa too—what of his heritage?

Ndola

J. LAKETENGO and five other village headmen

For many years Africans lived in Central Africa and had their own lands under the leadership of their traditional Chiefs before the entry of the white people into Africa.

When the African Chiefs made treaties and asked the protection of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, they were first ruled under a government formed by business men, British South Africa Company. Their government was Direct Rule. This government took away power from African Chiefs and placed it in the hands of European Administrators.

Under this government Africans faced many difficulties. People were arrested imprisoned and severely punished for small offences. Africans complained and grumbled against the treatment of the government until in 1923 the Colonial Office was asked to take over from B.S.A. Company.

Under this new government the policy of the territory was changed from Direct to Indirect Rule. Under this rule African Chiefs were given power again to look after their affairs of their own people according to their own customs and traditions. Special promises were made under the Indirect Rule to protect Africans until such time that they will be able to govern themselves. Under these arrangements and promises some countries in Africa received their self-government. Northern is a Protectorate it lives under the same promises and protection as they were given to countries such as:— Gold Coast, Kenya, Uganda, and so on. We Africans in N. Rhodesia have been looking forward to the time when we shall be ready to rule ourselves.

In 1953 Federation came to Central Africa against our wish. Since Federation came many things have happened. Many

esa

people have been sent to prison and some have been shot, some Chiefs have been deposed and others have had their power weakened.

Such things had never happened even during reign of the B.S.A. Company. Looking closely at the Federal Government we see that it is a government more of the European Settlers than of the Representatives of the Colonial Office. We Africans do not see any difference between the Govt. of the B.S.A. Company and the Federal Govt. We are brought back to where we started before 1923—Direct Rule. Where is the Queen's promise to protect us until we are able to look after ourselves? **Race Relations between Black and White has been very bad since Federation came.** Misunderstandings and quarrels between black and white have been many.

Since Federation came about 6 yrs ago very little has been done to help Africans especially in Rural Areas.

Hospitals: When the Queen Elizabeth Hospital (Balovale) started in 1951 we had received more medicine and staff than after the Federation began. The keeping of small babies with the care of their mothers has caused many hardships.

Education: Education had been very difficult in many African schools. The Federal Government looks after the European education. If Partnership is to work between Africans and Europeans the best place to have it started should be in schools. Among the Luvale people circumcision camps were our traditional schools. Boys who attended the same camp went back home as great friends throughout the rest of their life. Schools are the modern circumcision-camps. Children who attend the same schools often regard themselves as friends—class mates. If Europeans and Africans were educated together they will regard themselves as school mates and friends after they leave school.

Post Office: Since the Federation began the increases in postage stamps revenue, poundage on post orders telegrams have doubled since 1953. Customs duties on goods ordered outside the Federation have been excessively high. If we look at the wages and salaries of people they have not been doubled since 1953.

Looking at all these things we see that Federation has brought very little to help Africans. It has brought more to snatch the Africans from the protection of the Queen and the Colonial Office. It is a government which is intended to take us back into indirect slavery—Direct Rule—which we fear so much. "Once bitten twice shy".

Balovale.

LUANSHYA WOMEN'S INSTITUTE—Mrs. J. Hanford, Acting Secretary

The Federation of Women's Institutes of Northern Rhodesia are based on the spiritual ideals of fellowship, truth, tolerance and justice; they are non-party political and non-sectarian.

The main purpose of the Federation and the Institutes shall be:

- (a) to provide an organisation enabling women to take an effective part in the life and development of Northern Rhodesia and giving them an opportunity of working together and putting into practice those ideals for which the movement stands.
- (b) to promote international understanding amongst women.

For the purpose of securing and furthering these objects the Federation and the Institutes shall have power to make provision for the fuller education of women in all subjects particularly in all subjects of citizenship, such as the welfare of women and children, both social and economic, and also in all branches of agriculture, rural handicrafts, domestic science and hygiene. (Quotation from Constitution of Federation of Women's Institutes of N.R.).

From the time our first Branch was formed in Northern Rhodesia, twenty-five years ago, the members of our Women's Institute have felt it their duty to do all they could to raise the standard of living of Africans amongst whom they lived. The prevalent idea being that while obtaining a living in the country it was right and proper to give something in return that would be of value to the indigenous people. This took

the form of a system of informal education in which classes were held at all centres for all women and girls wishing to attend.

We are convinced that there can be no real advancement for the African people unless the women are able to play their part. To do this they must be able to keep in step with their menfolk, and bring up their children to take their place in a different world from that of their forebears.

If African advancement is to continue as swiftly in the future as it has in the last decade, this generation of children will have need of all possible civilizing influences if they are to fill the positions awaiting them.

Over the years our simple educational system has proved invaluable. Not only because it has aroused the interest and enthusiasm of both pupil and instructress and has produced gratifying results, but has been a means of contact bringing mutual understanding between European and African women. Language has been no barrier against friendliness and the good will shown on both sides has overcome the many difficulties.

In order to carry on this work which we feel is so vital to the country, we must have peace and freedom from disturbances. Power must be in the hands of those who are civilized and able, no matter what their race may be, until such time when all are able to participate equally.

It is well known that those extremists who claim to be leaders are mostly representative of very small minorities and in some cases of no-one but themselves. It is significant in our view, that at the present time, these elements have split up into many splinter groups, hostile to each other and all jockeying for position.

Whatever constitutional changes may be introduced we, the women and members of Women's Institutes (we have no barriers of race or creed) earnestly appeal to the Commission to bear in mind, that an atmosphere of peace and prosperity is the only one in which the women and children can thrive. Our organisation is fully prepared to use its utmost exertion to assist the authorities in bringing about a partnership, which we believe will ultimately bring us to a truly multi-racial state in keeping with the character and aims of our organisation.

Luanshya

CHIEF LUCHEMBE—

I am Chief Luchembe speaking, Mpika District.

I was born in the year of 1900. My father is Chitimukulu Kanyanta. I have been a Chief for 20 years. In Luwingu District 2 years and here in Mpika District 13 years. I am speaking on behalf of my people in my area; their population is more than 16,000.

1. Since Federation started in the year of 1953, we all Chiefs together with our people have refused it, as we objected to it at its beginning. But the Government of the Queen in England forced us to accept Federation. At this time it has caused many disturbances in our territory of Northern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland. Because of Federation we Bemba have been split up from Chitimukulu in order to weaken our strength. Federation wishes to destroy the power of the Local Native Authority, which is against Queen Victoria and other Kings who came after who wished to make strong the Local Native Authority in order that in the end we should govern ourselves. Federation wants to destroy this.

2. What we want is to break away from Federation, because the way in which our friends are governed in Southern Rhodesia is no good, and because the Africans in that country have no voice at all, and the white people will not change their behaviours.

3. What we want is to govern ourselves as we agreed with the Kings of England who have protected us for the past years. We have now grown up and we want to govern ourselves. We want more Africans in the Legislative Council than Europeans, because we are the owners of the country and we are many, and so that our Chieftainship may be respected. Because now we are like the servants of the Boma. All people may be given rights to elect who should govern them. The present Government must be reformed before the Council of 1960, for which you have come is held.

4. Colonial Secretary, who is coming at the end of this month should tell us that the number of we Africans in the Legislative Council is larger than Europeans.

Mpika

8th March 1960.

J. P. LUKONGA

I am very pleased for the chance given by the British Government about Federation Government.

I do not know when the British Government ruled or forgotten our Treaty with Queen Mary in the year 1906.

1. I do not want it.
2. I do not want it to say anything in my life.
3. It should not have any control over affairs, I do not want Federation.

Mongu

30th January 1960

J. W. LUKONGA

My personal views with regards to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

1. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should, in my opinion, remain under the present constitution without being given more powers or transferring some of its powers to the Territorial Governments. Any changes, thereof, should be determined by the solidity of improvement in race relationship arising from true mutual affection.

2. The only more powers, in reserve, would be for all the governments and their peoples constituting the Federation to try with all their powers, skill, sincerity, tolerance and statesmanship to find means by which all the different peoples of the Federation can feel confident living as children of the same family and without fear of the unknown. This being the most difficult and delicate business of all the world problems, particular attention to it is seriously required if the Federation is to achieve its objectives.

Mongu

4th March 1960

THE LUNDA NDEMBU NATIVE AUTHORITY, MWINILUNGA DISTRICT

We are the Chiefs, Councillors and elected Members of the Lunda Ndembe Native Authority, Mwinilunga, and we speak for the people of Mwinilunga District, who number 30,000.

1. The Commission should remember that at the beginning of Federation, the Chiefs and people did not agree to it. They still do not agree to it. We are refusing Federation because we do not wish the ruling to be changed from that of 1924. This rule came from the Colonial Office.

2. From 1953 when Federation was imposed the ruling of the Government of Sir Roy Welensky has troubled and disturbed our rule by the Northern Rhodesia Government.

3. The bad things we have seen are as follows: Everywhere where people meet there have been detectives, and this has not been good.

4. Federation has not advanced African Education fast enough because so much of the money has gone to Southern Rhodesia; and the Federal Government dictates to our Government.

5. The Northern Rhodesia Government is in the hands of the Federal Government; as Ministers from the Federal Party are in the Northern Rhodesia Government.

6. Hospitals. It is difficult to get sufficient medicine for our Hospitals and dispensaries, as the Health Services are controlled from Southern Rhodesia.

7. Since Federation very many Europeans have arrived in the Federation, we do not want so many; we fear that they will take our country; and they say that black people are dirty.

8. Post Offices. Many Post Offices have been built, but Postal Charges have gone up, and higher customs duties have been imposed.

9. Information. Wireless were free, but now they are taxed, and the Federation has taken our money.

10. The reason why we refuse Federation is because we fear that the rule from England may end, and as yet we are unready to stand on our own feet. If that is done we shall be treated as slaves. The Europeans who are born in Africa are not good to Africans.

11. We do not want the three countries put into one because in a democracy the majority should rule, and we are at present ruled by a minority.

12. A colony should not be combined with a Protectorate, because a Colony like Southern Rhodesia is one thing, and a Protectorate is another.

We are afraid of a State of Emergency and Policemen with guns, when there is an outbreak. The guns are brought by Welensky. What are they for? To fight Africans or to fight the Queen's power. The Africans have no arms.

13. We still believe in the Agreements we made that we should be protected until we are ready to stand on our own feet, politically, socially, economically: so that we will take over ruling ourselves. In our ruling, if it comes, there will be no discrimination.

14. Federation. We do not want Federation to disturb our future, because that lies in our own hands. Federation should be taken away with its bad ideas. It has brought no good to us in the last 7 years. If the Federation is broken up we can see who is really fit to rule. We should have more African seats in Legislative Council, and also in posts of importance in Government, without any question of colour.

15. We think that our children should go to the same schools as Europeans. We know that many Europeans come here for work, but they are not the owners of the country.

16. We have seen the results of Federation where many people were killed with guns at Kariba.

17. Federation is dangerous because at the beginning of 1953 Sir Roy Welensky went to England to say that Africans have agreed. The Queen believed him that they had agreed, but he lied. If Federation endures they will go on saying things that trouble us. If there is one man in Northern Rhodesia who agrees with Federation, then let him go and live where the Federal people come from.

18. The reason why we refuse Federation is because the Federal Government makes us unhappy and we fear it and there are many things to complain about. Does the Queen not find us good leaders at present instead of putting us in the hands of the Federal Government. We need the Queen's Government to give us what we still need.

19. Land. In the old days of the B.S.A. Company, we did not live well. However, in 1930 we began to have a good understanding with the authorities, and the chiefs were given power to rule. We had Native Treasuries established; there was nothing wrong, and no trouble between Africans and Europeans.

20. But when Federation came we saw Europeans coming to apportion our lands. Therefore we fear. We do not want to be like Southern Rhodesia. Their African people are not happy. We are afraid that the Queen's Government has put us in the hands of Welensky and we shall be treated as slaves.

21. If the Queen's Government has put us in the hands of the Federal Government, we are already slaves. If a person has lived with his father, and then his father hands him over to another, then he is a slave. That is why people are not happy; if many Europeans come, they will take the country. Today we are pleased that the Queen's Government has sent the Commission to hear our complaints, and we are happy.

22. We wish to live under the Queen's Government; if we are put under the Federation we shall come out from Government of the Queen, as we refuse Federation.

23. We have this example from Chief Ikelenge's country. Some Europeans from the Federal Government came to make a road, and began to cut down trees, and demolish houses and latrines in the capital. People came running to Chief Ikelenge, saying, "they are destroying our houses, they have come from Salisbury, and tell us to take our goods outside at once, and they are cutting down all the trees." Chief Ikelenge went there quickly. He asked them what they were doing destroying houses. They said "what are you". Chief Ikelenge told them he was the Chief. They said to him, "Get off". Chief Ikelenge said "are you the King or Queen of England, that you are doing this". They replied, "we do not ask the Provincial Commissioner or the District Commissioner when we are working, we are from Salisbury, and don't listen to anyone else".

Chief Ikelenge said that that was his village, and to stop destroying it. They replied "Get away, you black man". Chief Ikelenge then told the African labourers to stop destroying the houses; and they did. Others went on, but the people told them to listen to what the Chief had said. Then all the labourers stopped work; and when the man in charge said they would be dismissed, they agreed.

Chief Ikelenge met the District Commissioner and Police Officer on their way to Sakeji School, and told them about it. The District Commissioner was annoyed; but they found they had gone off to their camp. The Police Officer told the people in charge to come to the Boma, and they were given a case. They were fined a total of £25, £5 to the Chief for disrespect, and £20 compensation for the houses. This was something that we found out about the Federal Government.

24. Finally we stand by the Preamble to the Constitution which states that British Protection should not be withdrawn until the majority of the inhabitants of the country so desires. This does not mean simply a majority in Parliament or Legislative Council, as the franchise is at present such that the majority of the people in the Territory are represented by too few Members. In addition, so far as this Territory is concerned, we stand by the Moffat Resolutions of 29th July, 1954,

25. We are the loyal Chiefs and people of Mwinilunga, who have lived well with Government for many years, and we ask you to weigh our words well. We do not write to the newspapers or make speeches but we carry very great responsibilities; and without our work the Government could not go on.

Mwinilunga

1st March 1960

FIVE AFRICAN RESIDENTS OF LUNDAZI*

Central African Federation

We wish to express our opinion on the Central African Federation.

1. From the beginning, the Federation was forced upon Africans in spite of their strong opposition. After a long struggle, the Government said that the Federation was on trial from 1953 to 1960. Up to this time, when the trial period has come to an end, our opinion is still *no*.

2. We don't like the Federation because the three territories Nyasaland, N. Rhodesia and S. Rhodesia should not be joined together because of the differences in their status: S. Rhodesia is a self-governing colony influenced by Europeans and Africans there have no say in the government, while as Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia are protectorates driving towards African self-governing territories according to the colonial policy.

3. As Africans, we see that we were economically better off before the Federation, also the Colonial Government having absorbed for such a long time, we Africans of N. Rhodesia feel that time has come when we should govern ourselves.

4. At this time we don't wish to entertain any form of Government, especially the present Federal Government. We wish to remain as a colony for only a short period after which time have the government in our own hands.

5. We do not like any improvement on the Federation, we wish it die its natural death immediately. During the trial period of this Federal Government, there have happened many deplorable incidents such as those in Gwembe Valley, Nyasaland, Lake Bangwelo in N. Rhodesia, etc., which have resulted into state of emergencies without trial. These have shown crystal clear that the future of the Africans if Federation still stands, will be worse than it has been during the trial period.

6. We wish the Monckton Commission to strongly recommend the cessation of the Federation. To an African, the Federation is like forcing the horse to drink.

Lundazi

5th February 1960

D. G. LUNGU

I am here by giving you my evidence against this Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which was formed in 1952-53.

We do not like federation ourselves for the following reasons:—

1. Federation was not organised by we Africans.
2. The Federal Government causes immigration. People are moving from S. Rhodesia to N. Rhodesia as settlers, and there will be no room for our coming children.
3. Federation method is impact of tribes from S. Rhodesia to Nyasaland, so we do not like to be treated in such a way.
4. People in Gwembe even have been killed by the N. Rhodesian police mobile unit from Bwana Mkubwa through

*Names withheld at the request of the witnesses.

Federation without Federation these people should still have been alive.

5. There is again a number of Africans killed in Nyasaland by Nyasaland Government through Federation.

6. In Employment Africans are taken as inferiors.

7. The Government of Federation drops down the price of our crops in this territory.

8. Federation brings hatred among white and black—people in this country.

All what we want is independent Africa for an African we want self government.

Mwanjavartha

31st January 1960

A EUROPEAN RESIDENT OF LUSAKA*

Education in Northern Rhodesia

In the Nineteen Forty's, European Education in Northern Rhodesia was in a parlous state.

The Northern Rhodesia Government therefore set up the Williams Commission. Eventually the recommendations of the Commission were accepted and resulted in a contented profession which reflected in advances in the educational sphere. Teachers' conferences were conspicuous in that few grouses about conditions and salaries were raised and, in consequence, these conferences dealt with problems of education.

This was the position when European Education became Federal. Ever since then, the Federal Ministry has "nibbled away" at the teaching profession, which has now lost most of the advantages received from the implementation of the Williams Report.

Following the recommendations of this Commission.

The conditions of the teaching service were generally improved.

Certain special classes of persons in the teaching service, especially hostel staffs, married women, and hostel matrons, had their positions improved.

All these improvements have been largely nullified by the retrograde steps taken by the Federal Government.

The Williams Commission Report said in 1948:

At page 13, after dealing with complaints of teachers generally and stating that some of those were due to world wide factors and some to war and emergency, it goes on:

"When all these factors are borne in mind, however, the discontent among teachers is still too serious to be viewed with complacency. In every centre, teachers gave evidence on conditions of service and deficiencies in schools, which showed an unhealthy state of affairs in people entrusted with so important a task as the training of young minds. Their evidence was supported by members of the public who were keenly aware of the harmful effect such unrest might have on their children."

On page 14, the Report states:

"The basis of payment of temporary employees, especially married women, was another of the burning questions.

"It was regularly suggested that the employment of so many married women teachers was due to the fact that they provided cheap labour. Whatever the intention, it is certainly true that it involved considerably less expenditure on the part of government."

On page 18 of the said Report:

"Large numbers of teachers, in fact the majority of the teaching staffs, are temporary."

At page 20: The word "temporary" may, however, be misleading. One witness said that "the most permanent element on the staff is the temporary teacher."

In 1948 in Northern Rhodesia there were (P. 20 of Report) 39.8 per cent permanent or potentially permanent teachers in Northern Rhodesia, which leaves 60.2 per cent. married women temporary teachers. It is not known what the present position is, but in view of the fact, as will be mentioned later, that not only do married women hold the majority of posts in girls' High Schools, and in primary schools where, in some instances, apart from heads the whole staff consists of married women, even boys' High Schools have married women on their staffs; an example is one Boys' High School which has in the first term of 1960, 9 women staff members of whom 8 are married.

The general impression is that the proportion of married women has if anything increased, and it will be shown later that the conditions of these have been by various retrograde steps greatly worsened by the Federal Government and that from a body of contented people they have been reduced to one with a legitimate grievance.

At Page 23 of the said Report :

"No attempt should be made to eliminate the married women teachers altogether. They should, however, be placed on a more satisfactory basis."

At page 17 of the said report :

"It was urged that salaries recommended for matrons . . . were too low when deductions were made for board and quarters. The Committee agrees that it is very important to have thoroughly competent persons for these posts . . . The Committee considers that if salaries are raised by making no deductions for quarters it should be possible to attract well qualified people to these posts."

Formerly the scales in European Education in Northern Rhodesia began on a par with African Education and although scales in African Education ended higher, (considerably higher in the case of men and somewhat higher in the case of women,) nevertheless the difference in the actual value of emoluments was smaller than it is now.

As at April, 1954, scales, basic salaries and Cola, were :

African Education, male Education Officer	... £733 to £1771
European Education, Master	... £733 to £1352
African Education, Woman Education Officer	£587 to £1187
European Education, Mistress	... £587 to £1081

In both European and African Education the "perks" were identical. All officers enjoyed free passages, free medical attention, subsidised housing and non-contributory pensions. The differences in actual salary were :

Men, at top, £419 per annum worse off in European than in African Education.

Women, at top of scale, £106 worse off in European than in African Education.

As at present, the scales are, including 5% increases for both Northern Rhodesia Government and Federal :

Men: Northern Rhodesia Government Education off. African Education from £997 to £2047.

European Education Federal Teacher, male, nongrad. from £735. Grad. from £997 to £1732.

Women: Northern Rhodesia Government Education Officer, African Education, £798 to £1638.

European Education Federal Teacher, Female, grad from £640 grad. £820 to £1470.

On these figures it might appear that whereas the gap between men on the maximum has been narrowed a little, from a difference at top of £419 to a difference of £315. The gap between women has been widened from £106 to £168.

But this is not so in actual fact.

Because :

In African Education, there are still non-contributory pensions.

In European Education, officers pay a pension contribution of between 7½ to 4½% of salary.

In African Education, there are overseas passages, the value of which works out at between £120 to £360 per annum.

In European Education, there are none.

In African Education, there is free medical attention.

In European Education, (while some former Northern Rhodesia Government officers retain this right) there is no free medical attention.

Northern Rhodesia Government officers pay for housing at a maximum of 10% of salary, Federal officers at 12½%.

A married Education Officer in African Education therefore has:

Salary (on his maximum)	£2047
Passages for two adults, annual value	£240
Value of medical services and drugs for 2, probably fairly high as he and wife no longer young, say, £40 per annum (if no major illness)	£40
		<hr/>
		£2327

In actual fact it is still higher because he pays no income tax on these hidden emoluments.

A married male teacher in European Education has :

A salary (on his maximum)	£1732
Deduct 2½% for extra rent paid	£42
Deduct pension contribution at 7½	£127
		<hr/>
		£169
But add Northern Allowance although no longer payable in all cases and at all times and deduct balance £49 from salary	£120
		<hr/>
		£49
		<hr/>
		£1683

The difference between men on top of the scale is now the difference between £2327 and £1683.

£644 as against £419 in 1954, between African and European Education.

Women.

African Education

Single woman Education officer

Salary, maximum	£1638
Passages for one	£120
Medical attention, say	£20
		<hr/>
		£1778

European Education

Single woman teacher

Salary, maximum	£1470
Deduct 5¾% pensions	£84
Deduct 2½% higher rent	£35
		<hr/>
		£119

But add Northern allowance though no longer payable in all cases and at all times £60

Balance which deduct from salary	£59
		<hr/>
		£1411

Difference of value in emoluments at top of scale : £367 as against £106 in 1954.

Although these foregoing figures are worked out on approximations, they are roughly correct although some details have not been taken into consideration ; for instance, some Federal officers have carried over from Northern Rhodesia Government the privilege of free medical treatment, whereas on the other hand Northern Rhodesia Government officers had to contribute to a widows and orphans pensions fund, which however is probably offset by having to pay no income tax on hidden emoluments.

Further differences between African and European Education in African Education—

An education officer, male or female, recruited from within or without the Federation, will earn leave, at the rate prescribed, (5 days per month) in his first tour of service. He earns that leave in the course of his tour and will get it whether or not he is prepared to return for a further tour or not.

This used to be the same in European Education under Northern Rhodesia Government except that leave was earned at a slightly lower rate, which was fair, as in European Education there were the long school holidays which officers in African Education did not get.

But in Federal European Education a person, male or female, who leaves in less than five years, gets no leave pay at all, and a person who leaves after between five and ten years' service gets paid to him *half* the leave earned (with the exception of women who leave to get married). They get their leave paid in full. So I believe, does an officer dismissed for misconduct, though the regulation is not very clear.

It is obvious, therefore, that a well qualified person who is prepared to come to Rhodesia to teach especially a secondary graduate, will choose African Education and European Educa-

tion is unable to compete with African Education for the best candidates.

The foregoing applies to all those engaged in European Education. There are, however, certain special categories of teachers who were specially unfavourably affected by the change over.

The first large category is *married women*.

In Southern Rhodesia married women, while employed, did not so much affect the stability of the teaching profession, as they were not so numerous and generally, in the larger towns, few of them had to be employed.

In Northern Rhodesia married women constituted the backbone of the service; there are many primary schools where nearly all the teachers are married women except for the headmaster or mistress; others where they form the majority.

Prior to Federation

In Northern Rhodesia married women could work on different terms.

1. After the Williams Report those who intended to make teaching a career, could, if after an inspection, considered suitable, serve on *special* agreement. Many single women also served on these so-called "blue agreements"; these provided for an exact parity of terms with single women of similar qualifications and experience who were permanent. Passages, leave, medical attention, were the same; the differences were:

Those on blue agreement were engaged from tour to tour, but had security of tenure during their tour, whereas the others were permanent.

Those on blue agreement received, at the end of their service with Northern Rhodesia Government a gratuity calculated at the rate of the maximum salary reached during their service, at one month's salary per each year of service.

If a married woman on such terms was widowed or divorced, she was admitted to the permanent establishment with effect from the first day of her service.

2. Those prepared to teach for longish periods were on monthly agreements, earned leave at the same rate as others, but had no passages and no gratuity.

3. Those prepared to help out occasionally were on daily agreements, the pay for which contained an element in respect of school holidays, but they earned no long leave.

The first category contained a nucleus for the profession made up of people with good qualifications and a sense of vocation. On the Federal change over these were:

- (1) Put on monthly agreements and thus lost all security of tenure.
- (2) Lost passage entitlements were *not* compensated in the transfer salary as they were for single women.
- (3) Lost gratuity and the possibility of pensions rights, (unlike single women whose pension contributions were added to their salaries).
- (4) Lost leave entitlement in that they earn 45 days per annum as against single women who earn 60.
- (5) Are earning, grade for grade, qualification for qualification and experience for experience, £60 per annum less than single women who were given the "Northern allowance" which married women did not get.
- (6) Have no fares to the sea which single women get.

The Federal Government made promises at the beginning that married women would be employed on the same salaries as single women. The *letter* of this promise was kept; but the *basic salaries* are the same; but the *value of the remuneration* is not the same in view of the foregoing, and this really is what matters.

In other words, at the time of the Federal change over, a single woman on *permanent or contract agreement* received:

Her basic salary + cost of living allowance.

A cash element in respect of her passages.

A cash element in respect of pension contributions which she would now have to pay, and these eventually vanish as she reaches her maximum, but it did mean a higher transfer salary.

60 days leave per annum.

Eventually, a Northern allowance of £60 per annum.

A married woman received: her basic salary, 45 days leave, and nothing else.

If she was a special agreement teacher, she lost, in addition to passages and gratuity, also her security of tenure from tour to tour and the reassuring knowledge that should financial disaster or difficulty overtake her because of widowhood, she would have a number of years of pensionable service behind her.

No undertaking can be efficient unless its employees are secure and happy. It was said in an English Court case,

(*Armour v Liverpool Corporation*, 1939, 108 L.J.C. 147)
 "To assist in removing from the minds of its employees the fear of an unprotected old age, to foster their happiness and contentment and to procure their good and efficient service, these are objects which . . . are incidental, if not vital, to the proper carrying on of any undertaking."

The Federal Government has failed to "content" a most important section of the teaching profession in Northern Rhodesia where conditions were completely different from Southern Rhodesia.

In May, 1956, however, it looked as though this aspect had not been overlooked by the Federal Government. IFPSC circular No. 25 of 1956 announced the employment in the Federal service of married women on pensionable terms on certain conditions, it was stated that "the Commission has been instructed to draw up suitable regulations to give effect to the implementation of this policy at an early date."

The Regulations finally came on 17th November, 1958, in IFPSC Circular No. 46 of 1958 and briefly they provide: (roughly)

That married women could be admitted after *ten years* service to the Permanent establishment, but *only* if they have no children under ten; if they become pregnant or even adopt a child under ten they will be discharged.

They must also agree to accept transfers away from their husbands and families. They will apparently be allowed to pay up pensions contributions (if they can afford to pay up ten years pensions contributions, which is unlikely, and in any case presumably they will already have paid income tax on this money which they will now be allowed to re-pay.) Not to speak of the fact that for ten years they will have served on terms very much less favourable than those on which single women serve. (Cf with cheap labour as mentioned in the Williams Report.)

These regulations, after considerable delay, were drawn up in such a way that very few could or would accept them.

It was stated that these regulations were made in recognition of the loyal and efficient service given by married women.

(I believe that married women *Cops* in New York, considered essential to the service as providing a stable and mature element, can get up to two years' accouchement leave paid. Married women teachers could get some accouchement leave in Northern Rhodesia without break in service.)

In Northern Rhodesia in 1950, the only year for which I have figures, 44 married women were placed on what is described as "permanent staff". (See page 13 of 1950 Northern Rhodesia Government Education Department report.)

It is believed that in the period since these so-called permanent terms have come out for married women, only two have been able to fulfil all the conditions attached in Northern Rhodesia although accurate figures are not available.

Matrons' Conditions

The Federal Government has had some difficulty in filling these posts, and therefore arrangements have been made by which the services of suitable persons can be retained not only beyond the normal retiring age of fifty-five but also in some cases beyond the age of sixty, if no younger applicants are available; but in such a case the matron in question is, after her sixtieth birthday, treated as a new entrant and although she is given credit for previous experience as any new entrant would, she nevertheless will be required to do the same work as she did before her sixtieth birthday, but for a lower salary. (See Federal circular No. Estabs. 47/52 called Matrons A to Z (undated).)

"If it is necessary to retain the services of a matron who has passed her 60th birthday, she will be re-appointed as a new recruit (with credit for previous experience)."

Government Scholarships

There is a strong feeling in Northern Rhodesia that since the Federal Government took over the responsibility for European Education the number of scholarships and the value of scholar-

ships available to Northern Rhodesian school leavers proposing to pursue courses of higher education have declined.

In 1953 the Northern Rhodesian Government made available:

- (a) 3 Scholarships worth £250 at a South African university or £300 plus passage at a university in the United Kingdom.
- (b) 6 Bursaries worth £100 each.
- (c) An unspecified number of Grants worth £100 each available on condition that the student returned to government service.
- (d) An unspecified number of Loans of up to £150 per annum free of interest.
- (e) An unspecified number of teacher training grants.

In 1953 the Oversea School Certificate examination was written in Northern Rhodesia for the first time. Of the three boys who wrote the examination one was awarded a scholarship for £325, plus his passage to the United Kingdom, one was awarded a grant to study at a South African university, and the third was given a loan to study at a South African university. The remaining awards were made to Northern Rhodesian students who completed their schooling outside Northern Rhodesia. The situation quoted is not meant to imply that because every boy who wrote the Oversea School Certificate examination was given government assistance to further his education in 1953 a similar situation ought to prevail today. Nevertheless, the Northern Rhodesian government was regarded as reasonably generous in its awards.

Today the position is regarded quite differently. The scholarships and bursaries referred to above were converted into "Federal" scholarships available to pupils at schools throughout the Federation. Today at least 300 school leavers in the Federation who propose to pursue courses of higher education compete for the following scholarships:—

- (a) 6 Beit Scholarships worth £250 each.
- (b) 4 Federal Government Scholarships worth £250 each.
- (c) 12 Federal Government Scholarships worth £150 each.
- (d) 16 Federal Government Scholarships worth £100 each.
- (e) A limited number of grants from £50-£120 available subject to a means test.
- (f) An unspecified number of loans of up to £150 per annum at 5% interest.
- (g) An unspecified number of teacher training grants.

As the 1953 Northern Rhodesia Government Annual Report on Education does not give statistics concerning the number of school leavers at schools outside Northern Rhodesia who proposed to pursue courses of higher education it will be necessary to assume some figure for that year so as to make it possible to work out the value of scholarships available at that time. The figure 20 is not likely to be excessive when one considers that after considerable expansion at the secondary level there were only 63 school leavers in this category at the end of 1959.

If one considers the scholarships and bursaries but excludes all grants and loans (which in any case appear to have been more generously bestowed by the Northern Rhodesia Government than by the Federal Government) one finds that the Northern Rhodesian Government made available £1,500 to 20 students. Stated another way the Northern Rhodesia Government made available on an average £75 per student pursuing higher education, while the Federal Government is making £5,900 available to 300 students, or on an average just less than £20 per student. If these figures are a true reflection of the situation it appears that students in Northern Rhodesia are treated very much less generously by the Federal Government than they were by the Northern Rhodesia Government.

The Federal Government considers its awards adequate, yet the 1958 Annual Report states that 520 students needed to avail themselves of the Federal Government student loans.

It is an interesting reflection on the attitude of the Federal Ministry of Education that it charges 5% interest on its student loans, whereas the Northern Rhodesia Government made its loans free of interest.

It is suggested that services should be controlled on a Territorial and not a Federal basis. Social Services such as Education and Health are based on and conditioned by local circumstances, and if the same service, e.g. Education, is run

by a different authority for a different section of the community, wide disparity will arise.

Business Development

The policy of the Federal Government to purchase en bloc in Salisbury for the three Territories precludes the local suppliers from quoting for items intended for their areas. No effort is made to give suppliers an opportunity to quote for their areas; for example, if 500 items are required based on 300 for Southern Rhodesia, 150 for Northern Rhodesia and 50 for Nyasaland, no indication or provision is made in the tender notice, but simply a statement that 500 items are required for the Federal Government. This does not assist in the equal development of the three Territories.

In conclusion, I would add that my vocation brings me into contact with a cross-section of the inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and there is a general dislike of Federation in its present form; this is irrespective of politics or colour.

Lusaka

10th February, 1960

A EUROPEAN RESIDENT OF LUSAKA*

I request that the following memorandum may be placed before the Monckton Commission as evidence.

I have resided in this territory for the past 23 years and my two sons, having grown up in Northern Rhodesia, regard themselves, as I do, as being true Rhodesians. I myself am a retired Regular Army officer and retired civil servant with long experience of the African. I can therefore lay claim to be a Northern Rhodesian who represents a large cross section of the European community of the territory.

We have, with pride, watched the development of this territory which took the form of improved roads, buildings, health services, development of trade and social services, with a growing European population who had confidence in the territory's future. This development has been entirely due to European enterprise and capital, plus the "know-how" and at no time can any African claim a similar achievement within the Territory or the Federation. Like many hundreds of other settlers, I am apprehensive that the handing over of the government of the territory to Africans on a majority basis will sound the death knell to any further European enterprise and will shatter all confidence of further development in the territory.

Before the outbreak of World War II the majority of the people in Great Britain had never heard of Northern Rhodesia and much less the towns of the territory. This geographical ignorance is still prevalent to-day and in consequence they cannot appreciate the way of life of the African in his natural surroundings for the following reasons:—

- (a) they have never had experience of the masses of the Africans with their different tribes and customs;
- (b) their information is obtained through the medium of the British Press, which cannot be relied on to give more than superficial information based on scant experience. Or they hear of the terrible plight of the African through the medium of the odd politician who tours the Federation for a week or two and then returns to the United Kingdom with very definite ideas as to how the Federation should be run;
- (c) the African population of the territory embraces many tribes and, in the event of African rule, there will be even more racial discrimination than under the white man's rule.
- (d) the population of Northern Rhodesia in 1958 was 2,220,000 Africans as against 72,000 Europeans, 8,100 Asians and 1,500 Coloureds. The figures alone are impressive but they must take into account the fact that there is a great proportion of the African millions who have no knowledge of the meaning of franchise; neither do they understand politics; nor do their village conversations generally include such a subject. Therefore surely they cannot qualify for the vote on the basis of one man one vote. This type of African would certainly be laid open to political exploitation either in the form of instructions on whom to vote for, threats or other subversive means. It would not matter how secret the actual ballot was, the fear of the failure of a certain party's not winning the ballot would be predominant enough to cause such an illiterate type to append his

* Name withheld at the request of the witness

220

mark on the ballot paper against the candidate's name for whom he has been instructed to vote. Therefore, serious consideration must be given to whether this type, irrespective of race or colour, is a suitable person to cast a vote :

- (e) although it has been denied publicly, the average African feels no disgrace in telling a lie ; it is when he is proved to be a liar that his prestige among his own tribe is lowered and in consequence he feels disgrace ;
- (f) we have further daily proof of the unreliability of the Africans on the question of honesty. Whilst it may be agreed that all are not dishonest there are few who fall within the definition of "honest". It is not meant by this that Europeans are not dishonest as a whole but the prevalence of dishonesty amongst Africans is proportionately much greater. Africans in general look upon their employers as mother, father, sister, brother, and will bring all their troubles to them. When they are sick, or their families are sick in isolated places away from medical care, they come for treatment to the employer who invariably does look after them or conveys them to the nearest medical centre. Despite giving them clothes, feeding them or nursing them when they are sick, they still hide away articles or foodstuffs to take to their homes later in the hope that their employer has a conveniently bad memory. The African may be loyal but he has no sense of gratitude as we understand the meaning of the word, neither has he an appreciation of time—there is always tomorrow. When encouraged he is capable of doing a good day's work, but it must be under continual supervision.

The Africans way of life follows a completely different pattern to that of the Europeans. We even smell differently. It is to be wondered at therefore that we don't mix. We have pride in the white race and they likewise in their race.

We, the Europeans of the territory, have been more tolerant of the African than we have been given credit for overseas—and we are willing to continue until and unless our very existence in the territory is threatened. The African's existence in the territory has never been threatened by the European. Indeed it was, and still is, the European, the settler primarily and the civil servant, who brought about the development and prosperity of the territory, since the time when it was known as darkest Africa, and who have endeavoured to train and civilise the African. It is agreed that the African must of necessity evolve and eventually take his place amongst other civilised nations, but this is a slow process that cannot be unduly hastened, particularly in the political field, without disastrous results to the country and its residents, irrespective of race. The Europeans of this territory for whom I speak are not here as temporary residents or passers by ; their roots and their homes are in Northern Rhodesia and the country is as much theirs as it is the Africans. But, until the time that the African has evolved and matured sufficiently to take an active, thinking part in the political, social and economic life of the Federation, there can be no true partnership.

We are not attempting to keep alive the time-worn cliché of "the good old days", nor do we wish to live in the past. This is a young country, with a great potential and future for all but it is best served by a responsible, tolerant people who know and understand the country and its peoples and all the problems involved in the running and developing of it.

For too long now, politicians and would-be politicians—black and white—national and international—have done nothing constructive but have used Africa, and particularly the Federation, as a stamping ground for their purely personal aspirations.

When Federation was first instituted may it please be noted that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland did not have an option as to whether or not they wished to enter into federation. Southern Rhodesia was the only colony which had a referendum and it was on their acquiescence that the Federation came into being. This gave the African agitator the opportunity to sew the seeds of discontent and fear throughout the territory, which, unfortunately, were not counteracted by the then politicians going amongst the people and discussing on the same public platform the advantages of federation with especial reference to the ways in which it would benefit the African and in time lead to his being able to become sufficiently mature to participate in the government of the territory to a much greater extent.

Prior to Federation we did not hear African agitators inciting the Africans to regard the Europeans as interlopers and implying that they were downtrodden by the European community, with resultant cries of "Freedom" and "Get out". The members of your Commission have no doubt read the placards displayed by the Africans and it would not be surprising to find that the many who carry them, while possibly knowing the words, do not appreciate the intent contained in such placards. The African is a simple type who is easily led and is very prone to the present political exploitation which has been taking place either through coercion or intimidation by the African agitators throughout the Federation. There is abundant evidence to prove that unless the African complies with the dictates of these self-styled political aspirants he will go in fear of reprisals, the paramount of which takes the form of burning down his hut at night—a very real fear. Boycotts are another medium through which the African is intimidated into submission by his fellow compatriots and an example can be found in the boycotting of the shops in the second-class trading area of Lusaka, when picketting took place. There were various incidents at the time such as the unwrapping of an African woman's purchase of meat and throwing it into the mud, with similar despoiling of other purchases made. Such cases are not isolated ones : they have occurred all over the territory. Can one wonder that, knowing the African, the sway of such subversive power has the effect of compelling support and flouting the law of the territory. The open sympathy which they enjoy from overseas encourages this type to go to further extremes.

May it please be considered that these "would-be power wielders" are not representative of the African community. They do not aggregate $\frac{1}{4}$ % of the 2,220,000 Africans of the various tribes of the territory and it would not be surprising to find on investigation that they are almost completely tribalised. I understand that even Dr. Banda himself had not lived in the Federation for 25 years or more. He did, however, spend some years in Ghana and no doubt there is a pre-arranged plan for the amalgamation of all African states. Further, Kaunda has had to employ the services of an interpreter because he could not speak the tribal language of the meeting he was addressing.

The moderate African (who is in the majority) is in the unenviable position of being unable to express his own views for fear of the various African leaders of different parties who publicly state that they wish to gain African rule by peaceful methods, but who are often quite indifferent to the methods or means used to gain this end.

When making your recommendations it is my plea that you give very serious consideration as to whether this type of political leader is a fit person to take office in the government of the territory.

A very conservative estimate of the numbers of Africans who have sufficiently matured from a franchise viewpoint would be 1% and, even allowing for the fact that of the territory's 72,000 European population only 50% were eligible to vote, the comparative figures would be 22,000 Africans as opposed to 36,000 Europeans. If this cannot be agreed then the 64% European land of the territory should be retained for government by the European and the 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ % Native Trust land and Native Reserves should have its separate government within the framework of the Federation. This could be effected by the European occupied portion being grouped under the Southern Rhodesia Government and the African portion being under the Northern Rhodesia Government with an all African Government controlled by the Colonial Office.

There is very real apprehension in the minds of European people living in isolated farms and smallholdings because the pattern being followed by the African seeker of power is so similar to that of the Mau Mau in Kenya.

It would be very wrong to the people who have given their all as a contribution to the development of this territory to hand it over to the majority control of the African when he has not sufficiently advanced to shoulder this responsibility.

There is also a feeling among the general public that the inclusion of immature indigenous people within the government service in positions of responsibility has caused apprehension, unrest and uncertainty within the Service, which may well result in a most unsatisfactory and unstable state of affairs in a Service which must be considered to be of paramount importance to the well being of the territory as a whole. The implications of such a step are the general lowering of the standard of qualifications, efficiency and ability of the European in order to admit the African on a multi-racial basis.

The same applies to any proposal to lower the present standard of qualifications for franchise in order to apply the principal of "one man one vote", which would admit any African, whether or not he appreciated his responsibilities, as a voter. He would be open to the political exploitation to which I have previously referred. I wish to emphasise that, if this territory is going to continue to attract suitable immigrants and encourage the civil servants to settle in the country when they retire, the Government of the future must continue to inspire the white man's confidence by ensuring that those and only those who are most befitting for such responsibility are elected to form the government.

In conclusion we feel that the Africans and particularly the women, must be educated but in the right direction and we believe that there should be compulsory education for all and those who show promise should be given higher education. But care must be taken that those Africans who are possibly sent overseas for university training are sound, responsible people who are not likely to end up spending their Sunday afternoons on a soap box in Hyde Park telling the people how bad the white man is in the Federation; or those who will be fertile ground for the insidious seeds of communism, later to spread throughout the Federation as a noxious weed with a cankerous growth.

Lusaka

14th March 1960

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF LUSAKA*

A federal government is a government of states which are united but each state retaining its internal independence. The federal government cannot dictate to the member states, nor use its influence to fight an issue in favour of one section of the inhabitants. Secondly the constitution of a federal government is a difficult one to change. The Federal Government of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland has already placed her both feet on these two facts. The federal government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland used its influence at the time Britain was introducing the present constitution of Northern Rhodesia. As the result the African representation in the legislative council carries weight on paper and not in the present composition of the council. On the second foot the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is found to have stepped on its franchise. Within the first parliament the leaders suddenly dreamt that they were in danger of true and constructive criticisms from Africans decide to change the franchise and the composition of the federal assembly. Discriminatory issues were introduced, the house was enlarged. On paper again the African gets a bigger share than before but in practice the so called African representatives are party good boys whose word is no other than yes sir. The party policy dictates to them to say so and if they don't, the leader will throw them out of the house.

One cabinet minister publicly said that the franchise, rather than the constitution, had to be changed in order to debar the nationalistic Africans coming to the parliament. That alone on its own cuts across the partnership policy. It cannot be a partnership when it is going to discriminate against one section of the inhabitants. Settlers have a chance now to negotiate with us when our nationalism is just starting but if they wait until 1963 they would find it too impossible to discuss it with us at the round table. Discrimination which they have introduced leads them nowhere. It is this discrimination which has led us to realise or get a clue that the white settlers are leading us to a position which has fallen in the Cape Province where non-Europeans have been removed from the common voters roll. As soon as settlers in this federation would have received Dominion status Africans will be removed from the parliament in their place some evil representation will take place. Our nationalism is a fact and it must be accepted. It cannot be suppressed by the use of grape shots.

Now let us look at the federal member states. Southern Rhodesia has a responsible government. She has enjoyed this form of government since 1923. She came to the federal negotiation table with ready made up schemes of progress she needed after the federal government had been hammered through. She was used to negotiations and had established internal affairs unchallenged, but knowing that the settlers

must have the lion's share of everything in the colony. Then we have Northern Rhodesia, very rich, Nyasaland, very poor, but both are protectorates of the British Government. These negotiate with Colonial Office in London or the Colonial Office negotiates for them or on their behalf. This is not liked by Southern Rhodesia and the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland consequently the settlers in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have become to hate this control. What are the implications involved in such affairs? It is natural that the country with a responsible government should have more influence on non self-government countries. This has happened hence no compromise can be reached unless the settlers are given the lions share of affairs in this federation. Then comes the question why the present Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should take the reverse.

Before federation and up the present moment both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have remained under the wing of the Colonial Office their affairs are directed by the British Government with a hope of giving self-governments when the inhabitants would have fully been trained to shoulder their own burden. Before this training had been achieved a new state has been created which has hampered the express aim to train and grant self-governments. This new state brought perpetual oppression under the cloak of *partnership*. Partnership is a political trick. It is impossible to train Africans for self-government and at the same time practice partnership when we fully know that under partnership the settlers want to have the lion's share and keep us politically oppressed for life.

Viewing it from a different angle, I am convinced that the present Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is a federation state between Great Britain and Southern Rhodesia. This view is accepted on the sense that the two countries possess the qualification for a federation to exist and that in spite of the great opposition put up by the Africans Britain accepted its formation and Southern Rhodesia electorates accepted it as the referendum. The two Northern territories as dependents of Great Britain automatically become dependents of the federal state. We have already been granted to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I come to this conclusion because the terms of reference granted to the commission show that we have no other choice than to be dragged by the nose by Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The 1960 talks for which these evidences are being collected for are just a cat's paw to bluff Africans and the world interested in Africans. Secondly the recent utterances of the Federal Prime Minister cement all these convictions. Dominion status will not be granted at the 1960 conference table, it has already been granted and it will be signed at the conference.

One of the questions to be discussed at the 1960 Conference is that of whether or not more power should be granted to the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There is no reference whether or not power should be removed from that settlers government. They are your kinsmen, I am positive you will give them. But I have something to say on this. What will happen if the Federal Negotiation came out that conference without extra powers. The team will be embarrassed and humiliated. As your kinsmen I do not think you will allow that, so Britain supported the Governor of Nyasaland after being condemned by the Devlin Commission likewise Sir Roy Welensky will be granted more power. If you do not do so Sir Roy Welensky has already indicated that he will go it alone. Most recently Sir Roy Welensky has declared that he will demand the abolition of the Colonial Validity Act which regards as void all laws made by a colony which is repugnant to the British Colonial Validity Act. In its place he will of course adopt the Roman Dutch Law of S. Rhodesia and South Africa. He will all notorious law and practices of South Africa. The African Affairs Board will be replaced by a Senate. This points out to us that are entering South Africa. The removal of this act will be fatal to both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Colonial Office will no longer have any say in the affairs of the Northern territories, automatically the hope of their gaining the self-government with an African majority would have been frustrate and closed for ever. Granting more power to the Federal Government is tyranny. What will happen to us is more than we experienced in March 1959. You cannot grant more power to people who already monopolise the power. Because of this the Nyasaland constitution has been delayed. Where shall we be when the validity act is removed. The series of events in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the speeches of the Prime Minister of Britain and the Prime Minister of Rhodesia and Nyasaland spell to me that power has already been granted to settlers. The Federal Government once refused Sir John

*Name withheld at the request of the witness.

Moffat to interview Dr. H. K. Banda in spite of the governor's consent, this proves to me that the Federal Government have been given the high powers already, if not then the action proves to me that the Federal Government dictates to member states.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was imposed on us in 1953. It is shameful thing to impose a thing on unwilling people. Britain should have recalled her past history on what happened when stamp duty act was imposed on the people of the United States of America. It is inhumane and unchristian to impose anything on anybody be it unwilling slaves. This is and has been a very bad experiment, it is now time it was reversed. I strongly feel that the opposition to this Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will grow more and more as years go by. In another ten years time even before that time there will worse bloodshed than we had last March. Britain will be a laughing stock. We do not want Britain to be humiliated like that, we love her. We have fought her battles and we shall continue to do so, but it is a pity that in peacetime now she has forgotten of our bloodshed in the battle fields. At the time this Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was being hammered into formation responsible Africans including our chiefs were consulted, in reply they were all united in rejecting its formation. They even boycotted the London talks to cement their objection. This opposition has now spread even into most remote areas. In ten years time it worse than it is now. If this imposition were done by Russia or Ghana it would have been magnified and amplified first by settlers here then by Britain as being inhumane and unchristian to impose a thing on unwilling people.

Up to this time only missionaries and a few liberal Europeans have spoken against the imposition of this Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and have challenged the affairs and utterances of the Ministers of this Federation. They have done so at the risk of their own prestige and livelihood. The rest of the settlers and a few money fevered Africans have supported it even when they now know that it has led to bloodshed, illegal detention of Africans, imprisonment of Africans, starvation and suppression of Africans. This support comes about on the understanding that Britain supports all and everything the settler government is doing here. Secondly they know that Africans here are not kith and kin of Britain that would cause anxiety when relatives learnt of their illtreatment. It is true we are not kith and kin of Britain but we are the innocent children of God and we deserve our rights to live and rule in our own country. When the parliament met at Westminster and passed the act allowing the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the principle of settlers here being kith and kin they must be trusted our doom was sealed and all we had hoped to achieve was vanished from. We know what our settlers are and what they want. It is wrong of them to say that they know us and what we want, they never live with us or visit us how then can they know us. You cannot transplant Westminster on to people who have lived in South Africa and are of South Africa origin, it will not work hence the troubles.

Sometime back the British Government had moved into the direction of giving the Africans a major power in the two Northern territories, when the settlers protested against this Britain came back on the same stage to play the meaningless partnership policy. This wavering of policies is placing Britain on a very awkward chair. Know it that we own the land and we have the key of this land, so that it is right and proper that we have the major powers in the two Northern territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. No progress can be achieved without us, first we must open it with our key; partnership is a political trick and will not just open it. Partnership has given birth to hatred, misunderstanding, suppression, bragging, shooting innocent people, fear, and state of emergencies. Those are the children of partnership, I wonder whether or not Britain enjoys such grand children.

I have called the Africans who supported and joined the settlers' political parties as money fevered Africans. Money is their chief aim, if then sit in parliament and legislative council and receive the big sums of money whenever it is due is all they dream of. Anything further than that they dare not exercise.

In party politics the wish of the leader and the party policies are the two major facts. If anybody deviates from that he is sure to be thrown out. The party must work according to the wish of the electorates else they will be thrown out of government. These parties cannot do the wish of the African because

Africans have not got the vote and will never have it. Hence my conclusions on this; we have no representatives for these Africans were elected by settlers to represent the settlers. They cannot and will never fight an issue in our favour. Some of these money fevered Africans hold positions as cabinet ministers, it is a pity to learn that they accepted these positions. If they were clever enough and sat down to think they would have discovered that it was mockery, and that they are being used as a shield for the sons of partnership. Their own academic qualifications should have dictated to them. If we turn back I would say; if settlers can accept such men as ministers then the fact that Africans not yet educated suitably enough to carry out a government is farcical, for we have men who are more educated than these money fevered African cabinet ministers. Settlers will never put up proposal, in parliament or legislative council, which is favour of Africans or in competition between settlers Africans. Since Federation many anti-African proposals have gone through these parliament and legislative councils, funny enough the money fevered Africans have spoken loud enough to suppress us. Some gave the basis of information for the state of emergencies. These Africans represent settlers and work for settlers in these houses.

I have said that partnership is a political trick and that it has given birth to many sons. It is political. One United Federal Party member in Salisbury told me that it had to be accepted as policy, for without it the settlers would have lost this Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It means nothing. It has no law to enforce it. Since that discussion I have watched to see whether or not laws to enforce it would be enforced. Up to this time is still unsupported legally. The Federal Government has received several reports of ill-treatment of people dark skin, fair skin and the like. The speech by Lord Malvern about colour prejudice has never been respected by the settlers, Indian diplomats and business men have been embarrassed in S. Rhodesia, Mr. Odoi of Ghana and Sir Ibiam of Nigeria have been splashed with such mud. Those are a few examples I can quote in the towns of the settlers of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The first African doctor in Salisbury received a most nasty treatment and embarrassment during his stay in Salisbury. He is now in charge of a country district north of Bulawayo. At the time his take was announced there was great protest against him. I do not think he is as happy as he should be now. The African cabinet minister has been refused residence in the Salisbury settlers area. He now squats in location where houses are not big enough to entertain people. Instead of legislating for partnership the Prime Minister now talks of removing pin-pricks. These can fall off on their own as soon as legislation is passed enforcing partnership in Federal public concerns.

In Northern Rhodesia the legislative council has refused to legislate. All the governments fear to be thrown out of office if they negotiate for partnership. Instead wish the settler public to act. At the time the constitution was being changed the African Affairs Board was against it as it pronounced as being discriminatory and against partnership. In Southern Rhodesia, it is impossible practise partnership as it means lowering the standards of the settlers. All these prove that partnership is political trick. You cannot have a partner whom you going to discriminate later. If it was seen that it was necessary to have more people in the house why did they not say during the London conference. That was not done because they were afraid Britain would point out that weakness. The African Affairs Board's ruling could not be accepted because it contained African extremists, whom they had aim at to eliminate and substitute it with the present money fevered Africans. The Board we no longer recognise it as an African Affairs Board but as a United Federal Parliamentary Party Sub-committee. We have no respect for it. It does not cost us anything to tell the truth so that repeat that that Board is now a United Federal Parliamentary Party Sub-committee.

Fear has been expressed by settlers that if we were granted the powers we required or we demand, we would misuse it as we do not have suitable men. To vote is too simple, even a child in sub standard can vote for a candidate. As for candidates to put forward; we have better and more educated Africans than those whom the settlers have enticed to join their parties. The settlers think our men would behave ruthlessly towards us their followers. They would not behave like that. They would not behave like one of the African ministers who closed our secondary school at the most crucial moment for a simple reason like that. I am a teacher by profession, I do not think I would have ever done that, by closing that school down the students enjoyed the holiday; and every student likes to have a holiday, the people who suffered are innocent parents who provided the money to transport the

students. This proves to you that the so called African Ministers serving with the settlers parties are not worth their salt. I would have punished the student at the school and not send them home.

When this horrible Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was imposed on us it was said that Britain had thought fit and proper Nyasaland to join it. Nyasaland was said that would benefit economically from the Federal Government. At the moment Nyasaland begs nine million pounds from the Federal Government every year. This is its economical benefit. Before I go any further on this I should like to point out that by imposing the Federation State on to Nyasaland; it should be known that Nyasaland was thereby taught to beg. By shooting Nyasaland Africans, the Southern Rhodesia Police forcing the Nyasaland Africans to work on the Kariba project when the Africans were demanding for better pay for work they were doing; by ruthlessly suppressing a peaceful strike at Wankie, Nyasaland has been taught how a beggar should be treated. Suppose all these were done to the settlers would they like it? These persecutions under the cloak of economical benefits are too severe and should be stopped. There is only one way to stop these from happening; the way I recommend to the Commission is that should secede from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We have suffered and persevered for the settlers' comfort. How long shall we remain in the Egypt of political enslavement, where advancement is ruled against us because of our dark pigmentation.

Now let us return to this economical benefits for Nyasaland. Before Federation Nyasaland's own income was only two and half million pounds. She now gets nine million pounds from the Federal Government. This brings her income to eleven and half million pounds I wonder if this money comes as free gift. This is bloody money and comes as compensation to Nyasaland though it is not used as we would like it used. Most of this money is produced on the Copperbelt. Nyasaland Africans work on those mines. All Nyasaland receives from that labour is a heap of telegrams and letters announcing deaths and accidents of our relatives. Not one settler in Nyasaland works there. The other money is produced on farms and mines of S. Rhodesia; there too our people do most of the jobs. In return we get telegrams and letters announcing deaths and accidents, next we receive exhausted relatives returning home as destitutes, feeble and hopeless to work for themselves. We feed these until they are called by God. No Nyasaland settlers go to work there. It is a grave mistake to exploit poor souls like this. Further this money does not help us, it helps the settlers. The money which helps our people is the money we send from outside Nyasaland. Since Federation our people have demanded more money than before Federation. This is due to tax which has gone up, postage has gone up, prices of goods have risen and daily cost of living has gone up. School fees has gone up, many village schools have closed down. Now here is the benefit of this money. Oh Nyasaland! thou blessed small country of the Creator who gave it to our forefathers to be theirs and seed; your children are made beggars and taught to be paupers in their neighbouring countries. Where shalt thou get advocates to present your case since all evidence in your favour has been thrown into the waste paper baskets as testimonies of the settlers have been welcomed. Fears for your starvation, suppression and denied progress.

Nyasaland had enough money before Federation if she had not enough money she would have asked Britain to pay her deficit. Britain would have gladly paid it. If Nyasaland will benefit from the Federation it stands to reason that the colonial servants in Nyasaland have not been doing their work of developing the country and of course they did not do so. Now they are asking the Federal Government to do their work, this we cannot allow. If they are tired let them hand it over to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, we do not know this government. We are ready to improve our country.

What is wrong in Nyasaland is not the collection of public funds and how they should be collected. The mistake is on the distribution of public funds. They are not distributed fairly. We are not kith and kin of colonial civil servants in Nyasaland therefore they cannot think of improving a country which is not theirs and where they know they will not stay soon as their term of office has expired, hence the land is still backward. That country has very few secondary schools, no technical schools, very limited training schools and primary schools. Failure is due to preoccupied conclusions that if Africans were to be educated in that country in large numbers the people so educated would take over the jobs in the government they would oust the colonial servants and the settlers would have

no jobs, soon the Colonial Office would not be sending many colonial civil servants to Nyasaland; now to perpetuate employment for whites that government deemed it fit not to boost African Education. Backwardness in Nyasaland cannot be levelled against Africans, against lack of public funds, but the Colonial Civil Servants who wished it to remain as their workshop. The early missionaries to Nyasaland with limited funds threw a net work of schools in that country and achieved more than the Colonial servants who had two and half million at their command; even now when they command over nine million pounds they cannot just improve it.

On the lip of very European here and abroad says Nyasaland is poor and that the Africans there have to work outside the borders of Nyasaland. At the same time would wish every Nyasa African to be employed anywhere he wishes. This sounds very kind of them to wish us that. It is a pity at the same time to learn that they take advantage of this dearth as a means exploitation. The pay we get is just pitted and is received after a long struggle. Nowadays we have no sympathisers. Since the state of emergency on March last year many employers have taken up insinuation; before employment is given to the applicant they ask where he comes from. If he says that he comes from Nyasaland they tell him to go to Dr. H. K. Banda to give him work. Is that wishing him good luck? To continue to show you the true position of a Nyasa man I have this to say, at Gatooma a cotton factory which has always employed many Nyasas has declared since the state of emergency that it will no longer employ anybody from Nyasaland. One big mine in Northern Rhodesia has declared too that it will no longer take on new Nyasa men. The Rhodesia Railways has declared that it will not take on Nyasa men any longer. Those who are now working there have been under heavy screen; they have been found harmless. I do not know what they mean by being harmless and what harm the Nyasa men have. The Ministry of African Education in Northern Rhodesia has a regulation whereby no Nyasa T4 teacher (two years training after standard VI) can be employed to teach in Northern Rhodesia. These things did not exist before Federation. Now that the Nyasa Africans have stood fast in opposing the Federation, the settlers have adopted this method of starving us into submission. In Nyasaland jobs can only be got if one agrees to join the United Federal Party. Something of that nature is also practised in Northern Rhodesia towns. Is that what you call fair play? Before we starve into submission please give powers to rule in Nyasaland outside Federation. The economical benefit which was said to come the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the economical trick to starve us. The Northern Rhodesia Government in the past many Nyasaland, African teachers, clerks and labourers but now it is difficult.

It has been said that many Nyasaland Africans have settled down happily in Southern Rhodesia especially in the midlands. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. The settling of our people can far be called a voluntary settling. This is due to exploitation. Many of our people have hoped against hope of returning home. They have built for themselves huts because cannot afford to pay for the journey home. Some have married there, heavy lobola (sum of money paid to the parents of the girl to be married) has brought most of them to their knees and cannot financially rise up again. They have been therefore forced by their meagre pay wait indefinitely for a chance to return home. On the farms the pay is £3 plus the so called rations in kind. The £3 is according to law supposed to be paid at the end of each ticket. The taking advantage of the Africans' backwardness he does not pay the wages at the end of each ticket. This is done in order to keep labour constant at the farm. The labourers are thus kept working for five to seven tickets in anticipation of pay. In order to make ends meet the farmer shepherds the labourers into his farm general dealer store to get anything like on credit. This goes on for a pretty long time before the labourers are paid, usually they get more good than their pay can afford. On the day the pay is paid out the labourers either get little balance of their or nothing at all the money would have been deducted to square up the debts. The same course begins all over again. The prices of the goods in these shops are pretty high. Hence the people do not have money to take them home or send their children to schools. Can this be called freely settling down. Having worked in Southern Rhodesia and visited these labourers at these farms I weep to learn honourable Europeans supporting this indirect barbarous slavery.

On the mines the pay is equally low. The pay ranges from £4 to £12. At one gold mine there are Nyasaland Africans who have been with this company for more than twenty nine



years, their highest pay is between £4 7s. 6d. and £6. In order to make ends meet people gamble at cards and contract heavy debts in the shops. Hence these men have never been home during these numbers of years they have been with this company, not because they like it but because they cannot afford it. The company is not prepared to grant them either a pension or a gratuity and transport home. Do you call that voluntary settling down? We know our facts surrounding each issue so that it is a mistake to say I know when in reality he knows next to nothing. The Nyasaland Africans are exploited, their blood is sucked and remain just a skeleton.

Nyasaland should not be refused a march out of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland just on fear that she will become economically poor. The poor salaries are nothing compared to the wealth we intend producing if only we can be granted our freedom now and not ten years to come. Jobs are closed against us already. The commission should know that people outside Federation in Africa are not allowed to look for work in country any longer. Secondly, in Southern Rhodesia there is under current which has put down as a move after the 1960 talks; that the Africans should work in the territories of their origin. This the settlers will deny it but that is what is anticipated. I have been in that country for the last sixteen years.

If we marched out of this Federation we would have nothing to lose more than our political bondage; a land will have been regained. If Britain can give thousands of pounds to the governor of Nyasaland to defray the shooting of innocent Africans in that country I fail to see any reason why that gesture could not be extended to an African Government in Nyasaland to improve that country. After it would have been emancipated from this political enslavement brought by this Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Some settlers think that we would have been granted the powers to control the government of Nyasaland outside the Federation we shall ask financial help from Russia. We do not hate the Russians, but we shall not ask for their financial support for we do not know. We are used to Great Britain and we shall continue our association with her, and we shall ask her to give us the financial we shall require. We are confident to raise the money from our rich soil. At the moment tillage of soil is handicapped by discriminating prices prevailing on the market. A product produced by an African fetches less money than the one produced by a settler. This does not give us the necessary impetus we require in farming. The method of teaching agriculture in Nyasaland is not conducive to harmony in the country appreciation of good farming. There is too much usage of law. This cause Africans to hate good farming methods.

I believe in fair play, hence it would be a great mistake if I do not put in a word or two about Southern Rhodesia. I have been in that country for sixteen years. I have lived in its towns, mission stations, Native Purchase Areas, and the Native Reserves. The towns are progressing very rapidly though all of them have the same opinion about Africans. They think Africans to be of one class. Africans are raw natives they should be housed far from settlers' areas; live in the same kind of houses whether educated or not, rich or poor, honourable or savage must just live together. In the reserves the progress is withheld by most Native Commissioners who believe developing an African is waste of money time. In the Native Purchase Areas there is development which is always marred by resident agitators and hero worshippers.

Without exception the African Education system is second to none in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Besides teaching the children academic subjects the Education Department there lays a big stress on industrial subjects. In industrial subjects the following are taught: gardening, field crops, forestry, clay modelling, basketry, wood carving, art, carpentry, building, domestic science. By the time a child passes standard VI he is capable of employing his hands on any of these subjects. Agriculture has been so well taught that the children are very helpful to their parents. The parents have been taught good farming methods by their children. This has led the parents to give more attention to the instructions given by the Agriculture Department. No laws are used as is done in Nyasaland. The schools are regularly inspected by government inspectors. Besides inspecting the schools these inspectors give teachers very useful advice. Without these inspectors the

schools there would not have achieved that high standard of education Southern Rhodesia now has. It would be a very good thing that educational system would be introduced in the two Northern territories. It would be grossly unfair to ignore the missionaries, African ministers, and African superintendents of schools. While the government inspector visits each school once in a blue moon the other people visit these schools thrice or more per term depending on business and time available. Without these people the headmasters in the rural areas would be much in a fix. These men have pulled Southern Rhodesia to a sound type of education. More secondary schools have been built and are being built. The education is without technical education. Politically our friends have no future.

Rumour has circulated that the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury has applied to take over the marking of Cambridge School Certificate papers (Form IV) and high school certificate (Form IV) examination papers. If this is true I strongly object because of what is happening at that University. If this will be granted many of our African students will fail not because they are full but because papers would have been marked at the University. Rumour has it that African students at that University are having a nasty time. Some professors there have vowed that no African will pass in their faculties. This kind of discrimination is unprofessional.

Advancement:—It has been said Africans are being advanced on the Copperbelt mines. Having seen what sort of advancement there is I refuse to call it advancement. You cannot advance a person when you would have refused him the Technical Education for it. Africans are not allowed to enter the Copperbelt Technical Foundation run by the Chamber of Mines. Hence the African advancement is nothing more than a word on a piece of paper. The other day a Cabinet Federal Minister said in Parliament that Africans cannot be admitted into technical colleges because they have not got the necessary qualifications for it. If Africans can be admitted to Universities I see no earthly reason why they can fail to qualify for the admission into a technical college.

The present advancement on the Copperbelt was designed to weaken the Mine Workers Union there. The Union had become too strong for the mining companies and the demands the Union put up were so genuine that the companies were embarrassed. To frustrate the Union's demand the Government of Northern Rhodesia declared a state of emergency: then follow the companies recognising the African Staff Association whose constitution does not allow strike action. Jobs were split up and most of the good paying jobs were handed over to the African Staff Association.

Advancement in its present stage on the Copperbelt in theory it takes at least two years in practice it is anything to four years or more for Africans. European recruits take three months to train in these jobs. Educated Africans joining advancement scheme start the same level in pay and jobs with the ordinary labourer. No allowance is given for the education one has. The scheme is not definite; one may spend three months or one year on the same kind of job if he does not insist on asking the officials to change him from each job. Often nasty arguments arise, in some cases end up with the trainee giving up the course. At group six level there a pretty hold up which may last anything to more than a year. In many cases the pay does not rise with the group one attains though that is what is supposed to be. After the group six the trainee ceases to belong to the African Mine Workers Union, joins the African staff association. This change over leaves the Union with uneducated people. To reach group thirteen which is the last one it takes another long time of two to three years. Some may get there yet they may not be recognised as such and paid accordingly. The pay these people get is not even half of what used to be the settlers pay in these jobs. Nowadays the copper mines are producing more copper than during that time these jobs were in the hands of the settlers. Sub-level cleaners clear more ends these days than that time when these jobs were in the hands of the settlers. Exploitation is still continuing. In the rock breaking section the African boss boy does more jobs than he is normally required to do. It is a mistake to call this an advancement when the Africans cannot be paid for these jobs.

In Nyasaland the settlers once complained of the African Congress teaching politics to school children. The Congress has been banned in Nyasaland and that complaint has died out. In place of the Congress continuing, we have settlers who

in the past supported the complaint are now doing it. Recently a very elderly honourable settler addressed school settler children. His address was given a good publicity. Among other strong words against Africans he told the children that some Africans were being educated and civilised but they are unreliable. I fail to see how a child, after listening to such a speech from such an elderly honourable settler, would fail not to trust and respect Africans. I think the Congress was right in doing so as a good reaction against all these abuses we are receiving from settlers. Their women talk and children excel in this respect and the men do the action part. If he can say that to the school children in school premises why should Africans not be afforded the same chance of teaching such nasty stuff to their school children. One thing sure I can tell is that if things are not properly ironed at the moment, after ten years the new blood will not just compromise with any of such abuses. Europeans have always called us thieves, ingratitude fellows, liars, treated us harshly innocently and have refused us our rights. This sort of gesture cannot be tolerated any longer. In a state where partnership is a policy, I do not think such treatment is fair. It happens daily; after all partnership is a political trick. To prevent this Nyasaland should be released of this burden; and let her demonstrate to the settlers how to live happily. The utterances of the leaders of the settlers political parties have nothing good to offer us.

I protest very strongly, protest against the treatment given British subjects from Britain and Commonwealth. It is really shameful that settlers who claim to be civilised should practice such treatment. It is ruthless and barbaric, I am very much ashamed. It is a pity too that when such actions have been done in this Federation Britain has leaned backwards probably in support. Many people from the United Kingdom have been banned from entering the Federation because their views are pro-African. But when other British visitors come to speak views which are pro-settlers such visitors have not been banned. Any country which does not allow or accept criticisms is heading for dictatorship; this is what will happen here soon as Dominion status is granted. We shall end up in prison and detention camps. The Federal government and the settlers are working hand in hand. Recently a Methodist English Minister in Salisbury was rejected by his settler congregation because of his liberal views. This action all directed to people of the United Kingdom; why are other nations not banned from the Federation? Because they aim at wiping out the democratic way of government which grant power and say in a government to the Africans. The settlers hate anybody who has a liberal mind or who thinks of advancing Africans. To cement my point I quote to you that in Southern Rhodesia a Prime Minister was dethroned as soon as he became liberal and started advancing Africans. The settlers have a fear if Africans are advanced quickly they will qualify as voters and put off the settlers at election time. The Africans may even put in their own candidates in the parliaments. That is another point to prove that partnership is a political trick and that there is no advancement of Africans in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We are heading for apartheid and not partnership. After all we have apartheid already here only that it has not been given a name but the principles are working here. To prevent another South African Native policy and suffering I strongly recommend that this Federation should break up now.

Nyasaland Africans have been accused of planning violence, this accusation has been so planned to convince Britain and the world that Nyasaland Africans are reckless destructive people who cannot be trusted with a government. Nyasalanders are working in many countries in Africa, their influence has been much felt wherever they have gone; their record is minus violence. The settlers want to make Nyasaland their shield at the time the dominion status is given and their shooting begins again. At the moment they seem to be united. These people are far from being united, all they want now is to gain their Dominion status, after that they will play havoc on us. The United Federal Party in N. Rhodesia is not happy with their territorial leader. The Dominion party are not satisfied with Federal leader. How can we lead a good life with such people. The settlers want Dominion status now or more powers for the Federal government now because they want to take advantage of our being less developed, lack of power in the government, lack of voice in Parliament we have at the moment. We are not going to allow this:

Now let us come to the reasons why we object to continuing in the Federation or why the Federation should break up.

- (1) The Federal Government does not want to give a clean and true picture of facts of the affairs in country. The settlers are not prepared to vote for an African, this is dodged by the Federal Government.

- (2) Under the Federal Government our political advancement is uncertain because the settlers control our schools and earnings. The settlers may at any time raise the franchise qualifications which our earnings and education cannot qualify as it is at the moment.
- (3) We have foreseen a danger of not having direct representation as shown by the action of the Federal government in changing the constitution and the parties filling their stooges into our seats. The position of the African Affairs Board is another.
- (4) It annoys us very much to see settlers giving respect to Africans of doubtful character and calling them moderate people. This gives us the idea that justice is giving way to brutish beasts.
- (5) The settlers accepted federation only as a first step towards ends they still secretly have in mind. One time the Dominion Party leader said that he would ignore the constitution and law courts in obtaining Dominion status if he was not granted at the negotiation table at the 1960 talks. He was rebuked. The United Federal Party won the election on the score they would negotiate. Few months later the Federal Prime Minister said in certain circumstances he would go it alone. The settlers liked that, the public in the United Kingdom did not enjoy it. Recently the same Prime Minister said he would ask for the removal of the Validity Act. All these give us a clue that the settlers have secret motives.
- (6) The settlers are not prepared to have an African government in Central Africa. This means they hate Africans progressing to an extent of handling a government. The Federal Prime Minister supports that in that he says those Africans who feel one day they will become Prime Ministers object to the federation. If Britain accepts that, it means we shall not progress to what we should be; this we are determined not to accept. We are not begging powers we are demanding our birth rights in our own hands outside the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
- (7) The Colonial Civil Servants have failed to improve our Nyasaland; we want to improve it now. The Colonial Civil Servants had turned that country into a plate on which they went on begging and receiving bloody money.
- (8) The formation of a United Federal Party in Nyasaland has brought the fact that the wish of those settlers is that we should be ruled as Africans are ruled in Southern Rhodesia. Those nasty laws and practices should be transferred to Nyasaland. In party politics the wish of the leader rules. The Northern Rhodesia present constitution is a copy of the Federal Government and Southern Rhodesia Government; how then can the United Federal Party fail to produce a similar constitution, or adopt the law and practices of S. Rhodesia which gives the settlers a lions share in the affairs of the country.
- (9) The sentimental thought of the British Government that we should be handed to the settlers just because they happen to be their kith and kin is a thorn in our flesh. I take it that Britain is happy with treatment given to Africans in the Union of South Africa. That is how we are treated here and we shall be treated worse than that when Dominion status is achieved. Please know it that pure British settlers here are not more than 28% of the settlers' population here so that sound friendly way of living cannot be practised here.
- (10) There is no democracy in the Federation. This was admitted by one cabinet minister who said that they were not a democratic state but they were coming towards that. They may switch off at any time. Settlers' public opinion here is the rule of the day.
- (11) The Northern Rhodesia present constitution shows clearly that there cannot be straight in Nyasaland if the settlers are allowed to break their promises. It is a

10
10
10

shameful thing a house which once accepted the Moffat resolutions should accept a constitution in which one community profits by its advanced stage to gain power.

- (12) The state of emergency in Nyasaland is a clear point to show that the settlers want to wipe us out of existence. This is the result of misusing of public funds by the government. We do not support the action taken by the governor.
- (13) The detention of Dr. H. K. Banda is sinful, evil, and leaves us without a leader. The country without a leader cannot progress. He is detained because settlers have been outwitted, they are jealous.
- (14) The Federal government does not keep its promises. The change from the Kafue to the Kariba scheme is a big cunningness and breaks confidence.
- (15) The Federation Government is interfering in Nyasaland affairs. It interfered with the announcement of the new constitution and advised the governor wrongly on the state of emergency. When Sir Moffat wanted to see Banda the governor agreed but the Federal Government refused permission. We are convinced that this government will always be against us, as long as we remain in Federation. It is led by a man who hated Africans so that he cannot possibly change to like Africans at this moment. Drop off Nyasaland now.

25th January 1960

MAALA SETTLERS

Points against Federation in Southern Rhodesia

1. Firstly an African is not allowed to possess many cattle, secondly he is not permitted to own a large garden and thirdly Chiefs have no power to rule over their countries. All cases are tried or judged by Europeans.

2. We therefore find that Federation lowers down an African, we know too that if Federation is allowed, the ill-treatment and persecutions that exist in Bulawayo will appear here as well.

3. One can't necessarily ask as to what sort of persecutions there are in Bulawayo because it is obvious that since Federation was established, many Mandebeles have immigrated and left their country, this shows that they have feared the endless persecutions laid upon them by Europeans.

4. It is difficult for an African to leave his mother land if there is nothing that forces him to do so. There is practically nothing good whatsoever that has been done for us since the establishment of Federation in 1953. We therefore oppose it.

5. We want to be under the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of which we are used.

This is the evidence given by Maala settlers.

Namwala

CHIEF MAKASA

I am in this letter giving evidence to the Monckton Commission on my own behalf and that of my people in the Mpanda area of the Kasama District. My views and those of my people at the time of Federation were that we did not want Federation imposing of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Even today, they are the same but much stronger against Federation than in 1953. We do not want Federation to continue at all because during the six years of Federation's existence nothing has been done for the good of all the races in bringing them together by the application of partnership in its true sense.

We do not want Federation because its existence will mean continual oppression of the African people in this Territory. We fear to be federated with a country which has conditions in treating the Africans very much the same as South Africa. This country is Southern Rhodesia. The laws made in Southern Rhodesia are such that the African must remain the underdog for all time. One example is that in Southern Rhodesia there is not a single African in its parliament.

Under Federation we noticed that power in the Government has rested with Southern Rhodesia because although its financial contribution is smaller than Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia has the greater number of representatives in the Federal Parliament. Northern Rhodesia is a Protectorate which came under British rule, not by conquest but by peaceful means, i.e., by treaties made with our forefathers, the Chiefs. If Federation does not break, Europeans will want more powers granted to the Federal Government, in the event of being

granted such power the Europeans being the majority in both the Territorial and Federal legislatures in their own interest keep the Africans under their thumb. We do not want this to happen because we have been promised to rule ourselves after being taught to govern by the British Government which we trust will keep its word when Northern Rhodesia is not a party in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

During Federation there has been indiscriminate mass migration of white settlers. This we think with good reasons, will take up the land that now belongs to Africans once the Crown lands are filled up the same immigrants as it has been shown will do jobs which the Africans otherwise can do the imposing of the Greeks to work on the Railways is a tangible proof.

The Europeans want Federation and because of economic benefits for the three Territories but because they want to attain dominion status so that the protection of the African people in the two Northern Territories would fall in their hands and thereby make null and void the British Government's power of veto on laws made in these two Territories. It is this kind of thing which we do not want. What we want is the continuation of Her Majesty's protection because under it without Federation we are sure to rule ourselves according to the promises which were made to our fathers. In the six years the Federal Government has been in existence and subject to review after six years. the Ministries under its charge have done little if we compare with what the Territorial Government did before imposition of Federation.

1. Customs duties have gone up on many goods, and on some, Customs duty has imposed for the first time.

2. The postage rate of many articles has constantly increased.

3. In the Ministry of Health, certain things have been introduced which are not all to the liking of African people. A person who dies at the hospital such as the Llewellyn Hospital at Kitwe before he/she is taken away from the hospital his relatives must pay fees.

(a) Many doctors and the African Medical Assistants, etc., have left their employment in the Ministry because of bad conditions.

(b) Many duties which before Federation were performed by Africans in this Ministry are no longer performed by them but by the Europeans.

4. Services which before Federation were rendered free have, under Federation, turned out to be paid for such services are as the burning of bodies of those whose people are far from the hospital at which they die.

Finally, I wish to emphasise the point that we don't want Federation because it is to the detriment of the African people. We want to have the status of protection of our Majesty which we had before Federation was imposed against our wishes. Federation stands only for the entrenchment of the European interest and thereby perpetual domination of the African people.

We are loyal subject people of the Queen therefore we should not be thrown into the hands and that the mass of the unscrupulous white settler politicians.

Chitimukulu

Mpanda Area

27th January 1960

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF MANKOYA*

1. It would appear very unwise to refuse your investigation as through it everything may be revealed and made clear to the public. But a commission on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland may not be desirable. It would not be clear also just stating that I do not want it or I like it.

2. The history of this stupendous Federation is over twenty years old as far as I know it. It started by the name of Amalgamation it failed—eventually a more successful word "Federation" was introduced. None of the words was accepted by the majority of the African population, except the kind of the Europeans mentioned in paragraph three below.

3. There could be nothing wrong using these words but what matters is their application or the reason behind them. The reason behind them is leading to a dreadful word (Dominion)! This dread is not created from nothing but from the daily talks of those who like it and those who wish to find

* Name withheld at the request of the witness

a refuge from it. I use the word refuge because most of the people who want it have no proper homes in Europe or those whose families had never been famous in the history and they want to take the advantage here.

4. Secondly, our adjacent dominions (South Africa) is another vivid example. Our people, even graduates are living there and have studied the life. Every grown up person here knows how badly the African is treated in South Africa.

5. Thirdly, we cannot unite ourselves with Southern Rhodesia as the way by which the British got into her is different from that they entered into our country. The African of Southern Rhodesia has shed the blood of the English man whereas the Mulozi has not.

6. My grandfather told me and later I learnt from history that the Barotse are a protected people of Her Majesty the Queen and that the Barotse had asked for this protection during the reign of Queen Victoria. They had chosen it from many European rules. I still repeat that they had asked for it and not forced it and that is democracy. Some Europeans who have come here ignore this, consequently the Federation is compelling the African to accept a Government he does not want.

7. I have never heard that the Barotse had even once said that they did not like the protection of Her Majesty the Queen and wanted to break off. But the Federation is forcing them to. Those who prefer the background of the Federation are dis-juncting the powers of the British rule. c.f. South with Nyasaland.

8. I am aware of the development brought about here by the Federation especially a strategic centre of defence and high ideals of University Education, but for whom are they designed, say after a thousand years?

9. I do not know what the other Barotse people as well as the Paramount Chief and his Government will have to say but I personally ask for the continuation of Her Majesty the Queen's protection under His Excellency the Governor with his rightfully chosen officials.

10. May I end by saying emphatically that all the nations of the world are watching carefully what is happening in the Federation. What happens, be it good or bad the British Government will eventually reap the consequence.

Mankoya.

THE REVEREND J. L. MATTHEWS

Biographical Note

The Reverend James Leonard Matthews was sent out by the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society from Britain.

1932 European and African work, Broken Hill.

1934 Gwembe Valley

1942 Principal, Kafue Training Institute.

1952 Returned to the Isle of Man, where he ministered to the Ramsey Methodist Church.

1957 Lusaka, as Education Secretary for the Methodist Church in Northern Rhodesia. In this capacity he travels extensively in the Southern and Central Provinces of the Territory. He is a member of the Advisory Board on African Education; Provincial Education Authority, Southern Province; Provincial Education Authority, Central Province; and Central Teaching Service Committee.

Although I write as a member of the European Community, my work as a Minister of Religion keeps me constantly in touch with Africans in the Southern and Central Provinces of the Territory.

In the following memorandum I have endeavoured to set out a few reasons showing why Europeans in Northern Rhodesia are increasingly restive and Africans opposed almost to a man to the present Federal idea and government.

I. The Inadequacy of Federal Propaganda

The Federal Government has through its information services sought to convince people of the benefits brought about by Federation. However, to the thinking person such claims as those made in the pamphlets "The Facts" and "Your Questions Answered" have quite the opposite effect as they claim benefits for Federation which are not as evident in Northern Rhodesia as the Government seems to think.

(a) Economic Benefits Claimed

The economic benefits of Federation are undoubted, though they are more evident for the general economy, and more

particularly for Southern Rhodesia (a fact that will doubtless be substantiated by the evidence of other bodies in Northern Rhodesia). However, when it comes to economic benefits for Africans in particular, the official Federal apologists have clearly had to scrape the barrel to find arguments. The arguments put forward by the Federal Information Department are not convincing. The onus of the true economic advancement of the African still lies on the individual Territories, and I submit should remain so.

(b) Progress in Partnership Claimed

The arguments based on the achievements of partnership and the removal of discrimination, when seen in relation to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, are even less convincing. The Northern Rhodesia African finds it difficult to see how Federation has helped. The Northern Rhodesia Government (with prodding from Congress, the Central Africa Party and the Churches) has led the way in the removal of discrimination. Many think without Federation it would have been able to move faster. In Southern Rhodesia alone can the reduction of discrimination be correctly ascribed to Federation. Several examples of progress toward partnership for which the Federal Government claims credit, e.g., the University College, and its illustrations from Commerce and Industry and Sport, have been primarily due to the initiative of private bodies or Overseas influence.

It is difficult for a Northern Rhodesia African to see why, as is so often claimed, if Federation breaks up, Partnership vanishes. In fact some would claim that the removal of the "deadweight" of Southern Rhodesia and Federation would stimulate partnership in the North. It is because Northern Rhodesia leads in the policy of partnership that many Europeans in Southern Rhodesia would like to secede. This is precisely why the articulate Northern Rhodesia African fears not merely domination by Southern Rhodesia, but anything to do with Southern Rhodesia.

That the achievements of partnership apply only to Southern Rhodesia, where Federation is the Africans' main hope, is why until recently the Southern Rhodesia Congress did not oppose it, and why so many liberals in Southern Rhodesia support it. It is for the Commission to assess whether the preservation of Federation in its present form for the sake of the Southern Rhodesia African can only be achieved at the cost of the Northern Territories of permanent mistrust and opposition such as to defeat its own purpose. If Northern Rhodesia's and Nyasaland's interests are to be considered at all, Federation cannot be preserved in any form remotely like the present one.

In spite of propaganda, it is difficult to see that any of the so-called "advantages" of Federation could not have been realised by a much looser alliance, which would not have produced the fear and widespread opposition of all African peoples in the Northern Territories.

II African opposition to Federation has been under-estimated

The biggest mistake made by the Federal Government is grossly to under-estimate the depth and extent of African opposition to Federation.

Three arguments are usually adduced:—

(i) "the majority of Africans are not interested in politics as such," i.e., opposition is negligible.

(ii) "a few self-appointed African leaders and power-seeking politicians whose present status is based only on the ignorance of the masses are influencing an otherwise contented African populace," i.e., opposition is malicious and insincere.

(iii) Anyway, it is "misconceived".

(i) It is strongly hoped that the Commission will have ample opportunity to assess the validity of (i). This argument serves merely to illustrate the Federal Government's lack of contact with ordinary African opinion.

Anyone who is in close touch with African peoples knows only too well that their very definite rational and emotional reaction to Federation is one springing from fear: it is the continued fear that, removed from Colonial Office protection under the Federal Government, they will for ever be under white control, and a white control from Salisbury. The years



of experiment in Federal Government have increased these fears, so that now Africans see only one path which they feel they can trust—and that is to ensure they will soon have political control of the situation. Some of the reasons which have given rise to these fears are submitted below.

(ii) The claim that is made, that Africans, the majority of whom have but little education, do not know their own mind on the question of Federation, cannot be sustained. The villager as well as townsman knows what Protectorate Status means, and he will not change that except for independence. Some of their fears may be groundless, but happenings during the last few years provide sufficient evidence to prove that their failure to trust the Federal Government is not without reason.

My experience entirely supports the Devlin Report: "The Government's view is that these nationalist aspirations are the thoughts of only a small minority of political Africans, mainly of self-seekers, who think that their prospect of office will be worse under Federation, and that the great majority of people are indifferent to the issue. We have not found this to be so. . . ."

(iii) If African opinion is misconceived, that could have been remedied by instruction. Unfortunately very little imaginative attempt has been made to do this; on the whole the European is very little interested in what the African thinks or feels, until he shows signs of restiveness, and then he is "ungrateful".

Again, very few Europeans know the African on any other basis than that of master ("Bwana")—servant "boy". Those of us who have entertained Africans in our homes and been entertained by them in theirs realise how foolish and pretentious is the popular depreciation of African capabilities.

In this connection it is strongly to be regretted that the Northern Rhodesia Civil Servants are not allowed to volunteer opinions to the Commission. One reason why so many of them appear to be unsympathetic towards the idea of Federation is precisely because they, together with missionaries, are the only people in close touch with African opinion.

Because most European politicians do not have to depend on African votes they have made little attempt (with the notable exceptions of Moffatt and Franklin) to gauge or influence African opinion by their personal appearance. They therefore cannot be astonished or disgusted at the African's "misconceptions".

The imposition of "Federation Day" upon the three Territories showed insensitiveness to and disregard for African feeling. In Nyasaland the authorities dare not give the holiday that name. In Northern Rhodesia the day was the cause of deep resentment. Government and Mission teachers are not permitted to introduce politics into their schools, yet they were directed to celebrate what is a live political issue and one upon which European opinion is deeply divided and to which African opposition is almost 100%. That Principals and Headmasters were, in addition, directed to submit to their Provincial Education Officers reports on how they had carried out this instruction, was felt by many to imply a threat to re-inforce a known unpopular measure.

The question asked is, "Was this introduced through bad psychology or plain ignorance of what the African thinks?". Furthermore, Government Principals and Headmasters were directed to give a talk on the benefits of Federation. Some Principals, to avoid provoking a breach of discipline, compromised and simply made the afternoon free. Wherever possible the mention of Federation was avoided.

This matter was ventilated by African headmasters as well as European School Managers at the Methodist Synod: and the following resolution was passed:

"The Synod of the Methodist Church notes that Managers of Schools have been asked to organise celebrations in their schools on Federation Day, thus involving a Manager and his teachers in what remains a live political issue, upon which public opinion is widely divided. This Synod deploras the involvement of Churches as educational agencies in this matter. We draw attention to Government's own rule that teachers shall "not introduce politics into school."

It was also reported and noted by the Education Committee that in some areas extra police were posted near town schools.

Attention was drawn to the uncalled for situation where parents of children reacted by carrying posters condemning Federation, whilst their children were supposed to be on holiday celebrating Federation.

The fact that Federation Day and the crisis at Munal Secondary School (which resulted in the school being closed before the end of the school term last year) occurred during the same weekend was no coincidence, even if the facts which led to the crisis lay deeper.

III. Some Reasons for African Opposition to Federation

In the North there is strong opposition from many Europeans. Among Africans there are very few indeed who have the slightest sympathy with the Federal idea as at present conceived.

Most of the points are dealt with elsewhere. To be noted however are:

- (a) The absence of African consent in 1953.
- (b) The lack of security felt to be provided in the two safeguards, the Preamble and the African Affairs' Board.
- (c) Fear of Southern Rhodesia—especially from those who have visited it. The different actions taken by the Northern Rhodesia and the Southern Rhodesia Government in March 1959 emphasise this.
- (d) Federation Day.
- (e) Fear of Federal Independent Status and permanent white segregated control, which has been intensified by provocative statements (on "Boston tea-parties", etc.) from Federal politicians with their eye on an inadequately based electorate.
- (f) Lack of suitable housing and urban conditions for an increasing number of educated African citizens, who are very conscious of "black township" mentality.

IV. Franchise

Behind all the increased racial antagonism which is leading to determined opposition, is fear. The basic fear is that the Federal Government is determined that the non-European will never have a majority in the Federal Parliament, and so his right to self-determination will be indefinitely postponed. Allied to this fear is the realization that under the present Federal Constitution, the power of the Territorial Governments are too restricted: hence the sense of frustration and hopelessness now existing in the Northern Territories.

Although one appreciates the attempted conciliatory efforts behind the present Federal franchise, the humiliating position of many Africans is an increasing source of resentment. And the fear is that whatever revision may be made, it will be such as will keep him always with less than his due influence in the Government.

I submit that the only way to restore confidence is along the lines of section 1 of the Methodist Synod Resolution:

"That responsible self-government with the right to determine their own future based on a widening franchise and a common electoral roll be granted to the two Northern Territories as early as possible."

This means that the qualifications must be lowered, and the special vote given equal value.

I submit that the Franchise has been worked out on the wrong basis. The approach was to look at the possible results of any increased African representation instead of asking, "How many people are fit to vote?". The fear of the African is that those who assess the franchise qualifications will always look at the number of voters resulting, to preserve European majorities.

As a result, the African now sees political control as his only salvation.

It is rightly claimed by Federal and Territorial Governments that political stability is vitally important to the future welfare of all peoples in Central Africa. There will never be stability until there is a far more broadly-based franchise. The only alternative is increasing repressive action by emergency powers and armed force. To contemplate such is to admit failure, and is the end of any hope of development. Confidence and trust must be restored.

The attention of the Commission is drawn to an admirable statement by the present Federal Prime Minister in the 1952 Debate.

"If they (a section in Southern Rhodesia) aim at European dominance, they are ignoring every lesson that history teaches. . . . In the first instance they may be able to do it by legislation, but it will only be a passage of time when they will have to enforce it by force. . . . it is therefore inevitable that only bitterness and hatred will follow."

On the other hand the validity of the European's fear of being "turned out" must be recognised. The future of the European is mainly an economic matter—not political—unless there is stability he will not want to stay, and when there is, he will stay only if the country (industry, commerce, agriculture, health, education) needs his skills and if he is prepared to stay under the conditions and terms offered. This will obtain whatever Government is in power—but no-one can in future be guaranteed a privileged position because of his race. This is very hard on Europeans in work being taken over by African advancement, especially those who have sunk capital into houses and land. But it is an economic matter, responsibility for which lies with the politicians who encouraged him to build his house in the false hope that his security here would be indefinitely bolstered up by what politics would do for him.

V. Need for Territorial Control

Section 2 of the Methodist Synod Resolution, "That matters vitally affecting the inhabitants of these Territories, e.g., health, European education and immigration revert to Territorial control", is very important and in support I draw attention to:

(a) European Education. Whilst the present divided control exists between European and African education, it will be difficult for Northern Rhodesia to implement any plans which she may have for closer integration. In this, as in other matters she will be held back by the slower pace of the Federal authority, largely influenced by a stronger white majority. This dual control will handicap the partnership in education which must come. It may be some years before multi-racial Primary and Secondary schools can come into operation. But, since it is recognised that African craftsmen are accepted in industry and the business world, a beginning in co-operation could be made in multi-racial Technical schools. In view of the present Trade Recession, it is doubtful if any town outside the Copperbelt could find enough European apprentices to justify Polytechnic for Europeans only.

In view of the need for trust and a recognition of true partnership, in Northern Rhodesia it should not be necessary to commence building separate Asian and European and African Secondary schools, as at that level English is the medium of instruction. Far from Africans lowering the standard, when it comes to the Sixth Form, an injection of a proportion of Africans into senior classes might stimulate many European pupils.

The disturbing factor is that under the present constitution the North cannot make any experiments along these lines until the whole Federal Government approves. Hence I see Territorial responsibility for European education as a vital necessity.

(b) African Education. It is increasingly recognised by commercial and industrial concerns as well as Government, that the foundation for a future sound economy rests on African education. If the African is to continue to advance not only to craftsman position, but also to skills required for technical and professional positions, he must have a sound and full range of education. Furthermore if the country is to be stable and advance, the women must have equal education. Such education must be as widespread as the economy of the country will stand. It is increasingly clear that if there is to be peace and sympathetic understanding in the country, the precedent of non-racial education set by the Rhodesian University must at once be extended downwards to cover technical education, and as soon as possible the higher classes of the High Schools (Sixth Form at least).

Much of the Federal Government information is misleading:

e.g. (1) The number of Secondary Schools. In the United States Publication "Africa—Special Report", a statement reported that there was only one secondary school in Northern Rhodesia—Munali. The official reply stated without qualification that there were 12, omitting to mention that most of these went only to Form II, and only one, Munali, catered for the Sixth Form (males only), which was presumably the point behind the original mis-statement.

(2) The number of Pupils. In "The Facts", page 23 it is stated without qualification that 232,000 African children (60%) were at school in 1958. In fact 60% of these leave after 4 years (Standard II) and only 6,000 reached Standard VI in 1958. Only 700 began Secondary education last year. The expansion has been substantial, but it is further misleading to

compare 1958 figures with those of 1953 as if this was an implied consequence of Federation.

(3) Expenditure on Education. The estimated expenditure on European education in 1960 is £6,998,000 for the whole Federation, which, even if it were divided evenly between the Territories (as clearly it cannot be), would mean that far fewer Europeans in Northern Rhodesia would cost approximately the same as 250,000 Africans. Obviously much of this goes on higher European salaries (but this does not explain why capital expenditure should be similarly disproportionate).

(c) Health. People of all races are greatly disturbed at the inadequacy of the Federal Health Services and the frustration of remote control from Salisbury. (There will, I know be other evidence along these lines). Here I would only draw the Commission's attention to the situation regarding African schools and the African rural situation. It seems impossible for such remote Federal control based in Salisbury to appreciate the hopes for development in the health services this country envisaged before Federation. As far as the rural area is concerned, there is a tardiness in extending the services and equipment needed for rural dispensaries, which would not be tolerated if under Territorial Government control. If Africans are to be physically fit for the demands that African advancement will rightly make upon them, the Medical services must be stepped up to reduce the drastic loss of man-hours, and to make possible an increase in the quantity of daily work now curtailed by physical weakness due to the prevalence of bilharzia, hookworm, malaria and disease caused by malnutrition.

The Federation Ministry of Health takes no responsibility for African pupils or students in schools and colleges as it does for European children, and there is therefore no co-ordination between the Ministry of Health (Federal) and the Ministry of African Education (Territorial). A large field for preventive measures in health is available through the many boarding schools, but this is lost since the Federal Ministry of Health is not willing to co-operate in this matter: which again breeds resentment against the controlling authority.

(d) Police. African fears have been intensified by reports of a move to bring Territorial Police Forces under Federal control. Such a move which left the Governments of the Northern Territories without their own Police Forces would be fatal to any hope of restored confidence. Clearly a Territorial Government would be powerless, except as a rubber stamp of Federal policy. Since the racial policies of the two Territories are different, the police would be in an impossible position.

At a recent conference of the United Northern Rhodesia Association Mr Hugh Mitchley, representing the United Federal Party, though not speaking for it, said in justification for federalisation of the Police Force: "It is wrong for one Government to control the Police and another Government the Army". In other words it would be a logical step to iron out the anomalies of 1953. African fears of Federation are exactly this—that a federalised Police Force would be just such a logical step. Mr. Mitchley went on to say: "Any increase in African representation in the two Northern Territories will produce disorder in its wake. It must be the duty of a firm Federal Government to see that proper order is maintained." This underlining of the motives in making the Police federal illustrates why so many Africans fear Federation.

It is unfortunate that local European youths with their natural prejudices are being recruited to the Police. It is a serious defect in police training if no European is able to serve as an ordinary constable on "an ordinary beat".

Alarmist speculation regarding the control of the Police by the Federal Government must be checked by an immediate statement that there is no intention at any time to federalise this important department.

(e) Immigration. Disquiet on this score will continue as long as Salisbury controls the Northern Territories. The present situation where, in the minds of Africans, if not in fact, a predominantly white Board can admit large numbers of Europeans (to offset franchise concessions) strikes at the root of confidence. It is dangerous too, where it has power to prohibit the entry of, or expel a person without giving reasons and without right of appeal. Either the control of immigration should revert to the Territorial Governments, or else, with stronger African representation on the Federal Immigration

Board there should remain a right of appeal to the Colonial Office at least in the case of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

(f) Agriculture (African and European). The federalisation of either of these departments gives rise immediately to fears concerning the land itself. Whether those fears are justified or not, it would be wiser in this matter to avoid the appearance of seeking by a back door, control of the Territory's land and natural resources.

(g) Audit. The federalisation of Audit of the accounts of Territorial Departments is another move that seems intent on setting "the Southern Rhodesian pattern" on matters purely domestic to the Northern Territories, and, however logical a development it might be in a well-trying Federal set-up, is, in the present experimental stage, at best untimely.

VI. African Advancement

Fortunately for Federal apologists there is no means of determining whether the material advancement of the African in Northern Rhodesia has been greater under Federation than it would have been had Federation not taken place. But economic advancement is by no means the only criterion to be considered. Spiritual, social and political progress are more lasting in their effects and of greater importance. If the latent potentialities of the population as a whole were educated and developed there would be released a drive towards progress such as is impossible where only those privileged by colour are granted full facilities.

The Ministry of African Education in Northern Rhodesia earns the highest praise of all who come into contact with it. But the Ministry of African Education is tied by the diversion to the other Territories of its own legitimate resources. It is wide awake to the need for universal education up to Standard VI, and to its immediate task of providing teachers to make that possible. But under Federation it does not receive its due share of the Territory's wealth to implement this. Neither do the Health Services.

If the speed of advancement is retarded the climate of understanding between the races will deteriorate to the point where the fears of the European minority will be justified. It is urgent that the Commission recognise this and recommend more rapid integration of the races.

The Kariba Scheme affords the classic example of the fallacy that economic progress is all the African requires. A primitive people has been moved off of ancestral lands which has upset deeply seated spiritual convictions. They have lost a great area of rich agricultural land and their social organisation has been completely disrupted. Having been displaced, most of them are living in areas where the available acreage of arable land is too small to meet their normal food requirements. In some parts, but not in all, the land will produce sufficient for the first couple of years. But in a short time it will be worked out and the situation may well be grave. In at least one other country in the world similar schemes designed to benefit the economic life of the state are subject to the strongest condemnation by the Western world. The Commission should seek to ensure that all future development in these Territories be considered along lines not only of economic expediency, but also of giving primary consideration to the needs and aspirations of all the people.

Conclusion

To make any form of Federation work at this late stage, great changes will be necessary, and the suspicions of the people must be allayed. As long as the feeling persists that Southern Rhodesia is running the Federation and "cashing in on it"; as long as racial discrimination is tolerated; as long as there are political detainees not brought to trial, and as long as a state of emergency exists in any one of the three Territories, there will be tension, growing dis-satisfaction and the atmosphere of a police state which must lead in the end to violence and the destruction of all it seeks to preserve.

Lusaka

THE MAZABUKA AND MONZE FARMERS' WIVES

—Mrs. E. J. Bennett

We, the Farmers' wives of the Mazabuka and Monze Districts, wish to present our views for the consideration of your Commission.

We believe that farmers are the back-bone of any country, for upon a settled farming community depends its stability and prosperity, and we believe that the farmers who have built up well-run farms from virgin bush have the greatest stake in

this country. We, the wives, have played our part in their achievement. We have been content to start under the most primitive living conditions, with none of the amenities of civilisation, every penny being used to first build up the farm; the very last thing being a comfortable homestead. We have been content because, being holders of Freehold property, we visualised a home and livelihood for our children, who are Rhodesians and this was to be their heritage. There was never any use of the word "Protectorate". Rhodesia was presumed to be a Colony. No farmer can stand still, he must forever be looking to the future, and now the future is clouded with doubt. This is having the most depressing result upon our lives.

Each and everyone of us have used every penny that we have made on the improvement of our farms. Not for us the Government or Mines pensions; we have not been able to build up comforting Bank balances. Many would like to sell, none would buy, because they have no faith in the future of the country with the constant threat of African domination.

Perhaps you are not aware of the rapidity with which Africa reverts to wilderness. Within the space of a very few years bush has taken over and years of struggling are lost.

We who have lived for so many years in close association with the rural African believe that we know him as many others do not. We recognise his good points and his limitations. We do not believe that the majority are against Federation. We know that he, like many of his white counterparts, is against change of any description. We know that the vociferous few have told him that any close association with Southern Rhodesia is a bad thing. That seed of mistrust was sown deliberately many years ago when Amalgamation was first broached. We feel the aim and object of the agitators is to make life so intolerable that the European must leave; would these same agitators then be prepared to compensate us adequately for our life's work in pioneering this country.

The average African employed on our farms is perfectly content with his way of life. After six years of Federation he still does not know what the word means. He has his own plot of land for cultivation, and in most cases another plot of land in his village, where a second wife looks after his cattle and plants a crop. He knows that in times of sickness his employer's wife will look after him and his family.

The rural African has no political aspirations, neither have we seen much indication of his desire to improve his way of living. He has watched methods of soil conservation, crop rotation, manuring and fertilizing but would not dream of putting any of these into practice of his own volition. We hear much of the "Improved African Farmer" and we applaud the work of our soil conservation officers, but we know that unless the work is done for them or they are encouraged to do it under European supervision it will not continue. It is only by continual contact and instruction by the European that he improves at all; without this the African himself would very soon revert to savagery and tribal wars would again devastate the country. We must not lose sight of the fact that these with whom we are dealing are an extremely primitive people. How then, can you entertain giving these people the Vote and holding over our heads "The Rule of the Majority"?

We are fully aware that no people nor country can stand still, neither do we wish it, but we demand the right to be governed by *civilised people*. Since we believe that the Women of a country control its destinies we urge the education of the African girls. We know that the day must come and we women would not wish it otherwise, when the African plays his part in the Government of the country, but we urge that for the preservation of peace, for the sake of the Rural African, who is every day intimidated with threats of violence and witchcraft, as well as for the Settlers that this change comes gradually; that the right to govern is earned, not thrust upon people, very few of whom have any conception of the principles of democratic government.

We agree upon the principles of Federation, that one day all people, irrespective of race or colour, may play their part in running this Country, but we do feel strongly that to lower the qualifications for the franchise would be to endanger the whole structure of the Federation and would bring disaster upon all, both black and white.

Mazabuka

S. J. MICHAELIS

I appreciate the opportunity that has been afforded me of stating my views about the administration of this Territory.

I came to this country with my husband and two children in March 1949, and have lived in Ndola and Kitwe, except for holidays overseas.

I am quite satisfied with the present form of administration by the Federal Government, but feel that a much better job could be done by the powers that be if they were given more scope, and I would like to see as a result of investigations by the Committee, greater powers handed to the Federal Government, with less outside interference.
Kitwe

H. F. J. M. MICKLINGHOFF

In the conviction that it is the wish of your Commission to hear evidence from the ordinary business men, as well as from political groups, I have the honour to submit my views mainly from my own trades point of view, that of Travel and Tourism.

It is obvious that the development of tourism in the Federation must rely on the economic stability of the country and its people for obvious reasons, but we "travel" people realize only too well that economic progress is closely interlinked with political stability.

The granting "over-night" of any form of African Nationalism would kill our trade stone dead: it must entail under our circumstances a mass exodus of not only many Europeans and Asians, but a considerable number of non-vociferous middle class Africans who are emerging slowly and surely and becoming travel minded. All that could be left as far as travel trade is concerned would be a subsidised form of travel with the great majority of the fares to and from the country paid by the State and administered by the State.

I am often inundated by the emerging class of African referred to above, asking questions about travel and tourist facilities in the private capacity.

In my experience these people have not the slightest interest in an all Black constitution, in fact express fear of such, but they want fair wages and conditions so they can enjoy the modern indulgences of travel of their European and Asian counterparts.

We "travel people" would be the last to deny the majority of the population their progressive and proven constitutional rights and we realize that this achievement is inevitable through time and we shall welcome it in the name of real democracy and economic protection for all.

I have seen too hasty autonomy placed in the hands of universal adult suffrage, in Indonesia and the Philippines, to the economic detriment of that country. For example in a certain part of Indonesia a flourishing business was thriving on tourism, but by their inexperience they have made so many rules and regulations for visiting tourists, that practically the whole business of tourism has fallen away entirely.

Personally, I have spent many years in the entire Far East and can say that I have seen many changes as far as multi-racialism is concerned. Now having settled in the Federation I look on this, as my one and only country.

I have taken great interest in the Welfare and Sociological affairs of Northern Rhodesia on committees such as Social Welfare, Council of Social Services, Committee for the Coloured Community and Chamber of Commerce, etc., and I must say in this respect I have nothing but admiration for the encouragement and financial aid given to this work by the present Federal Government and the Northern Rhodesia State Government.

Colour-Bar prejudices are absent in this work and much is being done by our Governments to break down unfair discrimination in other phases of life.

Finally, my Lord and Gentlemen, I consider, in the name of the great business of tourist trade to which I belong and in the name of the Welfare work to which I devote all of my leisure time, that it would be nothing short of a tragedy if the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should not be allowed to complete its avowed programme of proving to the world outside and to the African people themselves, its destiny as a non-racial Federation with constitutional and economic protection for all.

We, in the travel business, are firmly convinced that this country is not constituted as other African States, often quoted

and should not be considered to be included in the overall pattern of a tide of African Nationalism which can not or must not be stemmed.

Luanshya

A EUROPEAN RESIDENT OF MONGU*

1. Yes I am satisfied with the present form of Federation in Central Africa, because it has brought lots of improvements by trying to bring richness into Central Africa and more wages to all races living in Central Africa.

2. The most important thing I like the Federation to have more say in my life is because its Commissioners and officials are fighting against the colour bar, which if it exists in the country the inhabitants do not live happily together, because there is no friendship in between one another.

3. I think the Federation should have more control over affairs, because since the Federation came to our Central Africa in 1953 we jumped into a high step of civilisation and education. It has brought up a Rhodesia and Nyasaland University which is going to bring high learning among the African races which will bring them into a good understanding. Most of African people do not realise what the Federation has come into our Central Africa, what I know myself is that it has come to build up a friendship in between the inhabitants of the Central Africa Black and White. If there is misunderstanding in between the inhabitants that means they will come into a weak situation, but union is strength.

4. We must not forget that the Federation was suggested by our late King George the VI then it should have more control over affairs.

I wish it to carry for ever.

Mongu

9th February 1960

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF MONGU*

I personally oppose the Federal Government for the following reasons :-

1. Since Federation came into being developments have been defined only to some parts of Northern Rhodesia, for Barotseland Protectorate particularly has benefited nothing socially and economically.

2. Federation encourages racial discrimination. Before or prior to the federation N. Rhodesia had already taken some steps towards racial bars e.g. the Moffat resolution. The federation is just only a wolf in a sheep's cloth. The Federal Government is good at speaking things but very poor at doing them.

3. The Federation does not take the keen interest in the welfare and development of Africans of N. Rhodesia, because it has left all departments concerning Africans in the hands of the Territorial Government e.g. education.

4. The aim of the Federation is to gain dominion status as quickly as possible in order to cut Africans from the Colonial Office where they can lay their complaints when being exploited and suppressed so hard by the greedy Central African Europeans, who only long for the everlasting supremacy over Africans.

5. I wish the Northern Rhodesia Territorial Government would be restored for the benefits of Africans as well as Europeans in the territory, that Africans should have the full vote in the government of their own land. What we want is parity and full development of Africans in order to be on the same footing with Europeans, and enjoy the same privileges in Northern Rhodesia.

Mongu

4th March 1960

J. S. MPANSHYA

I wish to give my views on Monckton Commission together with my family and friends of Northern Rhodesia.

This country is our us, given us by Almighty God. This Commission planned by "Sir Roy Welensky" and his Govt., is wrong and answer to it is "No" and big NO.

If he forces us, he will be answerable in heaven on this country.

What we want is self govt. that is all. Federation is a bringer of bad ruling.

*Name withheld at the request of the witness



In Monckton Commission there is nothing to listen to, but to us we regard it as slave trade in N. Rhodesia. Which Doctor Livingstone stopped. If at all this commission will be allowed in this country, many will not be pleased and this will result in war or riots.

I have seen so many winter and summers and I know what is bad and good.

You cannot force a horse to drink water.

Lusaka

3rd February 1960

CHIEF MPEPO

Federal Constitution

I am Chief Mpepo in Mpika District in Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia. My area contains many people under my charge.

I should like to let you know that my people dislike Federation, and they have been refusing since 1953. The reasons are as follows :

1. (a) In Southern Rhodesia there is no freedom. That if one dies the relatives of the deceased have to pay for the burial of their deceased person. If they cannot afford for the burial the deceased is to be burned up.
- (b) No cultivation would be carried out by the people according to the people's wish. Very few acres are being provided according to the rule of the Government which are not enough and they do not produce enough food as they need.
- (c) No freedom has been granted to the African Doctors in fact that he cannot go out in the bush to look for African medicine because the land is strictly control. The country is not as free as our Northern Rhodesia is free.
- (d) No African Chief would be found in Southern Rhodesia. This will apply to the Northern Rhodesia as a result of Federation.

The above reasons compared to the Southern Rhodesia Government.

2. The present Government has not failed to govern since the arrival of Central government settlers that we have been in peace for many years, if the present Government continues to govern our country, the country will, whatsoever be happier in the coming years.

3. When the Officers of Central Government arrived long ago they found our fore-parents, and they did not introduce Federation. Why?

4. Since 1953 when the Federation was imposed we do not live in peace, because whenever the emergency occurs Europeans use their weapons and a very big numbers of people have been killed as it happened 1959 in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in Luwingu District.

5. We have been refusing Federation due to the above reasons, since 1952, and we should like to discontinue this question regarding Federation.

These above are the reasons gave by my people against Federation.

Mpika

10th February 1960

THE MPOROKOSO BEMBA NATIVE AUTHORITY

Please go through the answered questions from Bemba Native Authority Mporokoso to Secretary General Monckton Commission and submit the answers to him.

1. No we do not want Federal Government to work in Central Africa as a whole because this is the cause of breach of peace.
2. Federal Government should not have more powers as we do not want the present Federal affected departments to carry on and we have the following reasons :—
 - (a) The expiration of Chiefs from being Chiefs.
 - (b) True Christianity is also interrupted by forming other unlawful Societies and the cause of all this is Federation.
3. We still want to be under the protection of the Queen and that we seek the Territorial Government to have more powers of reigning over the people of Northern Rhodesia for this reason :—

- (a) We used to enjoy peace and freedom before the Federal Government was introduced.

Mporokoso

MEETING OF VILLAGE HEADMEN HELD AT SENIOR CHIEF KAPIJI MUJIMANZOVU'S VILLAGE ON FEDERATION

The following points have been discussed at the Meeting and they will be presented to the Commission of Inquiry by our Representative, and we have the honour to present them herewith :—

1. Many people say that a person to build a house should have other supporters. But we think that this is not true because if a person to begin with says or promises that he has the power to build it up by himself, then why should he ask for help from other people? Therefore in the case of Federation, we would not just accept it but we strongly trust that the Northern Rhodesia Government would continue with its power.
2. We don't want the Federation because we know that our country Northern Rhodesia is very rich. It has got many sources of obtaining money. For instance, it has got the Copper Mines which are our blessing from God.
3. If we agree that the Federation should continue with its power, we fear that the same thing which happened in Southern Rhodesia would also apply to us here. The Chiefs in Southern Rhodesia have no authority on things within their areas. All the power has been taken away from them by the Southern Rhodesia Government. So we fear that the same thing would happen to our Chiefs in this country.
4. We strongly say that Federation should not exist and it should have less control over our affairs and that all the power should come back to the Northern Rhodesia Government. On the other hand we were promised by the Queen that we were going to have our own self-Government after we had grown up in Education in the course of time. If so, why should we accept it?

Solwezi

14th February, 1960

CHIEF MUKUNGULE

We like the present Government of Northern Rhodesia and we do not want another one. We refuse Federation because the way our people live in Southern Rhodesia is not good; they do not live well and they have not good opportunities for agriculture. They suffer in many ways having to live and eat on the farms of Europeans.

Also the Chiefs of that country have no power; it has been taken away.

Federation could be a good thing, but the people running it are not wise.

And so we people in my country refuse that Government because it could in the future do us harm; we are worried and are afraid of it.

Mpika

19th February 1960

CHIEF MUKWIKILE

I heard that your Group wants to hear what the people think.

"I Chief Mukwikile for the Bemba tribe, I appointed to be a Chief in 1952, but in my opinion I think that my job is to tell what my people are thinking about this. Federation Government is not good. And the reasons are these.

- (1) Long ago we had enough Doctors in our hospitals, and enough medicines. But when the Federation came and take these over all this things are not up to date.
- (2) Long ago in the Post Offices the cost of stamps were very cheap but now when the Federation came the cost of stamps goes higher.
- (3) Long ago in the road there were camps where the people were working and the Northern Rhodesia Government helping them but the Federation stopped this. And in the rest camps there were no any fees paid to sleep in. But when the Federation came they start to tax any body wants to sleep at the rest camps.

These are the reasons makes the Federation badly.

These are the reasons which we want the Northern Rhodesia Government are

- (1) We had enough Doctors and medicines in our hospitals when the Federation was not yet come.
- (2) The Northern Rhodesia Government built many schools where the people are improving their Education.
- (3) In agriculture the people are well improved and having enough food.
- (4) This Government has got policemen who works very hard to stop any one wants to make boycott and stealing.

That's why we want to be ruled by the Northern Rhodesia Government is what my people wants.

Shiwa Ng'andu
20th January 1960

B. S. MUKUPILI

My own views to the Monckton Commission

1. The Federation has caused fear, death and ill-feeling among the Africans only! It is bad because it is an outlet for the settlers to dismantle the *Protection* of the Northern Territories from the British Protection whereby Africans would get their *full independence* in the near future; and where settlers would live happily side by side with the African. We cannot stay in the *state of childhood* for so long.

2. If Federation continues it means clearly that the British Government is interested only in the Settler Government which is Federation; where Africans would continue to be shot in the struggle for their freedom.

3. The Territorial Governments should have more power and the Federation buried. I would like my own African Nationalists to govern the country before long.

Belonging to no African political party, I submit my own views to you for consideration.

Mongu
Barotseland
3rd March 1960

MEETING OF VILLAGE HEADMEN UNDER CHIEF MULONGA ON FEDERATION

Our items are as follows:—

1. We oppose Federation.
2. We do not know the real reason committed by the British Government which used to look after us and now it is in the way of being replaced by the Federal Government in its place!! What is the cause of that?
3. We would like to be ruled by the British Government under the Queen.
4. We object to being ruled by two Governments.
5. The reason why we have opposed the Federation is because there would be no chieftainship after the Federation's Independence as what it is in Southern Rhodesia—so for this reason we have all come to the conclusion of opposing it altogether.
6. We have been redeemed from slavery by the British Government and so we do not want to return once more into it.
7. We have seen that there is no real Chief all over Southern Rhodesia and on looking at this, it led us to oppose it.
8. Federation was imposed in order to disorganise the Medical Services in this Territory.
9. It would also spoil the Chief's lands.
10. We object of being ruled by ordinary Europeans who will have no mercy upon the African or even in settling their disputes.

Sir, all these items have been written down by a council or a gathering of all the headmen under Chief Mulonga.

Million Malipilo is going to be one of our Speakers on our behalf.

Solwezi
18th February 1960

M. C. B. MULONGESA

I am glad that I have been given this opportunity to air my views on the Central African Federation to the Monckton Commission.

Federation! O gosh. It is really an abominable word which makes my bowels refuse to take in food.

The implementation

When the Federation was introduced, it was inculcated into the minds of the African, amidst disapproval by the indigenous population, that the federation would bring showers of blessing. This implementation was to please a handful of settlers (foreigners), and to annoy and dismay the large population of 8,000,000 Africans in Central Africa.

The African Fear

The Africans have their fears, (which are justified fears). That is, the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

(a) Southern Rhodesia is a colony but the other two northern territories are Protectorates. A colony is on its way to become a dominion. And a dominion means "domination" as far as I see it—seeing how my sisters and brothers are being dominated in South Africa. In Southern Rhodesia the Africans are called natives. In South Africa they call them the same. You should understand that a "native" here has lost its original meaning. It is used to mean uncivilized. Southern Rhodesia is akin to South Africa in many respects and the latter is stinkingly notorious for her apartheid. Sir, is federation with Southern Rhodesia not committing suicide?

(b) When the federation talks were going on in 1952/53 the Africans told the white settler and the British Government point blank that federation would lead ultimately to a dominion. Welensky argued that it was not so. He and the Governments said that federation was only to strengthen the three countries economically, politically and in defence. But see what Welensky has done already. He has launched in the proposal that the Central Africa Federation should be a dominion. He even went to London to argue with Her Majesty's Government. How can I or we for that matter, trust the motives of Welensky and his cabinet?

(c) Federation is a mild form of a dominion because the activities of both are similar. Look here, in South Africa, Africans are being shot, exiled, imprisoned without trial. In the Central African Federation Africans have and are being shot, exiled and imprisoned with very little cause or trial. What happened to our African Nationalists in 1959? Is this not the same thing that is happening in the dominion of South Africa? Welensky is ruling with a whole army of soldiers behind him. I wouldn't be wrong to call the federation a police state where a citizen is not free to voice himself.

Partiality

There is a high degree of partiality in the federation.

- (a) Welensky and Armitage caused a lot of deaths last year. Over 40 souls were lost. O! the innocent souls. Welensky and Armitage ought to have received a very severe punishment from the U.K. government. But instead Welensky is made a member of the Privy Council for all his murders!
- (b) Kaunda, Dr. Banda, Sipals, Nkemo and most of the Africanists did not kill any white man neither did they upset his government, but were given a most undeserved punishment. Many of them were flogged and pushed into the cell. Why then did you blame the communists over the Hungary crisis a year or so ago? Is what happened in Hungary not the same as that which happened in Nyasaland? And Nyasaland is not a communist country. The British call this democracy!! Justice is being mocked.

The Commissions

What is the meaning of commissions coming to Central Africa if their recommendations are not accepted by the Government that appointed them? When the Durham Commission was sent to Canada in 1839 the recommendations that Lord Durham made were followed i.e. Canada became a responsible self-governing country, and the government officials were elected from the Legco.

But the Commissions sent here seem to be wasting their time and energy.

867

(a) The Devlin Commission

Devlin is a highly learned man. He was sent to Nyasaland to make enquiries about the Shootings (bullets being supplied by the Federal Premier). He found very little to blame the African for; but had a lot to blame Welensky and Armitage for. When he told the British Government so, they gave him a deaf ear and all the M.P.s turned their backs on him. That is because he supported the Africans which meant that he was against the federation.

(b) The Monckton Commission

The composition is at fault and is open to criticism. Habanyama and Katilungu are unreliable. They are more of traitors than good citizens. The former sided with the government over the Gwembe resettlement crisis. And now what is happening in the Lusitu area? Many Africans are dying from a mysterious death. The latter is not one would called learned. Of course he has a big mouth to talk a lot about nothing. Most of the Europeans are 'pro federationists'. I am sure there must be some hidden meaning to all this.

Conclusion

In conclusion I must safely say that :

- (a) The British Government has shown the world how partial she is in allowing the settlers to impose federation on the Africans in Africa which is their heritage. She has therefore no right to laugh at the communists.
- (b) The missionaries were merely sent as bait or opium to soften the hearts of the so called "heathen" (the innocent African). Now that the Government has set a firm foot on the African soil, the missionaries are anti-Africans.
- (c) Partnership, which is being talked about carelessly, is there to bring appeasement and not peace. How can partnership work when the salary of the European is much superior to that very meagre and low wage of the black man.
- (d) When in Rome do as the Romans do. When in Africa the European ought to realise that the African is a human being—he has a right to live. Therefore they must listen and acknowledge the demands of the African. They must abide by what they say.
- (e) The practice of many Europeans is really unchristian. If Christianity is what I see being practised by the Europeans, then it is a flop and its followers (I mean those who introduced it to the Africans) must be hypocrites.

P.S. (a) I should suggest that the federation were dissolved or that Northern Rhodesia seceded from the whole nonsense of the federation.

(b) We have stayed with the federation long enough to see it badness.

Balovale

21st January 1960

MARY MUMBA

I also stand for my friends as Women of Northern Rhodesia on Monckton Commission.

Speaking from the bottom of my heart I say "No" to this Commission of yours, which will bring poverty and slavery to our husbands and children. Only those you give money privately will say yes not wise men and women like me and others.

But mind you God will punish you on this if you force us, this is our country and what we want is *self government* in name of Christ.

Ndola

1st February 1960

CHIEF MUMENA

I Chief Mumena of the Solwezi District in North-Western Province, I am telling you that I have opposed the Federation as what the dog refused to laugh at anything.

The following reasons have led me to oppose the Federation :—

1. We are at present under the Protection of the Queen of England, and this country is known as a Protectorate. As this country is a wealthy one why should I prefer to have the Federation? No Sir, I refuse I wish to be only under the Government of the Queen.

2. Federation has brought no peace but troubles and the death of the people since 1953 when it was forceably imposed up to 1960. For instance, look at the troubles occurred in Nyasaland. Is it not Federation which brought this trouble? Yes Sir, it is the one.

3. Federation was only imposed in the way of taking away all the wealth of Northern Rhodesia to Southern Rhodesia, i.e. money is being received from the Copper Industry and other sources of revenue.

4. Federation is only required by the Europeans as it would be seen that European Education had gone Federal because they know that much money which comes from the mineral Rights etc. go into that Department so that European Education may go on well ahead.

5. That there is no compulsory Education in the African Education and also apart from that there many retarding incidents—and so how do we expect that our children will get more advanced education? No Sir, it is very bad—it does not suit us.

6. Federation made the great majority of the people got fed up of giving reasons and explaining why they did not want Federation from 1952 up to date.

7. Sir, just look at what Sir Roy Welensky said on a paper called Reprinted from Nshila No. 15. Views on 1960 talks in connection with African Affairs Board. He spoke about abolishing the Constitutional review—he went on up to the end of the paper. So, a sensible person may not agree of having the Federation once more after reading all about what he said.

8. It is a very bad thing to keep on forcing the people on a thing which they have entirely opposed.

Solwezi

17th February 1960

MEETING OF ALL HEADMEN HELD AT CHIEF MUMENA'S VILLAGE. ON FEDERATION

We the people under Chief Mumena are herewith pointing out the following items which have led us to oppose the furtherance of Federation :—

1. We all seem to be the wives of the Queen of England. She seems to be our husband and, so we have no desire of looking for an ordinary husband in the place of the Queen. There is a proverb of saying : It is no good of breaking up an old earthen pot on having a new one, i.e., it is not a good thing to desert or leave your old wife or husband and go to a new one—as one does not know how he or she is going to live with the new man or wife in a house on living together.

2. We fear that Federation from what its leaders are speaking will destroy our Chieftainship because they are saying that as soon as they will be in power and get hold of the Territory—that there will be no one who will be turning or looking to the White Hall, but to the Federation.

3. We have treated the Reviewer on 1960 talks as our enemies.

4. We fear this Federation lest it will bring us the method of the people living in Southern Rhodesia as the people there have no say in the Government of their own country and do live in a very bad condition. We have accustomed ourselves living and cultivating our gardens peacefully. We are not happy as what we were before since the advent of Federation. Federation caused the people from where they had been living for years just because of *Kariba*. They were therefore taken to an unsuitable place—somewhere else against their wishes and some people were killed from there at Chifokola village. Under the circumstances, the people are not living well to the place where they had been taken to for residence. The illness is still going on from that place and perhaps that area is not suitable for them to live in.

5. Again the alleged Federation has brought in lots of bad things in connection with hospitals. Hitherto those who died in a hospital used to be buried freely. Now there is a Federation Hospital at Nkana—from there they are demanding even a burial fee at the rate of £6 together with the coffin from the relatives of the deceased. Is this a good thing to look at the Federation that it is good? There is no benefit out of it at all.

6. Now let us turn, Sir, to the Postal Department. We used to post a letter at a minimum payment of 1½d. per letter. But since Federation came into being, one would send out a letter at 3d. Is this again a good thing? No Sir, it is a bad thing.

7. We have entirely unanimously refuse and oppose this Federation and do not want to be forced into it. We fail to understand what is the idea of forcing a person into a dangerous thing even if he is refusing. We presume there would be no European who would be forced to eat a finger millet porridge even if he is refusing to eat it and telling you that he had never eaten it before. He will never eat it because he does not like it. It is the same way with ourselves. We are strongly telling you that we do not want this Federation at all.

Solwezi

17th February 1960

MUNICIPAL COUNCILS OF NDOLA, KITWE, LUANSHYA AND CHINGOLA

A. African Housing Area Boards

History

Prior to 1958 African Housing Area Boards established in Municipalities on the Copperbelt functioned in a purely advisory capacity. Elections were conducted in a primitive manner, by show of hands.

Thereafter, following upon recommendations made by a Committee appointed by the Government to examine and recommend ways and means by which African residents in Municipal Areas should be enabled to take an appropriate part in the administration of those areas, new regulations were made and these were promulgated in Government Notice No. 141 of 1958.

Constitution and Nominations of Candidates

These Regulations enable Local Authorities to nominate up to two-thirds of the members of each Board, and to appoint two representatives of the Local Authority, of whom one shall be the District Commissioner, or, with the agreement of the Local Authority, his representative.

Notwithstanding the above, Local Authorities nominate less than this proportion, the general rule being that only one-third of members are nominated, leaving the other two-thirds to be elected. One Local Authority permits all members to be elected, but has nevertheless been obliged to nominate the majority of members due to insufficient nominations being received from the electorate. The number of candidates nominated for election varied considerably, and in many cases candidates were returned unopposed. In a large number of cases no nominations were received at all, notwithstanding widespread publicity and the endeavours of officials to influence suitable men to stand.

Generally, the candidates in all elections have been (a) predominantly members of a nationalistic political party, and (b) with few exceptions, of low intellectual calibre, in some cases unemployed persons, illiterates and persons who later forfeited their seats on being convicted of criminal offences.

The exceptions referred to in (b) above (including those nominated by the Local Authorities) have been found to be reasonably suitable, but their numbers are extremely limited and difficulty is experienced in influencing them to display a keen interest. Apart from these exceptions and owing to the large discrepancy between their standards (both intellectually and in ability) and the masses of the African Urban communities, it is considered that the present Board system can, at best, be one of a *training* nature only for some years to come.

In some instances the more intellectual members have expressed the intention to resign, and only following explanation that their role is to assist in the training of their fellow men, have they reluctantly agreed to "carry on".

The experience in operation of the African Housing Area Boards would appear to have been somewhat more successful in Ndola, particularly as to the standard of candidates for election.

Election and Polling

Wide publicity is given to the elections, and every endeavour is made to advise all voters of pending elections, including the holding of explanatory public meetings, which are very poorly attended

It is difficult, however, to accept that elected members are in fact truly representative of their people, when reference is made to the extreme apathy demonstrated at elections.

The average poll recorded has been pathetically low—between 5% and 6% which has only been exceeded on one or two occasions.

Cases of intimidation, boycotts of elections, threats and malicious political pressure have been experienced in all areas. These occurred in varying degrees of intensity. In the initial stages of one election a political party organized a campaign to contest every seat when nominations of some of their candidates were declared invalid, active steps were taken to boycott the elections in two of the contested wards, and an endeavour was made to prevent people from voting.

Immediately after the elections one of the elected members, and one of the nominated members resigned their seats due to political pressure, and other members were threatened.

Intimidation also tends to have an unhealthy influence on discussions and decisions made by the Board.

Functioning of Boards

Non-attendance at meetings is a consistently recurring feature of all Boards, and great difficulty is experienced in forming quorums.

In one centre, however, whilst one of two Boards has a fairly good record of attendances, the other has recorded no more than an average attendance of 55%. Wastages in the form of members "disappearing" without explaining or reporting their absences, occur from time to time.

Experience has shown that many Board members make little effort to be punctual at meetings.

Many Board members display a disregard for procedure at meetings. This may be due to a degree of ignorance, but offers by local authority officials to give formal instruction on the subject have not been taken up. In some cases members behave in a manner making it difficult to keep control at meetings. In one instance the whole Board (all members of a political party) walked out when it demanded and was refused absolute autonomy on the administration of its Housing Area.

The Boards deal with all matters affecting African interests and the administration of the African Housing areas before being considered by the African Affairs Committee and the Council.

To distribute the work as well as relating their operation as closely as possible to that of a local authority, the Boards of the larger Municipalities are organised on the "standing committee" system.

In the matter of the delegation of powers by local authorities to the Boards, legislation is permissive and whilst there is evidence of the willingness to so delegate, few such powers have in fact been delegated. This reluctance is due to the fact that local authorities do not consider that the African has yet reached a sufficient stage of development, either by way of responsibility or experience. In order to ensure the success of this scheme, the delegation of powers should proceed only as fast as the Africans prove their ability to use them.

It is evident that lack of experience and education, and their limited knowledge of technical and financial matters, are factors which govern their ability to play a greater part in the administration of their affairs.

In one centre the full use of such plenary powers as are delegated is not made—apparently in the knowledge that its recommendations are given sympathetic and understanding consideration by that Council as well as a noticeable but silent inferred preference for matters of import to receive more experienced and knowledgeable consideration.

There is also evidence, however, of reasonable and judicious handling of limited plenary powers, and in these instances an encouraging measure of restraint has been shown.

As much publicity as possible is given to the approved decisions and recommendations of the Boards. By this means, among others, it is hoped to establish the value and purpose of the Boards, in the minds of the African public.

B. African Affairs Committee

In terms of Section 27.A of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance (Cap. 119) the Board acquired direct representa-

tions on African Affairs Committees in April, 1958. These Committees consist of Councillors and Board Members in equal numbers.

This Committee deals with all matters referred to it by the Housing Area Boards, before being finally considered by Council.

Conclusion

It is clearly apparent that fundamentals essential to reasonable local administration need time to be understood and developed—punctuality and sobriety must be learned—powers of logic reasoning are very limited—as yet there exists an almost complete lack of comprehension regarding matters of finance, and a distinct inclination to place personal advantages and considerations before public interests is discernable.

It is considered that the system is a good one—one well worth perseverance—but its eventual success is dependant upon *unhurried* sound guidance and the demonstration of much patience. Chaotic conditions could result from the injudicious wielding of powers by Board members whose sense of responsibility in the handling of public affairs is yet extremely undeveloped.

Progress has, nevertheless, been satisfactory and the lessons so necessary to ensure reasoned and wholesome administration are being learnt, albeit very gradually.

Without doubt an earnest and sincere endeavour is being made by local authorities to fulfil the intentions of the legislation in the promotion of African participation in Local Government.

C. Health Services

The following views are offered on the assumption that Local Authorities will continue to operate the health services within their areas. They are not intended to be exhaustive, but they do show that the existing arrangements are not satisfactory, and that a closer link with the Territorial Government would result in improvement.

For example, the only major extensions to the health services which we have seen since the inception of the Federal Ministry of Health, have been those which were envisaged by Northern Rhodesia Government prior to Federation. It is also true that in three of the towns adjoining the copper mines, the services provided to the populations of Europeans and Africans have been seriously curtailed under the present policy of the Federal Ministry of Health.

(1) General Public Health Services

Under this heading we include all public health work of a non-personal nature. The work includes the public health aspects of:—

Drainage.

Refuse and other sanitary services.

Abatement of nuisances.

Eradication and control of animal and insect vectors of disease, e.g., dogs, rodents, mosquitoes, snails, flies.

Water supply.

Environmental sanitation and hygiene, including housing standards.

Town planning including regulations covering offensive trades.

Nutrition.

Health Education.

Food handling services, e.g., standards for food handling premises, control of abattoirs and markets and control of dairy produce.

Advantages are to be derived if these services were under the control of the Territorial Government. From the administrative point of view easier access to the Central Government, its Minister and Officers would result in necessary closer liaison, better understanding by Government of the problems of Local Authorities, and closer links with those of the problems of Local Authorities, and closer links with those Territorial Government Departments, the duties of which often

have an important bearing on local Authority public health work. For the improvement of public health services which is urgently needed at the present moment, closer liaison with the following Government Departments would assist the Local Authorities greatly in their efforts to raise the standards of these aspects of public health services.

Provincial Administration
Standards of African Housing.

African Agriculture
Nutrition.

African Education
Health Education.

Veterinary Department
Milk.
Rabies Control.

Town Planning
Health Aspects of Town Planning and Offensive Trades.

It is also considered that, under Territorial Government control, not only is the promotion of health legislation likely to be easier, but any such legislation is more likely to be suitable to the needs of Northern Rhodesia Local Authorities than is legislation designed to apply on a Federal basis.

The need for up-to-date and adequate Public Health Legislation is clearly shown by the rapid increases being brought in their train numerous public health problems which are more easily understood by a Territorial Government which is in closer touch with the population.

The following figures relate to the combined populations of Luanshya, Ndola, Kitwe, Chingola and Mufuire (excluding Mine Townships).

	1951 †	1956 †	1958* as at 31st Dec.	Percentage of 1951 Population
European	4,820	13,217	18,612	394.3
Asiatic	569	1,467	1,520	267.2
Euro/African	70	340	400	571.4
African	12,086	47,574	151,000	—
		in employ- ment	in employ- ment	Total

† Census

* Annual Report of the Local Government Department.

During the period under consideration, the areas administered by the Local Authorities mentioned above, have also increased greatly.

From the above we consider that the control of the above services should revert to the Territorial Government.

(2) Personal Health Services

- (a) Vaccination Services
Immunisation Services
Notification and control of cases of infectious diseases
Infectious disease contact tracing
Early case finding of infectious diseases

We consider that these services should be operated by the Local Authorities and controlled by the Territorial Government. For the proper operation of these services it is essential that the Local Authorities have easy access to adequate and properly staffed laboratory services.

- (b) Clinic Services including out-patient services, after care and out-patient treatment of cases of tuberculosis, care and treatment of cases of venereal disease, child welfare services, maternity services including ante-natal and post-natal services.

These services form the most expensive part of public health work in local authority areas and their expansion in size and scope is urgently necessary at the present time. The cost of such expansion will be high, and it is necessary therefore to plan these services in such a manner as to make the most economical and efficient use of facilities already existing, and to avoid expensive and unnecessary duplication.

For the proper and efficient operation of these services, it is essential that there be (a) suitable and sufficient professional and technical staff available, and (b) easy access to adequate, properly staffed and conveniently situated ancillary medical facilities, such as laboratories, radiology departments, physiotherapy departments, sterilisation facilities, and medical store and dispensing facilities. It is emphasised that these ancillary medical facilities must be situated in the closest possible proximity to the clinics in order that investigations may be carried out rapidly, and reports submitted without delays which may endanger life.

Professional and technical staff and the ancillary medical facilities are already available to a greater or less degree in the existing hospital services, and we consider therefore that the clinic services should be linked with the hospital services already existing. This linkage would facilitate the continuity of supervision necessary during both in-patient and out-patient treatment of tuberculoses, maternity and other types of case.

The present liaison between the Local Authorities and Federal Ministry of Health hospitals in respect of such cases is at present inadequate.

All the requisite facilities for the provision of the above services are available at present in the three towns on the Copperbelt already referred to in the introduction. However, the recent change in policy of the Federal Ministry of Health which followed the opening of the Llewellyn Hospital, has resulted in none of these facilities being available in the three towns in respect of in-patient and out-patient requirements.

We are of the opinion that ideally the hospital services, clinic services and the ancillary medical facilities described in this section, should be operated under the control of the Territorial Government entirely with the Local Authorities playing a large part in the services rendered by the clinics. We appreciate, however, that it is unlikely that the Territorial Government will be able to provide, operate and maintain all these services at the present time, owing to the difficulty in supplying and retaining suitable and adequate staff. Further, an attempt by the Territorial Government to supply additional ancillary medical facilities would result in duplication of these facilities which are already provided in many instances in existing hospitals.

We recommend therefore, that a compromise solution be sought at this stage, and we consider that the following scheme is most applicable to the present needs of the Local Authorities in Northern Rhodesia.

- (1) In respect of Clinic Services the Territorial Government should be responsible for arranging for the provision of the professional and technical staff, and the ancillary medical facilities described above as essential, on a pre-arranged basis (a) with the Federal Ministry of Health in those Local Authority areas where the Ministry of Health has the necessary services and facilities conveniently available, and (b) with the Management of other suitable and convenient hospitals, i.e. those belonging to the Copper Mining Companies, in those Local Authorities areas where the services and facilities provided by the Federal Ministry of Health are not conveniently available.
- (2) Clinic Services would then be operated wholly by the Local Authority under the control of the Territorial Government the Local Authority using those professional and technical staff and ancillary medical facilities made available by the Territorial Government as a result of the agreements reached in terms of the preceding paragraph.
- (3) Ambulance Services: We consider these should be operated entirely by the hospitals with whom agreement has been reached by the Territorial Government in the terms of the preceding section. Finally, it is considered that fiscal arrangements for health services as between the Federal and Territorial Governments should be so adjusted as to make possible revised administrative arrangements as suggested in this memorandum without any additional financial burden on the Northern Rhodesian Government.

16th February 1960

D. Report from Town Treasurers

1. Representatives from Chingola, Kitwe, Luanshya and Ndola met at Kitwe on Monday, 15th February, 1960. The Town Treasurer of Kitwe did not attend the meeting but has supplied figures for his authority.

2. The following table shows the total investment in buildings in the various towns according to the valuation lists in force at December, 1959, together with the total number of buildings erected. The values are given to the nearest thousand pounds.

	Total £000	Ching. £000	Kitwe £000	Luanshya £000	Mufulira £000	Ndola £000
Buildings other than Government						
Residential ...	18,181	1,374	5,975	1,112	2,457	7,263
Industrial ...	6,475	187	1,204	195	91	4,798

Commercial and other ...	11,712	955	3,783	872	1,181	4,921
Government ...	6,422	540	2,898	662	645	1,677
Total	£42,790	£3,056	£13,860	£2,841	£4,374	£18,659
Total land valuation	£10,054	£841	£2,943	£675	£950	£4,645
Total no. of buildings	5,450	400	1,500	500	700	2,350

3. It was not possible to obtain from the Chambers of Commerce and Industry details of local investment in plant, machinery and other moveable assets. It is suggested, however, that expenditure (i.e. investment) by local authorities on the general development of the town and African Housing Areas should be included. As at 31st December, 1958, these were to the nearest thousand pounds :—

	Total £000	Ching. £000	Kitwe £000	Luanshya £000	Mufulira £000	Ndola £000
Roads, S.W.						
Drains, etc. ...	2,439	190	846	212	146	1,045
Sewerage ...	1,420	100	714	120	84	402
Electricity ...	304	35	+	112	157	+
Water ...	374	15	+	177	182	+
African Housing areas (including beer halls and welfare)	5,320	825	1,297	690	575	1,933
Other ...	171	10	8	20	20	113
Total	£10,028	£1,175	£2,865	£1,331	£1,164	£3,493

N.B. + For certain authorities the electricity and water undertakings are included in the valuation roll and no expenditure figures have therefore been shown.

4. The total value of all capital investment in the mines in Northern Rhodesia, including the Copper Refineries, is £175,000,000. This figure has been obtained from the latest published balance-sheets of the various companies and from other sources. It should be borne in mind that this value is based on the original cost of the assets and it does not necessarily represent present day value.

5. It is suggested that the trend towards mine and public township integration should be mentioned in the evidence submitted, as an indication that the responsibilities and functions of the local authorities are likely to show considerable increase in the near future, and hence to emphasize the need for responsible local Government. Kitwe and Luanshya are each considering schemes involving the transfer to the Municipal areas of about 1,100 houses together with a number of other buildings.

17th February 1960

S. N. MUNKWISI

Mr. Chairman, and all the members of the Monckton Commission. I am glad that you have come to the so-called Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to hear people's complaints against Federation of the three territories. Your coming is very much appreciated by every thinking man or woman in all the three territories of the Federation.

My reasons against Federation are as follows :—

- (a) Since Federation was imposed against the wishes of the Africans of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland in 1953, postage rates have been raised from 1½d. stamps to 2d. stamps and lastly, to the present postage rates of 3d. stamps. This is very surprising and puzzling because such changes had never happened when the work of the Posts and Telegraphs Department were under the control of the Northern Rhodesia Government. What better thing or things had Federation brought to the Post Offices that had caused all these changes?
- (b) Because of Federation, the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which came into existence on February 1st 1958 had introduced a system



of getting wireless licences by each household that has a wireless set, at either ten shillings for people whose income per year is less than £300 or £2 for people whose income is £300 or over per year. I do not see any reason why this has been so. This, I believe, is one way of mistreating people which has been caused by the imposed Federation.

- (c) I very well know that Northern Rhodesia is a very rich territory which can manage all things done within the country without any help from any other country. For example, Northern Rhodesia is a cow with its calf (inhabitants) Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are men who want to milk the cow. Nyasaland one of the two men gets hold of the cow's horns, then Southern Rhodesia sits down and begins to milk the cow. Will these men leave any milk for the calf? What is the reason for en-riching Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland out of Northern Rhodesia's products, copper being one of them? If this is one of the reasons why some people thought that the three territories should be joined together and become one. I disagree with them. What does Northern Rhodesia get from Nyasaland or Southern Rhodesia? Let Northern Rhodesia enjoy on its products and spends her own revenues within the country, and be ready to begin opening other new development centres.
- (d) Northern Rhodesia is a rich country too, because it has vast open fertile plains and forests which are good for growing wheat, rice and maize, etc. At the present time, much of the plains are the grazing lands for cattle. I do not want Federation because it will allow white men to come and occupy the plains and make rice fields to which cattle graze. They will, with no doubt be shot dead without any compensation paid to the owner. People who have many heads of cattle will be forced to sell many of their cows and oxen at very low prices in order that they may remain with only perhaps ten cows and two oxen which will of course be kept in wire fences. Just as we have been told to licence our wireless sets. I believe that we will be told to do the same with cattle.

When this happens, Africans will be pushed to areas which are not good for growing anything, if not so, the African's maize gardens will be made very much smaller than they are at the present time. In the Kafue National Park, animals and birds are very much protected, even lions which can attack anyone when they become hungry. Last year a child was bitten by a lion at Ngoma rest camp in the Kafue National Park. Such type of protection over dangerous animals is not a wise thing to do. They must be killed whenever it is possible, for they will never become our friends.

Sir Roy Welensky said he would ask for certain changes in the constitution to encourage the African people to look to the Federal Government rather than constantly "looking over their shoulders to Whitehall". Why? Everyone should have the right of taking his/her case anywhere if he/she is not satisfied with any decision made by any Government or court on certain matters. Why should people be forced to be contented with the Federal Government? When people are not satisfied with the ruling of the Federal Government they should appeal to the Whitehall for some help on certain matters.

Northern Rhodesia Government should have more power over all the matters which were taken over by the Federal Government, advancing to such a time when she (Northern Rhodesia) will be granted self-government.

Namwala

Y. W. MUPATU

In the first place may I wish the Monckton Commission a happy stay in sunny Barotseland.

Advantage

Advantage in Federal guidance and rule is there although the greatest number of my people gnash teeth against its functioning in Barotseland.

- (1) Ever since Federal plans have linked Southern Rhodesia to Northern Rhodesia in introducing stoppage of Custom Duties, prosperity progress and advancement in commercial transactions are felt.
- (2) Civil servants' salaries to some extent have been raised.

Disadvantages

- (1) Not myself alone is against Federation, but most Barotse-landers with a healthy mind.

- (2) On 20th October 1897 Messrs. Coryndon, Worthington and Aitkens, Sergeant Dobson and Corporal Macauley arrived in our country preaching a different message.

On 25th October, 1897, that historical date, nearly every living Mulozzi accepted Her Britannic Majesty's protection through assurances publicly declared on the Lealui public open spot.

Before this official assurance our fathers did grow suspicious that it was a mere talk leading to taking away their rights and land.

For the benefit of the doubt the following year 1898 King Lewanika and counsellors voyaged to the Victoria Falls and met Captain Lawley the head of the British South Africa Company. They harped on the same string—protection.

In 1900 the assurance was confirmed in writing by both parties that Barotseland was nothing but a protectorate. In those days Barotseland wants, needs and grievances were in the hands of High Commissioner of South Africa, who in turn acquainted Her Majesty through Colonial Office in England.

In the written and confirmed treaty and concession the officers of the British South Africa Chartered Company kept time and again promising that whatever changes may take place our country will be excluded.

- (1) That King Lewanika and counsellors were to continue ruling the people according to tribal order and custom.
- (2) That the Company was going to safeguard Barotseland people from internal and external troubles.
- (3) That the country was not going to be thrown open to immigrants.
- (4) That the company was going to establish academical and technical schools in wide Barotseland. For the men and women of the morrow.
- (5) That prospecting on mines was not going to be enacted without the consent of the King in council, as well as the mass.
- (6) That murder, arson, house-breaking, thieving and witchcraft felonies, as well as dispute between a white man and an African, were not going to be heard in our courts of law.

The End of the Chartered Company's Tenure

We remained nearly 27 years, 1924-1897 under the guidance of the company. Our fathers grew discontented with the company's indirect or second hand information. They craved to be under Colonial Office.

Under Imperial Government

On the 13th March, 1924, the company ceasing functioning, our joy knew no bounds because we were no more under indirect supervision, but under His Britannic Majesty King George V.

Amalgamation, Partnership, Federation

Without previous intimation to our ecstasy, surprise and misfortune, in successive years we were advised to accept. We humbly petitioned and solicited not to be included in the then proposed changes.

We reminded those in power then to leave Barotseland a separate protected state, just as she petitioned Queen Victoria, who with heart and soul assured and promised us—safety and prosperity under the Union Jack.

We were officially advised to understand the following grounds :—

- (i) That if we remain outside Northern, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland federated territories, were going to lose what privileges those territories were to get from mother country. Without money no progress, no civilisation, no sound education we could command. To this we preferred to remain without so far our rights are observed and expected.
- (ii) Proof of the pudding is in the eating. We were advised to send our four delegates, two to Uganda and see how that part of the country is ruled; I mean the Buganda

in Uganda. The rest to go to Beuchuanaland Procetorate and find out how things are there. This suggestion was given us because we preferred to remain in the protectorate once meted us by Her Majesty's Government.

The proposal did not come out, and we were made a protectorate in Northern Rhodesia instead of High Commission of South Africa. This was still it is against the will of many. We expected to be ruled and administered unto as (i) Bechuanaland; (ii) Basutoland; and (iii) Swaziland, so far our devotion and loyalty towards the Crown cannot be denied us.

Plea

- (1) We petition the Monckton Commission to leave us out. It is about 63 years ago ever since we placed ourselves under British rule and protection and had always remained submissive.
- (2) Our fathers never shed European blood but out of their own choice and free will backed up by our benefactor pioneer of Christ's message, the late Reverend Francois Coillard, we have not disobeyed.
- (3) We are given the idea that English people there are wherever the Union Jack flies are encouraged to preserve their culture. Federating with other Africans at the present state we are in means nothing but a wholesale detribalism. Already some of our young folks have despised tribal knowledge, language, songs, manners, methods of doing things. All because they tamely adopt foreign ways of living in European villages, towns and cities.
- (4) Someone may gainsay me that out of Federation we shall be the poorest nation in Northern Rhodesia. We would be too pleased to be the poorest but the richest tribe improving its tribal things.
- (5) We should be excluded because the great number of Barotselanders are illiterate. Time is not yet ripe for us to federate with other tribes.
- (6) Many parents cannot educate their young because fees in Federation are so high that they cannot afford; of course, in certain cases bursaries are given; but what about hundreds and thousands of boys and girls idling aimlessly in our villages. Is there no tribal education? It is there, but because they are belittling and despising tribal culture and knowledge and adopt foreign things one can foresee the end of our glory.

We cannot forget and connive at things tending to eradicate our morals, so far we mingle with the already detribalising tribes.

We have been asked to live in partnership with whites. We do not feel happy about it because there are very few white men who can happily live with us black people. There are already some white people who weigh us on the same scales as they weigh dogs and baboons. This being the situation, we hope your aim is to collect truths in favour and against, and will give the Devil his dues.

Furthermore I personally cherish hope that Federation will not be forced on us, because :—

- (i) An Englishman's word is his bond.
- (ii) They do not encourage Cock of the Walk to tease and misuse the helpless.
- (iii) That the Latin expression—*festina lente*, will be weighed and considered in our fate.
- (iv) I do hope that you are going to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for an already protected Barotseland.
- (v) Our fathers, through Rev. Coillard acted quick on the uptake, while other tribes just remained careless.
- (vi) Forcing us to join Northern, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is "hitting below the belt".

Limulunga

Barotseland

4th March 1960

THE HEADMEN OF CHIEF MUSAKA

1. We refuse to have Federation because it removes the people.
2. We object Federation because of Schools.
3. There are many boundaries between the Chiefs.

4. We object Federation because of Hospitals.
5. We refuse Federation and wish the Queen's Government.
6. Agriculture has brought many things because of Federation.

7. We object Federation, because it has brought lots of hardships by preventing our children from getting employment even if they are educated.

8. All these items have been spoken by the village headmen of Chief Musaga and their names are as follows :—

1. Mulomfi
2. Wasema

We are all headmen including our people.

Another item 7. There are many boundaries of the Chiefs areas.

8. African people who speak for their country are being imprisoned without knowing the real reason, but Europeans are not imprisoned :—

The speakers will be as follows :—

1. Chief Musaka
2. Headman Walapwa
3. Headman Yowela.

Solwezi

MEETING OF VILLAGE HEADMEN HELD AT CHIEF MUSAKA'S VILLAGE, SOLWEZI DISTRICT FEDERATION

We the undermentioned Headmen and people under Chief Musaka are herewith giving you our points in connection with Federation :—

- (1) We refuse to have Federation because it removes the People.
- (2) We object Federation because of Schools.
- (3) There are many boundaries between the Chiefs.
- (4) We object or oppose Federation because of Hospitals.
- (5) We refuse to have Federation and wish to be under the Queen's Government.
- (6) Agriculture has brought many hard things just because of Federation.
- (7) We oppose Federation because it has brought us lots of hardships by preventing our children from getting employment even if they are educated.

All these items have been spoken by Village headmen of Chief Musaka and their names are as follows:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mulomfi | 22. Mapela |
| 2. Wasema Kandela | 23. Tabama |
| 3. Kikuyo | 24. Kache |
| 4. Walapwa | 25. Mwima |
| 5. Mwanaumbi | 26. Chilubi |
| 6. Kibolya | 27. Kakoma |
| 7. Kandungo | 28. Kamilombe |
| 8. Kafunga Kipatela | 29. Kasempa Chimwense |
| 9. Yowela | 30. Milamba |
| 10. Kifita | 31. Mutoya |
| 11. Kashamba | 32. Mululu |
| 12. Mubonde | 33. Mulapwa Chikuta |
| 13. Kashamba | 34. Mukonka Chakota |
| 14. Kamasumba | 35. Kafololo |
| 15. Kanye Kanakambeba | 36. Chilebwentwa |
| 16. Shabanga | 37. Waya Luwayile |
| 17. Mafube | 38. Mulomfi |
| 18. Muyaya | 39. Kisonga |
| 19. Yanjisha | 40. Chief Musaka |
| 20. Mwale | 41. Lemana Kalambo |
| 21. Kalimba | 42. Ngangula |

All of we headmen including our people have jointly come together in opposing of any further renewal of Federation.

200

(8) It is a pity that African people who speak for their country are being imprisoned without knowing the real reason. But Europeans are not imprisoned even if they are also talking about the country.

The speakers will be as follows:—

1. Chief Musaka
2. Headman Walapwa
3. Headman Yowela.

MEETING OF VILLAGE HEADMEN UNDER CHIEF MUSELE TO DISCUSS BETWEEN BAD AND REJECTION OF FEDERATION

We the undermentioned headmen have written to say that we are strongly opposed to Federation. We have refused and greatly opposed to Federation.

2. The hospitals were good when they were all in the Northern Rhodesia Government's responsibility under the Queen.

3. We used to get good treatment from the Mission and Northern Rhodesia Government hospitals.

4. But today whenever one becomes ill, he or she is called upon to bring money before he is treated of his or her illness.

5. Whenever a person dies in the hospital the dead person's relatives should bring so much money for the burial, this is what we Africans are against. Where shall we get all the money to spend on these things. An example, given Kitwe Hospital is a full Federal hospital.

6. This is Federation which has brought this thing of asking for money for the beddings etc. whilst in the Hospital.

7. The Post Offices also are not good. We used to post our letters by using only 1½d. stamp, but today a person who may post a letter is required to pay a 3d. This is Federation which has made up all these things to be difficult.

8. We have refused it because our old Northern Rhodesia Government was not troubling us in many ways as we have today. When the Queen was ruling over us alone, we were not suffering like this in many ways, but, she led us properly. It is no good having a Government will destroy the country of the people just because of Federation which we do not want at all. For example, there have been troubles in Nyasaland because of Federation.

9. This is the country of the Africans where they had been born without any other country where they will go to. We have all refused and oppose this Federation to go forward after its Reviewer.

10. We would like to remain in our old Northern Rhodesia Government because we are always being well treated as much as we like. The people in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are suffering very much in the way of living. They are treated like slaves. That is why we are opposed to Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to come and dwell over us for ever in this country.

11. We expect to be looked after by the Northern Rhodesia Government which started long time ago, and why should we want the Federation? What is it for?

12. We do not want it to go on or even to hear the name "Federation". We have all entirely refused together with our Chief Musele. These are our words, Sir.

The speaker appointed is Headman Ngusa Kanyama.

The following are the names of village Headmen plus Chief Musele:—

List of Village Headmen plus Chief Musele who were present at the meeting in Re-Federation

1. Headman Katotola
2. Headman Lubango
3. Headman Lubanza
4. Headman Kinemba
5. Headman Mubonki
6. Headman Mwanaut
7. Headman Ngusa Kanyama

And 100 other village headmen. All these village Headmen were all against the furtherance of Federation.

Speaker Headman Ngusa Kanyama

Solwezi

17th February 1960

CHIEF MUSELE AND HIS HEADMEN

The Badness and Rejection of Federation

We, the undermentioned village headmen have written to say that we are strongly opposed to federation. We have all refused and greatly opposed to federation.

2. The hospitals were good when they were in the Northern Rhodesia Government's responsibility under the Queen.

3. We used to get good treatment from the Mission and Northern Rhodesia Government hospitals.

4. But today whenever one becomes ill, he or she is required to bring money before he is treated of his or her illness.

5. Whenever a person dies in the hospital the dead person's relatives should bring so much money for the burial, this is what we Africans are against. Where shall we get all the money to spend on these things. An example given, Kitwe Hospital is a full Federal hospital.

6. This is federation which has brought this thing of asking for money for the beddings while in the hospital.

7. Post Offices also are not good. We used to post our letters by using only 1½d. but today a person who may want to post a letter is required to bring 3d. This is Federation which is making all these things.

8. We have refused it because our old Northern Rhodesia Government was not troubling us in many ways as we have today. When the Queen was ruling us alone, we were not suffering like this in many ways but She led us properly.

9. It is no good having a government which will destroy the country of the people because of Federation which we do not want at all, for example in Nyasaland where there has been trouble because of this Federation.

10. This is the country of the African peoples where they were born without any other country. We have refused. We have all refused this Federation.

11. We want our old Northern Rhodesia Government because we are all well treated as much as we like. In South Africa and Southern Rhodesia the people are suffering in the way of living. They are just as slaves and that is why we are all greatly opposed to Federation to come and dwell in our country.

12. We are being looked after by the Northern Rhodesia Government which started long ago and why should we want Federation. What is it for?

13. We do not want it to go on or to hear the name "Federation" we have all entirely refused together with our Chief Musele. These are our words. The reader will be Headman Ngusa Kanyanda.

Solwezi

D. MUSUKWA

The Federation is against our wishes. There has been very little improvement in this country with regard to economic, social, educational and industrial development which to the African people means a vague meaning of partnership, racial understanding and harmony in the real sense. To analyse the above said words, I would like to state as follows in respect of each word as follows:—

(a) Economic

As far as economical is concerned, the white settlers have got the lion's share without a sense of sympathy for the Africans in a multi-racial Africa.

(b) Social

We feel grieved that we cannot enjoy the same rights in the social circles as a whole that due to the Western education, civilisation we had been brought to learn and know due to ideas based on colour alone, despite the fact that many of us have had the necessary education and civilisation more than the ordinary European.

(c) Education

While we appreciate the fact that the white man in the Federation has done a bit of what he could to sharpen us for his advantage, we regret at the same time that we are at this time a long time back used as a farmer's curving knife. Being the indigenous people

this is beyond the hospitality and kindness we expect from the white man, but carving nesses for one's ends. Due to the African people versity population of the Africans, our claim is vital. Educational facilities are inadequate for Africans in which respect many Africans have failed to further their education and as a result they cannot go to employment which required educational ability and responsibility. Following that Africans are rendered homeless in every way. Hooliganism, scandalism, and etc. are inevitable. Who is to blame?

(d) Industrial

In the industry the Africans are deprived of the rights they should enjoy financially due to colour, regardless of their ability, education and experience that they have gained to do a particular job, for example, an African bricklayer and a European bricklayer know the job equally right, but the difference exists in their wages, the African gets three times less than a European. How shall we advance?

(e) Health

In the interests of a multi-racial population medical facilities should be equally the same, which is not so in as far as the present circumstances are concerned in the Federation for the same diseases Africans and Europeans are treated differently.

(f) Politically

Due to intolerable depression and suppression, Africa is awake, our country has been turned into a police state, we have no freedom of speech, expression and the lost as should be the case in democratic world. In the Federal Parliament the European minority has out-numbered the African majority, so where is justice or democracy? We want a universal adult franchise based on one man one vote, freedom from the imperialism, totalitarianism is our motto, and independence is our goal.

Our territorial Government is now looking up to Sir Roy Welensky for protection other than the Colonial Office for that matter. If Europeans have fear in the black Government, we have more in theirs, and we have had it for a long time. Our leaders are still in the detention camps and prisons without trial. Is this not tyrannical? they must be released or brought to trial: if not, Britain shall be sorry for her deaf ear, because frustrated people can do anything at any cost whether to their advantage or disadvantage. But we are loyal to the British protection.

We do hope and pray that the Lord Monckton Commission will look at both things in all angles with bias or prejudice.

Mufulira

L. MUTONGA

I, as an individual, am forwarding my short evidence on Federation.

Since Federal Government was imposed there have been much troubles and even bloodshed among people of these three Territories. Most Africans have no even a bit sense of having Federation. If anything starts badly, its end is even worst. If Federation will still be in existence, there will be more troubles and unhappiness to people especially Africans. Africans have not trusted Federal Government. There is a chicken in the egg which Africans don't know its colour.

The little baby needs parental care in everything, but time will come when he is said to be a man to stand on his own. He will refuse to be under parental care for all his life.

We people in Barotseland have no even a bit sense of this Federation. One day Malози people will want to see for themselves. Not only people in Barotseland but all people of Africa.

We don't want Federation.

Senenga

23rd February 1960

W. L. M. MUYANGWA

With the greatest veneration, I beg to tender to the Commission some few points in evidence in connection with the Federal Government in Central Africa.

We are not satisfied with the present form of Federation in Central Africa and we are not interested in it.

The Federal Government should and must completely have no more say in our life in Central Africa and must have no control and should cease power over Affairs in Northern Rhodesia Government. Northern Rhodesia as a whole is a British protected Territory and should retain its power as Protectorate, I can see no reason why this Treaty should be withdrawn and the Territory given away to Independent settlers

clamouring Dominion status and responsible Government, we deplore that Her Majesty's Government should continue to safeguard and preserve its treaty obligations to Northern Rhodesia and not to hand it over to independent settler Government of the Federation.

Since the establishment of Federation in Central Africa in 1953, the black races of the three federated Territories met a shocking and terrible time in their lives, particularly Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which were, formerly free Territories under the British protection. Peace has been smashed, poor African peoples have innocently been swayed this way and that way, some have lost their lives and many cast in prisons as a result of not willing to accept Federation. African people have always been humble, obedient, honest and respectful to their rulers and the Government, but Federal Government has cast all this at naught.

The Federal Government's plan to take over the Central Africa in its hand, is not an intent to safeguard the African people but to deprive them of their natural rights, particularly Land Rights. I can see no reason why one should force a "Horse to drink when she is not thirsty." We are being compelled to accept federation though we have strongly and clearly stated that we do not like it, and it is stated that it is a good Government. "Is this not to force a Horse to drink when she is not thirsty?" This obviously shows that there is something dangerous hiding at the back of this Government laying in wait to swarm up Africans of this Territory.

In connection with the above, I would like to quote Sir Roy's speech during the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan's visit to Central Africa.

"Sir Roy, the Federal Prime Minister, stated that, that he wanted the African Affairs Board—set up to protect Africans from discriminatory legislation—abolished in next year's Constitutional review. He thought the alternative might be an Upper House, a Senate or State Council. Sir Roy went on to say that, the Federal Government should get complete independence in the field for which it was responsible and it must get it quickly this year or at the latest in 1961. It was essential to destroy the belief that the Federation could be broken up. He would ask for certain changes in the Constitution to encourage the African people to look to the Federal Government rather than constantly 'looking over their shoulder to Whitehall'. He would demand the end of the British Government's right to veto Federal Legislation. This had never been used, but it represented an 'apron string' which weakened the Federal Government. He would also demand that the Colonial Laws Validity Act should no longer apply to the Federation. This at present prevents the Federal Government from passing any legislation which is repugnant to the laws of England."

May I please get an explanation of Sir Roy's greatest demand and the rapidity to get Central Africa in his own hands or his own Government and the earnest desire to cut it from the British Government? Does he really mean to safeguard and protect the African peoples of Central Africa.

How were the former treaties made, were they made by violence as the Federation does, or they were made under peaceful terms? Did we ever complain that our former British Government was not looking after us well, protect or safeguarding us and thus why the Federation is applying to take over in order safeguard us from the tyranny of the British Government? Did we ever complain of that? This has never happened to date, we are quite, quite quite satisfied with our British Government and Protection and we are earnestly asking Her Majesty's Government to continue safeguarding us.

To end my view, I would like to say, Sir Roy's speech shows openly that the Federal Government's demand for cessation of the British Government's rights from Central Africa is an intention to take over the Central African into its hands and play its full part of depriving African peoples of their rights easily and without any prior reference to any Higher Authorities. The formation of Federation in Central Africa is the demand of taking away African rights from them, particularly Land Rights. For if Federal Government was a good Government, we could not be compelled to accept it and of course not be the matter of compulsory and would have been the matter of peaceful talks. Africans have been in great demand of better wages, and because money is good thing and that if better wages were paid to Africans they would be rich and advance, this demand by African people has completely been overlooked, why? Because money is a good thing for both Black and White. Now Federation which is only beneficial to White Races, poor Africans are compelled to accept it. There is something misty at the back of it. So we do not want Federation in any case.

Please treaty my words.

Sesheke

31st March 1960

22

R. M. MWABA

I append hereunder my submission for consideration by your commission.

May I point out that, I do not wish to appear in person before the Commission.

(1) The Africans of Northern Rhodesia feel secure under the Protection of Her Majesty's Government through the Colonial Office. As the Commission is aware; Northern Rhodesia is Her Majesty's Protectorate which freely entered into Treaties with Her Majesty's representatives towards the close of nineteenth century. It has been all along from 1900 Her Majesty's Government deliberate intention to Educate and protect the Africans until such time as they were ready to attain Self Government and Independence. The Africans shall be very happy to remain for sometime under Her Majesty's protection until such time as the words embodied in the Treaties become a reality. The Africans do not wish to be cut-off from the Colonial Office nor be dragged into the minority's wish of Dominion Status for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Dominion Status will mean that the majorities will be at the mercy of the minorities. I therefore request that your commission should not recommend the granting of Dominion Status, as this will bring about disaster here.

(2) The Membership of the Federal assembly is most un-fair, Southern Rhodesia having the Lion's share, has benefited to a great degree through this. It is therefore my entire wish that with all fairness, each Territory's membership to the Federal Assembly should be equal irrespective of what contribution they make to the Federal Government. Special regard should be paid to the membership of the African membership in each Territory.

(3) Since the imposition of Federation, the Inhabitants of the three territories have suffered a considerable increase in charges and rates etc. of certain Federal department e.g.:—

(a) Posts and Telegraph Department: Post Office rates on half an ounce letter and minimum telegram charge pre Federation used to be 1½d. and 1/6 respectively, but now these charges are most doubled in the Federation.

(b) Customs and Excercise Department: Examination of the Customs Tariff as has been altered several times since, would show that customs has greatly been put up on certain things mainly used by Africans—such as Pots and Pans, blankets and Cottons.

Such high charges in the above departments not only make the African's dislike of Federation increase but also makes him think that Federation is here to worsen his financial stand.

(4) It is understood that the Police Force is likely to be taken over by the Federal Government. May I request that your Commission should not recommend of this. It is my fear that, if this is done, the Southern Rhodesia's Policy would push through, where there is an abuse of *British Justice*. In Southern Rhodesia any one can be arrested and detained without a warrant; such a move would make the whole Federation a Police State.

(5) By Southern Rhodesia's influence of Police most departments which have gone Federal, are worse-off in their administration with the General public—especially the Africans. In Southern Rhodesia the African is treated with such subordination as would take me great pain to mention in this submission.

If it is your Commission's great task and desire to make Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland work peacefully, may I suggest that:—

(a) For fear of Southern Rhodesia's influence of bad Policies—We, in Northern Rhodesia should be allowed to make a Federation with Nyasaland *only*.

(b) If your Commission does not agree (with great disappointment to me and other Africans) with suggestion (a), then I would reluctantly suggest that, all departments with exception of two departments: (i) Posts and Telegraphs department (ii) Custom & Excercise department should be administered by the Territorial Governments. And these two departments must have reasonable rates etc.

Kasama

20th February 1960

J. MWACHILENGA

The Lamentations of the Africans

I here with due respect and most perfectly honour earnestly beg to submit this letter of 8th instant Legal Proceeding in the event of my note.

This I call to my mind therefore have I hope, it is the Queen's mercies that we are not yet consumed by the cruel

Federal Government because the Queen's compassion fail not to deliver the Africans from Federation before I go on writing this letter, let me know what is the meaning of the word Federation mean in Africa.

Federation is the national war why? Because since Federation came in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland it brought boycotts and funeral and it has increased orphans fatherless widows because the Federal Government sends his soldiers to go and kill the Africans with guns without cause. White men are not short with guns at any time even when they boycotts but when Africans boycott they are to be shot with guns some in dungeons.

Remember what is come upon us consider and behold our reproach our inheritance is turned to stranger our houses to aliens. We are orphans and fatherless our mothers are as widow we have drunken our water for money. Our woods is sold to us our necks are under persecution we labour and have no rest we have given the hand to them, an African bag of maize is sold at £1 5s. while white men's bag of maize is sold at £5.

Our father sinned to entreat with the British Government servants have ruled over us. There is none to deliver us from Federation our skins are black like an oven because of the terrible famine.

For all this reasons I should like to see our self Government.

Lusaka

8th March 1960

A. L. MWANANGOMBE

May I have this great opportunity of writing to you dear Sirs, and explain what most of the Africans think about their future in their motherland; Northern Rhodesia. I am one of the lucky few, who had been able to be among many Africans both in the rural and urban areas of Northern Rhodesia and who is therefore familiar with the difficulties and wants of the African people. I should therefore be very if you would kindly read my views which I am putting down as a leader on behalf of my African people. Here then are my views, Dear Sirs.

1. Fear of the Minority Rule

(a) It is often said that Africans do not like the federation; this statement is partly right and partly wrong, generally speaking the dislike for the Federation rises from of being dominated by the White Minority Government. Africans fear that if the Federation continues under this minority rule they will have no power in the government of their country and this diffidence was brought about when the Federation was first framed. This frame-work gave Europeans a majority in the Parliament.

(b) The second Parliament had even given more seats to Europeans than what the Africans hoped for. Moreover; in spite that there are a number of African M.P.s who are well qualified and capable, who are members of the ruling party and who are liable to hold port-folios but none of them had been given such a priledge simply because there are Africans and this has made Africans to think that they are being discriminated and hence their diffidence in the Federation.

(c) Africans also fear that if the Federation is confirmed under this minority rule it might lead to an indipedent state for the advantage of the White race.

(d) Africans think that under the Federation their interests are and will not be protected enough, further more; this indipedent white state might lead to a complete Amalgamation with South Africa; which will mean the end of the African Participation in the Government.

2. What Africans Would Like To See Before

Accepting Federation

(a) All Africans are of the opinion that colour bar is as bad as the slave trade of the 19th Century and they would like it to be abolished even by legislation because so far peaceful means have to stop.

(b) Africans think that colour bar gives pride that one nation was created superior to the other and the other inferior and this was the view held by Germans and was the reason for the Africans all over Africa to join the Allies in fighting the Germans and the other axis powers whole heartedly.

(c) Africans think that a nation cannot be judged by the colour of its inhabitants but rather by its higher standard of mutual cooperation, moral conduct, person abilities, Education economical standing and its social welfare.

(d) With this in mind Africans would like to see all public places to be thrown open to everybody regardless of colour or race. All restrictions based solely on colour should be loosened and every facility be made available to everybody.

(e) Regarding salaries and wages, Africans think there is a lot of unfairness in the system these are awarded to the individuals. They do not see the reason why two people of the same qualification should be paid different salaries just because one has a black colour and the other not. There are many Africans who have reached the European standard by qualification and merit, who still get low salaries because they happen to be born with black skins. The Housing conditions apply the same. These unfair differences can again give one race pride that it was created superior and the other inferior, yet all men were created equally by the Omnipotent.

Equal Representation in Legislatures

(a) Africans are far from being satisfied by the seats allocated to them in both the legislative Council and the Federal Parliament. They would like this to be rectified so that all citizens have a fair representation, in fact many of the Africans think it would be proper and fitting for them to command a majority in the territorial legislative Council because their population is greater than that of other races.

(b) they would like to have a universal suffrage, with one man one vote for and never three men one vote as at present. The qualification to vote should not be based on property or education. Every adult man or woman should be able to vote if he is only literate. The English Language though should be accepted as a Lingua Franca, it should not hinder people from taking part in the general elections. I should suggest that all official publicities concerning elections should be written in English as well as in the local official vernaculars. In time of emergencies and upheavals, official announcements and notices are made in local vernaculars why then, can't these vernaculars be used when people are deciding their future. Africans think all these requirements have brought about to retard the progress of the Africans politically and to suit the European slogan that it took them years of hardships to reach their present standard of civilization and therefore they would like the same with Africans. This is unsympathetic attitude towards them.

Northern Rhodesia Economical Position

(a) Northern Rhodesia Africans are not satisfied the way in which the revenue of Northern Rhodesia (which mostly comes from the Copperbelt) is spent. They think much of it goes to Southern Rhodesia and not much of Southern Rhodesia comes to Northern Rhodesia. This is unfair because Southern Rhodesia is already ahead of either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland. Africans of the latter two territories are still undeveloped, and they thought the federal would first concentrate on these. The fact that the federal government development plans (e.g. the television plans) should start in Southern Rhodesia is as a result of the great European population there and this again has shown the Africans that the Federation is more favourable to Europeans than to the Africans.

Party Politics

Most think that these are very useful and they should be encouraged and indeed their time is now ripe, perhaps they would gradually dominate the National congresses which African chiefs fear very much. The fear is based on the assumption that if Northern Rhodesia happen to be a self government state, the nationalists might curtail or take away their powers.

The Position of Barotseland Protectorate

Many Barotse people think ; Barotseland should remain part of Northern Rhodesia until such time when it is well developed enough to stand on its own. It can then become a self governing state within the Common Wealthy. Meanwhile Mining industries should be encouraged. Many Barotse would like to see one or two mines opened as soon as possible as at present the country is still very poor indeed.

Conclusions

To sum up, Africans would like to have:

(a) A multi-racial society as that which exists in New Zealand.

(b) All people whatever their colour may be, should live as partners not as servants and masters. The principle of partnership should be put into practice by all races.

(c) All the facilities should be made available to everybody regardless of race or colour.

(d) All the revenue of the country should be fairly distributed to the advantage of every race.

(e) The Moffat's Resolutions should form the basis for the future of all three territories.

(f) *If all these hindrances and political barriers are not removed: then Africans would just be too glad to leave the*

Federation alone and to form an independent State for Africans within the Common Wealthy.

Mankoya

13th January 1960

Y. T. MWANZA

Comments on What I Feel of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Herewith I want to state of what I feel in my spiritual earth life concerning Central African Federation. It would be much better to give enormous responsibility to federation to rule these federated countries for the following comments:

(a) What It Has Done Already

Before federation came into being these federated countries suffered a lot from many things such as machines for their industries, big schools, hospitals and dams for electrification in the industries.

The federation again brought the recognition among tribes of different types of skins. It is federation which reminded Central African people to know much about their country how it would be re-build in its hinterland. It is federation which brought people of Central Africa to think more advanced ideas in the form of politics.

I know if federation will be given responsibility to govern Central Africa on its own, surely freedom will be in abundance. Central Africa has been developed because of federation Act of 1953.

I know people have different ideas, some can think well and some can't think well and that is why there is a contest of federation. But in future many people will realise the goodness of federation. I wish if federation would succeed to govern Central Africa to have her own Government and her own Legislature and not to be governed by the Colonial Secretary.

I know that when the baby is born it does not know what is going on in the world and it is fed on its mother later on it grows up and some ideas are born in its minds until then it becomes bigger and knows about what is going on in the world.

It applies even to Central Africa she is a full grown up country and does not need to take laws from the Colonial Secretary ; but she must have her own needs and laws through the guidance of Federation and not from the mother (Colonial Secretary).

(b) Promotions and Developments

Again federation has done a great deal of work to improve and develop federated countries by means of promoting businesses, casting away bad rules and many departments have been helped to work unanimously to safeguard the cultivation, forestry, good medicine in the hospitals, sufficient of equipment at the Universities Schools such as the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Immigrants found chance of coming in Central Africa because of the federation which brought the operation of new businesses. Some people think wrongly of federation saying that "federation came into Central Africa long ago but it has done nothing".

How can a man do great things while you are disturbing him? Remember many of Central African people have been promoted in their wages and in ranks and they are well respected it is because of the well thinking body of federation. It is not sensitive to leave Central Africa undressed, let it be dressed by federation who is like a husband from Johannesburg who has brought many new clothes to satisfy the whole family as well as the parents.

I know there will be no unit because of poor different ideas. Even the son of God Jesus Christ who did the great thing to die for our sins was rejected by some people and nor was worshipped or respected by them. It applies even to federation of ours some people like it but some do not like it. But what will be the solution to solve this problem? People full of wisdom will solve this problem.

On my sight I recommend federation to suit Central Africa and I recommend federation because of its deeds of which some I had described above using my poor English grammar.

Lur-dazi

8th February 1960

C. MWASUPUTA

As we were informed that we as people of Northern Rhodesia we are allowed to give view on Monckton Commission. I and my people "we say "No" and a big

"No". Even if we due to right they answer will be no.

Only stupid Africans will say yes, because they do not know the badness of it.

Welensky and his cabinet will be answerable in heaven if at all they force us. We know what is good and bad.

As for me and my people know the outcome of commission. If you will win. The answer for it is riots. And it will be bitter to ask God to whether this country was yours from the start.

And secondly if at all it was our, surely we shall have it as our friends have it.

What we want and *only* that is "Self government" in this country this year. Whether you dont want or want it.

Lusaka

3rd February 1960

M. M. MWEETE

*Away With Federation! and Independence Wanted
Badly Now!*

(1) We don't want Federation because we shall lose our rights in this country.

(2) We had a good experience with the British South Africa Company which had many of the bad rules to the side of Africans and of course were ended by Colonial Government.

(3) We don't like to be Southern African sufferers NO! NO! We never liked it and will never.

(4) We surely want Africa for Africans and must maintain a big say in Northern Rhodesia.

(5) We are now fed up of these Boers whose population is un-numbered and wish to create a new Dominion Status in Central Africa so as to bring their relatives abundantly in our country.

(6) We mostly demand our promise from our mother government that it is now time for us to have self ruling.

(7) Since Federation was born in Central Africa there has been a lot of disturbances if you look into this matter you can see that there will be no lasting peace in Central Africa if this destructive Boer ruling is not moved sooner than later.

(8) If Monckton and his people hand over 8,000,000 Africans to 300,000 whites to control them who have yet to prove they can run things without resorting to bullets and barbed wire.

(9) Warning to the Monckton Commission is that you are facing a big storm if you just see only whites interest and neglect Africans hand over to the minority—surely there will be more bloodshed in Central Africa and Africans will never trust or believe the British Government any more in any way.

(10) The Monckton Commission must be aware of this living fact that nearly all Africans save stooges, are very much against this ruinous Government. But we demand self Government for the blacks and whites must come only here for their pockets and other things but control must be for the majority.

(11) We are demand self ruling because it is our country and we were promised at the beginning that we shall take over our ruling again.

(12) This is very important, I don't want whites to go away they should be with us we need them badly but ruling must be ours only! Ghana is enjoying why not Northern Rhodesia?

(13) Now look! Your British Government should take a good measure Ghana and South Africa which country is more into touch with Britain? I tell you these boers are playing a trick on you British Government. If Central Africa is federated, very soon it will be federated with South Africa and you people of England will have no say in Africa you will be cut off for good this is a true living fact.

I repeat this that if Monckton will hand over or give Africans the thumbs-down how long will another blow up take place is anybody's guess.

(14) If the British Government postpone self-Government to 1961 or 62, we must remain in Northern Rhodesia Government and we don't even like to hear Federation anymore away with it in Northern Rhodesia.

(15) How can we remain in bullets? Accepting Federal Government means death to Africans and I am now crying for my own people who were killed for nothing down Gwembe Valley in Northern Rhodesia 8 people were directly shot to death because of refusing to go to where they were wanted to be taken. They took them by force want or not. Is this Government ruling democratically? These valley Tonga people died like flies to a new place there because water supply was not good even now they are dying. That time the number exactly

came to 81 people died there ask Mr. H. Habanyama about deaths down Lusitu resettlement. What a foolish Government it is? It can save animals in islands of Kariba Lake even snakes are being saved but people are being neglected and die badly. We want black government which can first consider people's need then none souls.

(16) They shot Africans as if they were shooting monkeys that destroyed their crops. Northern Rhodesia at present is a state of troops and it is a police playing ground or a home of emergencies.

(17) I am referring to Sir Roy Welensky's attitude towards Africans when he spoke on New Year day. He provoked Africans and he even demanded to cut away the British Government whose rules protect Africans. He said, "The African Affairs Board must be abolished". All this shows an African that if he loses Colonial Government and does not get his Government, truly he will be treated as a slave in his country.

(18) Boers ignore the following points

- (a) Democracy
- (b) Partnership
- (c) In ruling they dictate
- (d) They have aim of finishing Africans by shooting them and other methods.

Choma

22nd January 1960

THERESA MWENYA

Please allow me to address the Hon. the Monckton Commission on the review of the Federal Constitution.

(2) In my opinion, there are three main alternatives:

(a) To leave the Federal Constitution as it is at the moment, but altering the Federal Electoral Law in such a way so as to place Political Power into the hands of the *majority* of the 8,000,000 odd peoples of the Federation, with a Bill of Rights to safeguard the interests of individuals. The present Electoral Law is unfair, seeing that it places Power Politics into the hands of European Minorities—on purpose—to the exclusion of Africans, Asiatics and Euro-Africans. In fact the power is in the hands of extremist Europeans—the main cause of present and future misunderstanding and or friction.

Such a change in the electoral law must take the form of relaxing the property as well as educational qualifications. Such as the merging of the A and the B rolls to form a Common Voters' Roll—*only* with the stroke of the pen. That will give a say to many persons in the land of their birth, which they are pleased to call home. At the moment, millions of persons have no say in the affairs of their country and in matters which in fact affect—for good or bad—their lives, life and death.

(b) Most of the powers at present held by the Federal Government, because they affect the lives of Africans, must be transferred to Territorial responsibility: (i) African High Education, (ii) Technical Education, (iii) Hospitals and Health, (iv) Main Roads and Communication, (v) Agriculture, and (vi) Prisons, should be among the things which must no longer remain Federal responsibility—as indeed experience has shown that they should not. With that transfer of power, Northern Rhodesia should not be asked to contribute millions of pounds to the Federal Coffers any more. That will have become unnecessary in any case.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should have liberal Electoral Laws before the Review of the Federal Constitution. Seeing that the respective Electoral Laws are unfair and place Political power in the hands of minorities—to the detriment of the African Majorities—that despite the fact that Britain has undertaken and promised protection over the Africans of the two territories! The Tanganyika Electoral and Qualifications Laws appear to be about the fairest so far. We might do well to copy that, despite anticipated European opposition and threats. They are in the minority any way. They will probably need a Bill of Rights.

It is held that had there been no Federation, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would have had fairer Constitutions giving protected persons a fair say in matters concerning their everyday lives. With Federation about, this has not been possible to the shame of the Britons. Because of Federation's influence, Northern Rhodesia to-day has got a United Party Cabinet Minister of African Education who was elected and who is responsible to a European Electorate!—The same thing as having a United States of America's President elected and responsible to the American Negroes. To bring that state of affairs, Sir Roy Welensky, a Federal Prime Minister, regarded as an Extremist by many, had to intervene in the Constitutional talks about N. Rhodesia. Had there been no



Federation, that state of deplorable affairs would have been avoided.

Had there been no Federation, lots of money would have accrued to the Northern Rhodesia Government (which now goes to the Federal Treasury). That Government would have spent reasonable sums on African Higher and Technical Education, Health and Social Services, which the Federal Government has ignominiously failed to provide. What is the use having the Federation then, if economically and politically and socially we have already come off badly!

Because of Federation, the 250,000 odd Europeans continue to dominate the 7,750,000 Africans more than has been possible before. The Europeans continue to have more Secondary schools than the 7,750,000 Africans. They have a secondary school in every Municipal Town. The Africans have not! No. Federation has proved a heavy burden on the Africans.

Chiefs have lost prestige since Federation—and Congress and African Extremism have rejoined inwardly. Since Federation, both Senior and Junior Chiefs have been indiscriminately deposed in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Witness the Milambo of Ft. Rosebery's episode.

Whereas Northern Rhodesia has voted £2,000,000 for the improvement of the Luapula and the Northern Provinces' rural areas, the Federal Treasury has not shown a similar or a less ambitious gesture. It has just rested in its comfortable armchair leaving fate to improve the rural African. The only gesture the Federal Ministry of Health has shown is to sack Hospital Assistants—leaving rural Health Centres, the few there are, to be staffed by untrained staff, to the detriment of nearly the healths and lives of 1,000,000 Africans. Oh what a price for Federation.

It is my personal knowledge that the Federal Ministry of Health publishes pictures or drawings in the "African Eagle" with intent to improve village hygiene. I wonder how many rural Africans look at those drawings. Even if they did I wonder if the Federal Ministry of Health has ever thought that what those pictures show cannot be put into practice, the fact being that the poverty prevailing in most rural areas would prevent that. Why does not the Health Department get out of the armchair and do the killing of the flies and hook-worms and mosquitoes that are taking away many lives of Africans in rural areas every month. It is practice and not theory that will help the rural African at this stage and for some time to come. It was time the Health Department came under the supervision of the Northern Rhodesian Government's keen and willing hands.

Whereas Native Authorities receive Grants and Loans from the N. Rhodesia Government, the Federal Government is simply indifferent. If Nyasaland has benefited from Federation economically, it has lost more politically and in freedoms. The gain has been more than offset by the many losses. What good then is Federation to the majority of Central Africa? 99.9% of the 7,750,000 Africans have been denied an effective vote—myself included, yet to all intents and purposes, I should qualify. I qualify under the British (Britain) Electoral Law, subject to residential requirements, but I do not qualify as an ordinary voter in the country of my birth. Thousands like myself are similarly fated. Because most of us are not granted an effective vote (in fact it has been stolen from us) we do not trust the guarantees embodied in the Territorial or Federal Constitutions, because those so called guarantees can be and have been thrown overboard by a simple motion in a Parliament—may it be remembered a European dominated body by design as far as Central Africa is concerned.

The remedy, I submit rests in the review of the Constitutions of the three component territories, giving N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland's 5,500,000 Africans' hands, power to decide their own fate or destinies — by simply granting to them an unrestricted vote. That must be *before* the review of the Federal Constitution. That is a prerequisite of the highest magnitude.

If the Hon. Commission believes that it is not possible at this stage to grant an unrestricted vote to the Africans and with it Political Power; may I draw the attention of the Hon. Commission to what has happened in Tanganyika and the Belgian Congo. I would particularly draw the attention of the Commission to what a Belgium Cabinet Minister very wisely said in connection with Congo's independence. "We might as well grant independence to the Congo in 3 months as in 6 months." If a vote is overdue (an unrestricted vote that is to say) to us why fear European opposition. Why not grant it to us straight now. Let Europeans gamble as much as they like—that is inevitable now or in 10 months' time—in any case if they do not like your decision they might as well pack up and go. That is Belgium's approach, it can be yours for the better.

As things stand, our European counterpart has a lot of say in the Federal deal. That situation has come about, I am sorry to say with Britain's encouragement. As things stand now, by a referendum in S. Rhodesia, Europeans have a right to succeed or remain in the Federation. What has the African? He is rendered impotent. Your Hon. Commission is not allowed to hear evidence in favour of secession—yet ironical it is in the European's hands to succeed if S. Rhodesia so decides.

Since and before Federation, there has been talk of Multi-racialism, liberalism and partnership, but none of these things have been put into practice. Persons who have tried to carry them to their logical conclusion have been unscrupulously and ignominiously ousted from power by intrigue. Witness the G. Todd episode. What reasonable person cannot demand secession under the circumstances? It must be pointed out that without the Federal set up, partnership would have been the order of the day both in Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia.

Under the Federal system, Dominion status is the ultimate goal. But with political power deliberately placed in the European's hands (the British Government has failed to alter that position either in N. Rhodesia or the Federation for a long time), we cannot but think and believe that we shall ultimately be reduced to serfdom and the position Africans in S. Africa occupy to-day, which the United Nations themselves have condemned.

Sir Roy and Lord Malvern before him are regarded by most people as extremists. Africans believe further after experience, that despite views to the contrary, the fathers of Federation in Central Africa had one aim when they pressed for Federation, and that is to curb African Paramountcy in N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland and to replace it by European Paramountcy as we see it to-day. Britain was of course hoodwinked into believing that they had the interests of all the peoples of Central Africa at heart. Thus we see men who are genuinely interested in improving the lot of Central Africans are being ousted from power. Thus Mr. G. Todd, one of the few men prepared to lead Central Africa in peace to prosperity for the benefit of all has been ousted from power on the instance of the extremists and power hungry men, whose one interest if they can help it is to keep an African for ever an underdog.

The approach of the French and the Belgium to their Colonial Problems are different from Britain. They appear to sympathise with the indigenous people. I believe that to be the correct approach in this era. Thus, in Algeria, France has put down an insurrection by the French Algerians with some stern measures, capturing the revolters and depriving some of their lucrative powerful positions. In the Congo, the Monarchy had to intervene and also there, it was decreed that any settler not prepared to accept Africans' participation in politics must be prepared to quit the Congo. Is Britain prepared to do the same here in view of the threatened secession by S. Rhodesia and an insurrection with this little Army by Lord Malvern? There is little evidence of Britain's willingness. Thus the mistrust we Africans have of Britain's promises.

Federation was imposed against the Africans' will. Africans' spokesmen had voiced, on the behalf of their people, opposition to the creation of the Federal Set up on the terms then offered. I wonder if things will be improved now that it is rather late. We shall require more than Solomon's wisdom to keep Federations together. Decidedly, some power must go to Africans. But will Europeans not be incensed at the transfer of that power. If the African must remain an underdog as in the past, will he not equally be incensed? I submit that the scale must be weighted in the Africans' favour. The African must be given an unrestricted vote. In my humble estimation, the African voter must not be less than 500,000 in the Federal sphere. In that case, it will then not matter if we have an African Affairs Board or not; after all it will have become unnecessary. It is one of those creations which are intended to do some good, but because of man's cunningness, it has not functioned as was intended — that is why safeguards are no good, to us in this space age. The safeguard must be in our hands—the vote.

After everything has been said and done, it is really the vote that matters. It is the vote and not Britain that will give us some freedom and equality of opportunity. Experience has shown that Guarantees are seldom worthy more than the paper onto which they are scribed.

If the above things fail, then, the only alternative is secession. This world is full of injustice and selfishness. The African has suffered under both even under the British Rule!

Lusaka

20th February 1960

CHIEF NABWALYA AND MEMBERS OF
BISA SUBORDINATE NATIVE COURTS

I am here as Chief Nabwalya, Bisa by Tribal in Mpika District, Northern Rhodesia. I am not sure about miles from this area to Mpika Boma.

Here I am I have nothing to say about Federation Government to go on I should like to have old ruling for Northern Rhodesia not three countries we like very much to have one country Northern Rhodesia not three countries Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Please I have nothing to say again, I am sure that all people of this area can say so what I have said.

Mpika

26th January 1960

A. D. NDALAMA

Though the terms of reference for your Commission have caused so much disappointment for most of us, I feel I should make my feelings known to you, and if you find them worthwhile, to the General Conference that will be held late in October. Before I talk on Federation and other points relevant to it, I wish to ask for your indulgence, Sir, for the mistakes that I shall make on some points, for I do not want to pretend to be a well-informed politician.

Federation

1. The very fact that Federation was dictatorially imposed on the unwilling Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland has made the whole name of Federation such a thing as Africans do not even like to mention in their midst. Africans in this territory will not forget for a long time, the day when the British Government betrayed their interests by subjecting their freedom and human stakes to just a few settlers by imposing Federation on them.

However, the Federation has come and the question arises therefore, what has Federation done?

For Europeans I would say, perhaps a lot that they wanted it for, but for me, the African, nothing good except worry, uncertainty of the Future, and Misery.

Failures of the Federation

2. Politically, Federation has failed to assure true Africans, that it has been created to advance them towards Political equality with Europeans, no matter how much the latter may pretend to show that this is so. To support this let me say something on the Qualifications for (the) Franchise for the Federal Electoral Roll and for this matter, the territorial Roll also. In either case, the qualifications, which do not exist anywhere in England, the true democratic state, have been set to suit, with great partiality, people with high income. And here, Sir, make no mistake about this, Africans with high income are but very few, this in effect has left the running of the Government entirely in the hands of the white minority. I must say this was made (so) purposely by arranging two types of votes—the Ordinary and Special Votes. The Special Vote is half the value of the ordinary vote. So by setting the qualifications for the Ordinary Vote so high, the Settler Minority have reserved this most valuable weapon for themselves to control the destiny of the country, and have set the so-called special vote to trap a few Africans to make their control of Government look somewhat representative though in effect it is not.

As a result of this arrangement we find today an absurd picture of representation in the Federal Assembly. 300,000 Europeans are represented by 44 elected members while 8,000,000 Africans are represented by 4 *true*, stress "true" African representatives. I have used the word "true" because the other Africans have been put in through the voting power of the Ordinary Voters who very often vote for only African "Good Boys" who play white. This is true also for the territorial Legislative. It has been argued that election to these bodies is not based on race but on partnership! I feel this is hypocrisy and political trickery, for how can these arrangements fit in with the policy of "Non-domination" the mother of "partnership," when Africans have been so outnumbered! It has been proved and proved many times now, that the preponderant numbers of the Settler Members cannot fully sympathise with the African Aspirations. That this is true, can only be judged by the many discriminatory Bills passed in both the Federal and the N.R. Legco. We know that a Leopard cannot change its spots, Sir.

Movement of Politicians

3. Despite the fact that Federation was only imposed on the Africans who had opposed it almost to a man, the Settlers under the leadership of Sir Roy Welensky, have not scrupled to use against the Africans, the additional powers they got with

Federation. We find today that in spite of the much publicised purpose of Federation to integrate the peoples and resources of the three territories, African Political leaders are debarred from visiting their counterparts in the three territories. It is the Europeans who have been given freedom of movement and every encouragement to integrate: African attempts at integration have been resisted with obstruction, imprisonment and punishment, confinement, and charges of subversion. Any Europeans even (the) the most racist fanatics, who are quite many, Sir, may travel anywhere. Africans have to be "good boys" or they may not be allowed to travel at all. This appears to most Africans, that one of the purposes of Federation was to lock up the African in permanent subjugation.

Partnership

4. I have tried, Sir, to show how this "term" has died and been buried, in politics, without any Christian ceremonies. This terms was effective and in fact very useful for Mr. Roy Welensky, now Sir Roy, when he was the Chief Contractor for Federation, for his settler Minority in Northern Rhodesia. They used it to bluff the British Government during the negotiations for Federation. Today neither Sir Roy Welensky nor his Political junta have been able to give the genuine definition of what they really mean by this political jargon. The truth is it has failed in many ways. Firstly, it has failed because nobody has ever understood what it means, and so we find no practical application of it in the daily walks of life of even the champions of it. Partnership has failed shamefully in

(a) Politics—no real advancement of Africans towards political equality

(b) Economically—in industry throughout the Federation, African wages are at a level of about *one-twentieth* of the white man's wages, although on the Copperbelt it may be argued Africans are getting very high salaries as a result of the efforts of the African Mineworkers Union. This advancement Sir, is only a token carrying with it an employer's determination to undermine and weaken the African Mineworkers' Union as has indeed been instanced by the creation, with the support of the employer, the pro-employer parallel Union called "the African Staff Association." The birth of this association, Sir, deprived the Mineworkers' Union of most of the educated members who could effect reasoned bargaining. I dwell so much on the Copper Belt, because this is the best example of industry where most of the Africans are said to have been advanced—only by a token, Sir, one does not hear much now from the Trade Union on the Copper Belt. The European Associations persuaded the Government, particularly Northern Rhodesian Government to amend its industrial laws prohibiting all picketing and providing for the Compulsory Registration of all Trade Unions, and for Official Inspection of financial transactions, African defensive power has virtually been weakened. Yet European Organisations remain intact. And Sir Roy brags about that there is "partnership" in industry in the sense that no one race is working to exploit the other to his sole advantage.

With regard to the Federal Civil Service which is supposed to champion the cause of partnership, the picture is even grimmer. The African is regarded and will continue to be regarded as the white man's under-dog—let me quote what Sir Godfrey Huggins, now Lord Malvern, said at one time in the Federal Assembly when he was the Premier. He said, "We cannot exist for five minutes without the Native today. He is absolutely essential to our wage structure, if nothing else." He went on "If we went on a purely European basis without the present conditions of living and pay . . . the country would be subeconomic and down and out in five minutes." What was true when Lord Malvern said this remains just as true today. The Federation, like its component states before it, still virtually remains a country of cheap native labour and privileged white settlers. This is the "partnership" Sir Roy and his junta preach! Where they try it, they only experiment it as a veneer, branded to place the African, for all time, in a junior position. Support of this is not far to seek. All the advanced cases in both industry and the civil services do not embrace administrative powers over a European no matter how educationally low or experience-handicapped he may be. This simply means that the white man will not tolerate a partnership which will make him, on merit stress "merit," a junior to an African. Naturally, the African has senses this and has therefore resented the express wish of the white man to remain his over-lord simply on account of colour.

Encroachment on Territorial Responsibilities

5. With the amendment of the territorial constitution done in March last year, we see what we did not expect. The two Ministerial Posts reserved for "true" African representation have been filled with African "good boys" who have political sympathies for the United Federal Party. It therefore follows that though in the Federal Constitution, the Federation may

not legislate in matters affecting Africans, the two Ministers are bound to follow their party policy. This has caused resentment in many Africans for it shows how determined the Federal Champions are (determined) to Federalise everything.

Economy

6. One of the reasons for Federation was to make life here less expensive. On the contrary we see today that life is more expensive than it was before. It cost me 1½d. to send a letter anywhere in Northern Rhodesia, today it costs me 3d. to do so. For me to import a shirt from England I used to pay very little, today I pay just as much customs due as the price for it.

Northern Rhodesia had a lot of income tax; today, this country is impoverished to the extent that it cannot just do much to improve its services. Most of its money is enriching the town of Southern Rhodesia.

Relations Between Africans And Their Chiefs

7. Before Federation, Our Chiefs, exercised their independence and identity as Chiefs but since Federation no African Chief true of his African convictions has been tolerated to remain Chief—All identity as Chiefs has been lost and have become something like Civil Servants. Chiefs who have opposed Federation have had to be deposed. For fear of being deposed, most African Chiefs have become pro-settler Governments and have therefore broken off true identity with their people. The Settler-Minority are making use of this split to encourage the chiefs to hate the wakening African Nationalism. This in my view is going to end in a lot of trouble for the country. Nobody will be happy in the end.

Freedom of Speech

8. Since Federation, many Bills have been passed in the Legco at the instigation of Federal Members. The Bills have arrived at muzzling the mouths of African Politicians. The Europeans have taken advantage of the poverty of Africans to force the Government to ban all public meetings if white permission is not obtained beforehand. And even when permission is obtained, all the speeches made at such public meetings have to be recorded by a tape-recording machine by the police so that they could be played again when giving evidence in courts. This, Sir, is regarded as partnership here. It is not common with Europeans for with their money, they have built Halls in which they meet for all their political meetings. In my opinion this state of affairs has changed Northern Rhodesia almost into a police-state no less perhaps than Russian dominated Hungary is.

Some Federal Responsibilities

9. Aviation. Since Federation all big transport planes, have stopped landing on our Aerodromes here in Northern Rhodesia—rather they have been landing in Salisbury from which Northern Rhodesia travellers have been flown back by smaller planes. This has become quite a big inconvenience to our people here in the North. We see no point why the Aerodromes at both Ndola, and Livingstone on which our Government had spent so much money should be so neglected. After all what is in flying N.R. travellers to Salisbury first when they may be travelling to the Copper-Belt. This shows simply how Sir Roy Welensky wishes to be unnecessarily worshipped in his Salisbury.

(ii) Health. Since Federation Health Services have become much poorer. As a result, mortality in hospitals has risen much higher than before, when the territorial Government was running everything. As I am writing, this memorandum, there is hardly any tablet of aspirin in our local dispensary. This is true, Sir, of even big hospitals at certain times. It appears, all the money supposed to run the hospitals is being spent on Salisbury. This simply shows how little these Federal people care about the African. Is it therefore any wonder, Sir, that we do not trust them at all!

(iii) Immigration. As an African, Sir, I have been alarmed by the news that, Sir Roy has decided to import large numbers of Italian artisans to work on the railways. This is another proof of the failure of partnership. The Settler minority have preferred to import a low type of European to training an African to do the work of even a low type. How can we be cheated Sir! There is no partnership here at all.

True Africans and European Politicians

Sir, Now that I have exhausted most of the facts I had, I wish to stress without "ifs" and "buts" that "True Africans" do not trust Sir Roy and his supporters. He has shown the African that he can always choose to do for the African tomorrow, what he promises not to do today.

Sir Roy has just made it known that he is going to ask your Commission, Sir, to recommend that the African Affairs Board be abolished and replaced by what he calls "Senate" which should include Chiefs. This is always characteristic of his

unrest. He wants to get rid of the African Affairs Board not because he sympathises with the Africans but rather because the Board acts to watch on Sir Roy's legislations to see that they do not discriminate against the African. But because he does not like the Africans, as he has shown by his failure to make partnership work, he has seen some subtle opportunity in the split between some African Chiefs and their people see (7) above, Sir, he wants to make use of this by filling the vacuum of the Senate with nothing but the vacuum itself which he can present falsely to the world as representative of Africans. Already most of us know which chiefs he would jump on to have chosen, if he were given way on this. This request, Sir, must of necessity be very strongly resisted. Sir Roy should not be given further sway until he has put partnership into full and effective practice, and even then the consent of us all must be enlisted first. He has further warned that he will strive to get complete Independence for the Federation this year or next year at the latest. This is most selfish of him and in fact, it barely shows how little he cares about walking along with the African whom he chose to settle with in partnership. How can he get complete independence when we are still crying under the little power he has! If indeed he got his independence then the surrender the British Government would make to him would in no way differ from that of 1910 when the Union of South Africa was given complete Autonomy. The British Government, Sir, should not repeat another big blunder of betraying us.

Resolutions

In view of all these grievances against Federation Africans in Northern Rhodesia would like:—

(1) Secession. Since the recommendation of this does not fall within the terms of your reference, I personally would like the following steps to be considered:—

- (a) No further powers should be granted to the Federation but rather it should be reduced to something like an economic Union *without political powers* much like a Customs' Union on the lines of the O.E.E.C. of Europe. After all this was the main point for creating it.
- (b) N.R. Constitution and Franchise Qualifications must be amended so as to allow greater African participation in the Government on the basis of Parity of representation.
- (c) Sir Roy's request for the abolition of the African Affairs Board must be rejected for its racist implication.

I should have liked to have an interview with your Commission, Sir, but my people, who do not want to say anything to you, have threatened me with hard things, so I have chosen to just write this memorandum though I regard this action as wamanish.

Mwewa

29th February 1960

A EUROPEAN RESIDENT OF NDOLA*

Having lived in a Federation (Australia) for most of my life, I am able to view objectively some aspects of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I visited Northern Rhodesia before Federation, and found on my return to settle here that the cost of living (including, of course, higher taxation, Customs duties, etc.) had risen so much that had I realised it, I would have hesitated to make my home here. However, that is the price one pays for the added security of being a member of a Federation.

The fault with the present system of Government appears to be the over-centralisation of control in Southern Rhodesia and the siting of the capital in Salisbury, so far removed from the Northern territories. This is, of course, comparable to the position in Australia when Melbourne was the centre of the Federal Government, which led to the establishment of Canberra as the capital.

Two services which should surely be returned to the Territories are Health and Education (together with the necessary finance to support them adequately).

The Federal Health Department shows a woeful lack of understanding of conditions in Northern Rhodesia—as witness the refusal to supply flywire screens for the Llewellyn Hospital at Kitwe on the grounds that malaria should now be controlled. Such screens are standard equipment in every house in Northern Rhodesia, though not in Salisbury, and every resident of Northern Rhodesia knows that in the towns malarial mosquitoes are one of the least of our worries, and that acute discomfort is suffered by hospital patients from the flying ant pest at the beginning of the rains, the common housefly, etc. This is merely one instance of the need for local health services, and no doubt others will be supplied by other correspondents.

*Name withheld at the request of the witness

In Education there is the anomaly of divided control of African and non-African education. The Federal Government deals with African education only at University level, and the standard of technical education provided by the Northern Rhodesian Government for Africans is much higher than that provided by the Federal Government for other races.

The needs of non-Africans for technical education are catered for on the Copperbelt by the Copperbelt Technical Foundation, financed mainly by the Mines; these facilities are at present being used only by Europeans. Plans are well advanced for a Technical College for non-Europeans in Ndola, for which the funds have mainly been furnished by the Ndola Lottery, with some assistance from the Federal Government. Further south, there are at present no facilities for technical education for non-Africans. The Northern Rhodesian Ministry of African Education wished to establish a Polytechnic for all races in Lusaka, but this was impossible owing to the divided control.

Most of my knowledge of conditions in the Federation has been gained through membership of the Federation of Women's Institutes of Northern Rhodesia and the Ndola Race Relations Advisory Committee.

Ndola

12th February 1960

A EUROPEAN RESIDENT OF NDOLA*

I was born in Northern Rhodesia of Scots parents who came to this country in 1920. Since that time my family have invested such wealth as they have in the country. In value this amounts to some £35,000. Whilst this is not much on present day standards it is all we possess. I am a married man with two children aged 3 years and 20 months both of whom were born in this country. Like any other parent it is my duty to do the best I can for my children to see they have the best possible start in life that I can give them. As any means I possess are invested in the Federation it is therefore necessary that I, and with me, my family stay here.

In my adult life which is admittedly a fairly short time I have seen many changes in this country. Prior to the war the country was a relatively poor one and the European and African worked and lived happily together. Even so I can remember my father telling me that one of the main factors which concerned him and his fellow settlers in Northern Rhodesia was whether or not the British Government was prepared to let the white man stay in Northern Rhodesia indefinitely. This point was put very forcibly to the Bledisloe Commission which visited Northern Rhodesia in 1932 and the outcome was that the British Government stated that it was their intention not to create a purely black State in Northern Rhodesia to the exclusion of any European settlers.

On the basis of the policy statement from the British Government the European population strived to make permanent homes for themselves here. I submit also that whilst many immigrants have come to the country since 1932, possibly unaware of this policy statement they have nearly all done so with the same viewpoint as the early settlers.

The economic progress of Northern Rhodesia between 1945 and 1953 was rapid to say the least. Villages became towns, Road and Rail services expanded out of recognition and the Budget of the Northern Government rose from something like £300,000 in 1930 to over £12,000,000 in 1953. In this period of economic expansion the African was not excluded and the facilities made available to him increased rapidly.

In 1953 the three States of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were Federated and initially there was some dismay in Northern Rhodesia but this soon subsided.

In the past year or so, however, the Federal Government have been under some pressure from the European community of Northern Rhodesia to share around a little more equitably the means of economic stability and the Federal Constitution in general and the senior partner of the Federation, Southern Rhodesia, in particular have come under fairly heavy fire. Furthermore, the political aspirations of the African population have also become vociferous. Be it said in all fairness, however, that despite these rumblings the Federal Government have abided loyally and honestly by the terms of the Constitution. It does occur to me, however, that the Government of the Country is weak but whether this is because of the Constitution or not I do not know. There seems to be too much indecision in Government circles. I know this is a not uncommon complaint of any democratic government but in the Federation the problem seems to go deeper than this. Policy matters seem to be debated ad nauseam and with-

* Name withheld at the request of the witness.

out any guidance or clear cut lead being given by Government. This has meant that the nearness to the seat of Government has been an advantage and this is quite apparent by the progress made in Southern Rhodesia as compared with in Northern Rhodesia. I hasten to say that I do not subscribe in any way to the theory that the Federal Capital should be moved. I would, however, like to know that the Federal Government has a better grasp of the country than it appears to have at present. I hope it will be understood from this also that I do not subscribe in any way to any part of the Federation being allowed to secede from the Federation, being an independent state within the Federation or any other method which will detract from the size of the political and economic bloc which it is at present. In this day and age it appears to be better to increase the sizes of these blocs. To decrease them would be suicidal.

So far as the principle of partnership is concerned I subscribe fully to it and it would not concern me very much if the Government of the country were predominantly black provided democracy is not hampered in its function in any way. I have seen the African advance at a very fast pace and more and more he will want to have some say in our country's affairs. After all in a democracy such as we are privileged to live in here is it really possible for a minority to deny the majority the fullest possible say in the country.

These views are related very directly to my desire to do the best by my children, to safeguard for them a prosperous future and to try and ensure, bearing in mind what has happened in other parts of the world, that they do not become victims of or involved in any internal strife or bloodshed within this country. Furthermore, we are all human, be we black, white or any other colour. We all have our own desires and hopes and there is plenty of room in the physical, political and economical senses for us all to satisfy these without it being necessary for one section of the community to withhold opportunity from any other section.

Finally, it is my earnest belief that provided democratic government is not permitted in any way to be tampered with in the Federation the prospects of partnership, economic and political stability are assured. I submit therefore that in reviewing the Federal Constitution such steps as are needed to safeguard democratic government must be of paramount importance and the colour of the people who comprise the Government is immaterial.

Ndola

13th February 1960

L. H. NGANDU, M.L.C.

Representing the Northern Constituency of Northern Rhodesia

1. Knowing the feelings of the people whom I represent towards Federation I am committed as well by their desire as by my own interpretation of the facts to an unalterable opposition to Federation.

2. Despite the generality of the terms of paragraph (1) I agree with the concept that a number of states, not necessarily those at present comprising the Central African Federation, could materially improve their economy by sharing such matters as foreign affairs and defence on a federal basis.

3. Every other aspect of government which detracts from the sovereignty of Northern Rhodesia has always met and will always meet with my opposition.

4. I believe that the African peoples are entitled to an immediate extension of franchise. I am not prepared to go so far as to say that all Africans are immediately to be given a vote but will demand that an assurance be given to them during 1960 as a demonstration of good faith by an immediate extension of franchise that their democratic rights will within the near future receive the recognition of one man one vote.

5. If the franchise is not to be made universal for all races, colours and creeds during 1960 then I will demand that Europeans should be subject to language proficiency tests in English, educational and property qualifications commensurate with the African counterparts in the Federation.

6. It is my considered opinion that the proportion of Africans to Europeans in Northern Rhodesia not only requires but demands as a minimum that there should be parity of representation within twelve months.

7. Assuming the acceptance by the Commission of the recommendation contained in the last foregoing paragraph, it is inconceivable to me that this should not be followed within a maximum period of five years by proportionate representation and by this I mean a government of the majority by the representatives of the majority, i.e. an African government.

8. It has always been my belief that for many years after the assumption of control of the government of Northern Rhodesia by an African government that certain European members of the Civil Service should be retained on no less advantageous terms than they are at present employed until their positions can be filled by members of an African Civil Service and that for such Europeans as are prepared to accept service on the terms which will be proposed, they should be secured by the guarantee of adequate pension rights.

9. Notwithstanding the matters hereinbefore referred to it is in my view an urgent necessity that no pay rate in the Federation should be governed by colour and that there should be immediate legislation for the enforcement of "rate for the job" payment of Europeans, Africans and Asians.

10. Owing to the predominance of Asians as holders of General Dealers licences under which they control the greater part of the African trade, I would suggest that the business enterprise of Asians in commodities of which the Africans are the prime consumers should be immediately and drastically limited and that Asians affected by such legislation should be offered immediate free passage back to India.
19th January 1960.

S. K. NJOLOMBA

The policy of Partnership is being forced by the Federal Government as a weapon to fight against Africans. The following are the points and examples to support my argument :

1. Partnership was first preached by the Missionaries 50 years ago, but has never been put in practice. Since Federation was formed in October, 1953, partnership has been the song of the Federal Government yet the colour discrimination is deteriorating. Therefore, partnership is just a mere talk. Nobody will pay attention to it in any way.

2. The Federal Government thinks that if Africans are allowed in European hotels, etc., they will accept the Federation. That is not so. Partnership means to be equal in everything. We shall not accept the policy of partnership as such until the time when people will live together happily.

3. (a) To eat food in European hotels is not a very important thing. We have our own food which we live on. We do not want to sell the land for food!! When forcing partnership in the Federation, the Government should consider the typical African living right in the bush, which many Europeans call a monkey or any other name.

(b) Africans working in the Government, mines, Industries, etc., are not paid according to the work they do, but the salary is based on colour. Where is partnership? What shall we feed Europeans when they come to our homes with such poor salaries?

(c) Federation is encouraging segregation. A good example is the house of the Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. J. Savanhu in Salisbury.

In conclusion, please let the partnership preached to the waters of the sea. Enjoy your luxury food in the good hotels. Federation should go away. There is no need for it. We want a democratic government and not a dictatorship government. Do away with partnership and say good-bye to Federation. A better form of Government is required.

Balovale

17th December 1959

AN AFRICAN WITNESS *

I wish to make the following representation concerning the future of the Federation.

Federation was imposed in 1953 despite the objections of the Chiefs and their people. We were, and still are, against Federation because many of our people had seen the way Africans in Southern Rhodesia were treated. The Chiefs there have no proper authority and the African land rights are not as secure as they were in this country. We are afraid that the Southern Rhodesia conditions will be imposed upon us. This is the main reason why I and my people are against the Federation. Imposition of Federation has given the agitators and nationalist organisations more ground to work upon and, in consequence, disturbances and acts of violence have increased. We were told that we could expect more schools and health services when Federation came, but this has not happened. Instead, a small dispensary that was at my village has been closed, and sick people now have to pay their own way to get to hospital.

I do not want the Federation to continue, but if it does, I consider that all services affecting the Africans should be returned to the Territorial Government, particularly Health

* Name withheld at the request of the witness.

Services. The constitution should also contain an unalterable clause that the African peoples of Northern Rhodesia should remain under the control of Her Majesty the Queen. Further safeguards should also be brought in to assure the Africans that neither the Federal Government nor the Europeans can take away the African's land.

I do not wish to give oral evidence to the Commission.

Kasama

4th February 1960

CHIEF NKULA

I Chief Nkula a bemba by tribe have a population of 20,424 in my area in Chinsali District.

I have to point out with my people the reason why the Federal Government is refused by us. Since the introduction of the Federation in this country, there are no good things done as the result of it. Hospitals have no special Doctors and Post Offices appear not to have been developed to the satisfactory standard, this is because these two departments are Federated. The number of schools has decreased and most children are turned away just because there are no sufficient vacancies for them all.

So we want more power to be returned to the old N.R. Government we had before.

Chinsali

2nd February 1960

SHUKA PARISH IN CHIEF NKULA'S DISTRICT

Greetings to all,

We are informing you that we received the words about Federation.

We refuse Federation, we do not want it and that we do not want Welensky too not even a bit.

That is all Sir, we do not want Federation.

We are of Shuka Parish.

Chinsali

7th February 1960

MWENGE PARISH IN CHIEF NKULA'S DISTRICT

We refuse Federation for the following reasons :—

1. Because it has brought misunderstanding between an African and a European.

2. Africans have no freedom of deciding their own affairs.

3. It has brought discrimination between an African and a European again that an African is not happy in the country as a European.

4. It has also brought a slavery and disturbance Government.

These are the points raised by Mwenge Parish.

Chinsali

7th February 1960

B. J. NKULI—secretary to the Teachers of Malamba Valley, Lundazi District

Memorandum Showing the Failure of the Imposed Federation on Africans

The under written points are presented to the Commission by teachers of the Malamba Valley of Lundazi District. We are bitterly opposed to the imposed Federation because of :—

1. Democracy Is One Sided

(a) Africans are a majority and Europeans minority. In the Federal Parliament Africans representing the majority are very few. But Europeans representing the minority are too many.

(b) We feel that federation should go away and our territorial Government educate the Africans to become a majority in the legislature. If the Europeans say that the Africans are not educated it is of no use imposing federation on the African.

(c) Any all-African organisation talking for Africans is regarded as against peace and order, e.g., *The Zambia African Congress* which was banned.

(d) Chiefs have been implanted with the idea which is to work for money and not for their people and as traditional chiefs, e.g., the visit of Sir Roy to N.R. has caused calamity on Chief Chitimukulu's position in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia.

2. Bloodshed
 - (a) Before the federation was born the central African territories did not see bloodshed. As soon as the Federation was imposed there was, is and will be blood in our countries. In N.R. Gwembe district. In Nyasaland Cholo District and many other districts.
 - (b) If Federation goes on, there will be civil war in Central Africa. Hence the beginning of 3rd World War. In Nyasaland the police expansion schemes are for training soldiers to kill the unarmed African. All these show the failure of Federation.
3. Immigration to the Federation
 - (a) The Immigrants imported to this country are not as well qualified as those we had in the past. Most of them are to fill the places, e.g., in the *Provincial Administration Department*. The African Education Department under Territorial is the only one still keeping on up to date staff. We want to go back to our territorial Government to have the qualified staff to teach the Africans in all Departments. Indians who come in for especially trade other than land are restricted to 42 per year the whole federation. Why are many dull-unqualified Europeans allowed?
 - (b) The aim of the federation to bring in more low qualified immigrants, is to train them good soldiers to fight and kill the Africans. European cadets are trained in Salisbury as soldiers. Why can't an African cadet be trained in the same way if there is partnership so that they both defend their country? Federation has failed in all these corners.
4. The Failure of Partnership
 - (a) The imposed Federation was based on partnership. But partnership has failed in sports, bars, cinema, where the African is disregarded at work as well, e.g., an African may work and understand his work for a long time but the white unqualified man comes in—he is to be master just because of his whiteness.
 - (b) The 13 seats now taken by the federal party in the Northern Rhodesia legislature to see that Federal facilities are carried on disregarding the territorial, which would improve matters better, should have been given to Africans by now had it not been for the federation. According to Sir Moffat's resolutions we feel we should have been a step forward.
5. Medical Services
 - (a) A good number of Qualified Doctors and orderlies has resigned because the Medical Dept. has gone under Federation. Rules in the Federal Government are bad. The drugs supplied in hospitals and dispensaries when we were under Territorial Govt. can not be supplied now—e.g., procain penicillin, iodine, etc. Care for the sick in hospitals is hopeless, because this time many are those unqualified people working in the hospitals. Conditions in the medical services have badly changed. Those who have resigned have shown us that the federal Government is very bad.
6. Postal Rates Too High
 - (a) In our territorial Government the postage stamps on surface was 1½d. Look at what the federation has done, everything has gone high. Stamps, cost of telegrams, cost of postal orders, etc., etc. This time we even pay tax for wireless which we are sure if we were under territorial we shouldn't have done.
7. The £23 Million Has Retarded Progress in N.R.
 - (a) The going away of £23 Million to the federation from N.R. has retarded progress in Northern Rhodesia. Before the Federation we used to get £33 Million—but now out of £33 Million, the £23 Million goes to the federation and yet to develop Southern Rhodesia only and Nyasaland. N. Rhodesia gives to the federation 70%, but she receives less than 20% from it there we know that our money is wasted.
 - (b) The result of this is that N.R. Government in trying to get money is imposing heavy taxes on people, game reserves, etc.
 - (c) It is said in the Government statistics that in 1986 the Northern Rhodesia Coppermines shall be under the Government of N. Rhodesia. Which means if we are under our Territory our country shall develop better and if under federation N.R. is to suffer as at present.
8. Dominion Status Is Not Wanted
 - (a) The aim of the present Federal Government is to cut the two territories away from Colonial office so that she

imposes Dominion status. The White Settlers have failed to teach Africans. How can they bring many things at the same time. Unless the British Government throws us away we are not going to allow dominion status at all. After all the end of Federation is at many times Dominion Status. We feel it is better for us to go back to our territorial Government to be developed as promised by the Colonial office.

9. The Federal Franchise Qualifications

- (a) The academical qualifications in the federal franchise is very high for an African. Also that no where in the history of the world has riches been a point to qualify one as a voter.
- (b) The Moffat resolution was well planned for both black and white. We feel we should have had by then a better franchise than the one planned by the federation.
- (c) The Federation has failed because it has introduced the two voters rolls which means partnership has failed. In the Moffat Resolution White or Black we have one common voters roll. Partnership will work.

10. Good Things By The Federation

There is nothing good we have taken from it since it was imposed in 1953.

11. Conclusion

We feel and conclude that *Federation Must Go Away Now*. We must and must go back to our territorial Governments.

Lundazi

CHIEF NKWETO

I heard that you want to know what Africans feel about the Federation.

I Chief Nkweto of 5,184 souls of Babemba people of the Chinsali District.

I myself and my Councillors have decided to say that we do not want the Federation in my area, we want Northern Rhodesia Government. The reason is that Federal is not courteous to the people.

Chinsali

26th January 1960

THE NORTHERN RHODESIA AFRICAN MINES STAFF ASSOCIATION—MUFULIRA BRANCH

J. Y. Silwizya and S. P. Mpuku

We have the honour to submit our memorandum to the Commission which will shortly be sitting in Central Africa.

To begin with, we feel the terms of reference of this Commission are not attractive and do not go far enough and the composition of the Commission itself does not have the trust of the African people.

From the nineteenth century the African of Central Africa has been contributing tremendously towards the building of the British empire, and is still contributing tremendously. That being so the African is very proud of the British empire of which he is part so that there is nothing which can shake the faith and pride he has had for such a long time.

In the year 1924, Northern Rhodesia became a protectorate under the Crown and a governor was appointed to represent the King and he was assisted in his task by a legislative Council. Since that year there have been changes in the pattern of the constitution from time to time until in 1948 when a proposal was put forward by the White settlers that Northern Rhodesia should enjoy a sort of responsible Government. This was met with bitter opposition of the African people and the British Government though the Labour party who were then in power also joined in the opposition. The African people felt and still feel that if there is any transfer of power it should be to them and to no one else or to interested parties which include all races now leaving in this part of the world.

Immediately after this a second proposal was put forward this time a different proposal but with the same motive of creating an internal affair where no one could interfere except at the request of the people concerned. This second proposal was a kind of federation of the three territories namely Southern Rhodesia which at a time was enjoying responsible government, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This proposal received the same amount of opposition by the African people who at the time, fortunately understood and still understand the mentality of the local European. To support this opposition

Africans of the two territories advanced many reasons the main ones being:—

- (i) Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland could not be joined with Southern Rhodesia which was at the time enjoying a fair degree of responsible government while Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were protectorates and had different Native Policies.
- (ii) In Southern Rhodesia most of the voters if not all were and are Europeans with the South African Policy of apartheid so that there was a danger of that policy being introduced in this country through the ballot box as all the political control of the countries lay in the hands of the European, and the British government could have no power to stop that as it could then be an internal affair.

The policy of the Federal government has been one of partnership. Many people of goodwill have criticised this policy as an empty slogan and a smoke screen to hide the real intentions of the local Europeans because none of them has been able to define this policy.

In 1955 Sir Roy Welensky issued a statement which ran as follows:—

“Even at the end of 200 years the African cannot hope to dominate the partnership.”

This highly provocative statement has been followed by similar statements for many years and a partnership of this kind coercive as it is intended cannot form a criterion of a safe government. Africans feel they have had enough school to learn the mentality of local Europeans and he is convinced that given the chance the local European is going to reduce the political standing of the Africans to a heap of rubble in the same way as it is in South Africa and no one will stop it.

It is most unfortunate that instead of trying to win the goodwill of the Africans Europeans want more political powers for the reasons stated above and already the federation has been described as a life insurance by the Europeans. We would like to suggest that the federation should be ended immediately and the vote should be something similar to that of Tanganyika which is £75 yearly income for every one living in the country.

We would like to end by saying nothing will satisfy the African other than government based on the will of the people. This we believe will create some understanding among people instead of the franchise so designed to keep the European only in power. There has been argument that Africans have had their influence increased in legislative Council and federal parliament this is true in theory and in practice it has been reduced because most of these people have been elected by Europeans so that they are no better than servants employed to champion the interests of the Europeans and above all any government by force has no future.

Mufulira

14th January 1960

NORTHERN RHODESIA AFRICAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION—Senga Branch

Since the coming of the whiteman and the making of Concessions and Treaties with our Chiefs, the African community has pinned its faith in the Colonial Government and has come to look to the British Government as a child looks up to its father with a hope that when he grows up he would leave his father's home and run his own home which in this case is *Self Government* for which the Africans in Northern Rhodesia have been waiting patiently. It would however for any parents to hand over their child to wrong people before the child was fully grown.

The British Government has already taken steps towards handing over the youthful Colonies of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to the South African influenced individuals with their policies based on *White dominated Self-Government*.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

When the European settlers proposed the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the African community as a whole opposed it strongly. Delegations which consisted of all leading classes of Africans and Chiefs, Civil Servants and A.R.C. members including M.L.C. and even Religious men were sent to Great Britain. Their views were undoubtedly overlooked because the white settlers said that an African couldn't like anything he could not experience. With this blinding clause and others like, the British Government was made to accept the Federation on a trial period of seven years. Within this period the Africans have experienced worse changes than those that took place or could have taken place under the Colonial Rule. Most Africans have come to conclude that it is better to leave the Federation and remain under the Colonial Govern-

ment until the time comes when we shall be able to rule ourselves.

The African Community feels that the Federal Government has not followed its constitution as laid down in the White Paper, that is:—

1. Partnership

(a) Partnership which was the keyword to the imposition of the Federation has been totally ignored by the Federal Parliament itself. African members of Parliament do not live together with European members in the same hostels. This shows that no other people can practise it when members of Parliament are not partners.

(b) Students in the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

European settlers state that they cannot practise partnership when Africans are not educated and civilised. To the surprise of the Africans, African students of University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland cannot live in the same quarters with Europeans. There are African quarters even in the University where typical examples of Partnership should be shown.

2. Departments Which Have Gone Federal

(a) The Health Department

In this particular Department the Regulations made by the Federal Ministry of Health are so bad that most of the qualified Doctors, medical assistants and nurses have resigned, and the unqualified have taken their places. Thus therefore their services are so poor that people are not happy while undergoing treatment.

(b) Posts and Telegrams

Since the Federation was imposed postage stamps and Telegram charges have doubled.

(c) The Police Department

The Police instead of maintaining peace and order as before the Federation, is now used to intimidate the African political bodies which either oppose the Federation or try to express their views about the Federal Governments activities. The police has been responsible for the loss of many lives in most parts of the Federation.

3. The Federation Has Perverted The African Community

All the disturbances or hatred of Africans towards Europeans has been due to the imposition of Federation. The fact that the Federation was forced against the will of the African Community, has perverted the African who was once believed to be co-operative and understanding. And the only means of making peace in the country is not by any States of Emergency or by banning any organisations but by removing the Federation itself.

4. Economic Development

The Economic Development which was one of those among the keywords of the Federation has not been fulfilled. Nearly all the development Projects and buildings such as factories, Colleges, etc., have taken place in Southern Rhodesia where all the officials of the Federal Government reside. They have an idea that should the Northern Territories break away from the Federation, Southern Rhodesia would still use those buildings under its white dominated Government.

5. The Federation is interfering with the Colonial Government because the Colonial Office is not ruling but the Federal Party, which is led by the white settlers and their Government with their own policies which are framed to undermine the Colonial influence over the Northern Territories. This is clearly shown from Sir Roy's statement which reads:—

“The Federal Government should get complete Independence in the field for which it was responsible and it must get it quickly this year or at the latest in 1961. It was essential to destroy the belief that the Federation could be broken up.”

He said he would ask for certain changes in the Constitution to encourage the African people to look to the Federal Government rather than constantly “Looking over their shoulders to Whitehall”.

He further said that he would demand the end of the British Government's right to veto Federal legislation. This had never been used, but it represented an “apron string” which weakened the Federal Government.

He also said that he would demand that the Colonial Laws Validity Act should no longer apply to the Federation. This at present prevents the Federal Government from passing any legislation which is repugnant to the laws of England.

6. Social Advancement

To quote Mr. Callaghan's words: “Industry, it is widely known that the Federal Government has encouraged the immi-

gration of European workers—Italians and others—rather than carry out an intensive training of Africans for skilled posts”.

This is quite true and there is no hope for African advancement in social matters when he has no chance.

“There is still an ingrained belief in the superiority of the White over Black.”

Above all we want to assure the British Government that what the Northern Rhodesia African Community wants is to leave the Federation this year and to continue enjoying the Colonial Government with sound Representation Leading to Self Government, within the Commonwealth when the time comes.

Kasama

A BRANCH OF THE NORTHERN RHODESIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (Membership: 40)

We wish to express our opinion on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Under here is a full memorandum by the Branch on why we strongly *dislike* Federation.

1. Historical

(a) From the beginning Federation was *forced upon* Africans in spite of their strong opposition.

(b) After a long struggle, the Governments said that Federation was on trial from 1953 to 1960. Up to this time, when the trial period has expired our opinion is still *no*.

2. Colonial Policy

(a) We do not like Federation because the three territories, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, have different status. Southern Rhodesia is self-governing colony influenced by a minority of Europeans who take the lion's share, and Africans there have *no* say in the government. While as Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are *protectorates* driving towards African self-governing territories according to the Colonial policy.

(b) The Colonial Government having worked for a such a long time, the citizens of N. Rhodesia feel that time has come when they can govern themselves. “*It is far better to be free to govern or misgovern yourself than to be governed by anybody else.*”

3. Economy

As Africans, we see that we were economically better off before the Federation, because money brought from copper was spent within N. Rhodesia, and sending part of it to the so-called Federal Government is a great set-back for N. Rhodesia.

4. The Term of Office of the Federal Government

(a) The proposed partnership policy by the Federal Government has not worked. The white man has found it impossible to follow. Hence the white man follows the *Apartheid* system of policy. And the Federal Government has not taken any step to improve it. This has been experienced in churches, cinema shows, hotels, butcheries, transport and education, etc., etc. Hence the Territorial Government is trying to work it by appointing a committee from the Legislative and Council.

(b) There has also been the unfairness of franchise to Africans based on the advantage of the white minority.

(c) The citizens' dissatisfaction of the Federal Government ruling has caused many losses of lives and the banning of African political organisations. Since Federation started in 1953, there have been squabbles in all the three territories, accompanied by deaths caused by shooting at them such as have happened in Nyasaland where many Africans lost their lives. In N. Rhodesia at Gwembe near Kariba many Africans were shot dead for refusing to make up a new settlement to the areas which the Africans thought were bad. As soon as Africans went to these areas deaths followed which have been a mysterious, over 50 people have died in these areas. Doctors have investigated the cause but all has been a failure. Intimidation has become the Federal Government's *weapon*. There is no freedom of speech. These have shown crystal clear that the future of the African will be worse than it has been during the trial period.

(d) The introduction of the Emergency and detention Acts without trial are proof of Africans' dissatisfaction of Federal Government.

(e) The new Federal employment regulations have resulted to many Europeans and Africans leaving employment—especially in Federal Departments. Since Federation an African has economically dropped down. Stamp duties have gone very high, boarding fees in the university are far beyond the income of the African.

(f) Care for patients is limited, and that hospitals and dispensaries are far apart to cater for the large population—

also a poor villager is now unable to meet the cost of asking for an ambulance.

5. The Future of an African in the Federation

An African in the Federation feels not at ease if the Federal Government continues, because—

(a) The ceasing of the African Affairs Board as proposed by the Federal Prime Minister. This is cutting the throat of an African, hence he will have no say.

(b) The cutting away of Federation from the mother country—Great Britain—is a means of ill treating the African by the Federal Government. Very often against the wishes of the African as it has happened in the trial period.

(c) We feel that the African sees clearly that he will have the worst share of his land, the white men will take the lion's share as it has happened in South Africa.

(d) We feel that the white man who is in a minority will want to bring more and more immigrants to deprive us of our land, our position in employment and our birthright freedom.

(e) We as Africans feel that within the Federation we shall be cut off from communicating other Africans in African nationally.

(f) Within the Federation we feel our chiefs have been considered as mere *capitao*s who can be demoted if they are opposed to Federation.

6. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as Compared to Canada and Australia by the Federal Prime Minister During the British Prime Minister's Visit to Salisbury on the 18th January, 1960

We deplore the comparison made by the Prime Minister in his welcome address during the British Prime Minister's visit to the Federal capital. This Federation cannot be compared to either Canada or Australia on the point of understanding that the indigenous in these countries were a minority, whereas we are in a majority. It would be right to compare this Federation to South Africa where at last an African has no say in the Government. This is something we do not want to be ruled by a minority.

7. The Present Opinion of an African

We have learnt a lot from the different forms of Governments, viz: the B.S.A. Company, the Colonial Government and the Federal Government. We strongly feel it is time we ruled ourselves to fulfil the Colonial Policy. *We want self-government within the British Commonwealth and not within the Federation.*

8. We wish the Monckton Commission to strongly recommend the secession of N. Rhodesia from the Federation and to let the Federation die its natural death.

7th February 1960

THE NORTHERN RHODESIA DENTAL ASSOCIATION

L. C. Lee—Secretary

1. (a) Figures of Non-European entrants into the Dental Profession:

(b) Desire of the Dental Profession to disseminate dental health propaganda:

To date there are no Non-European entrants into the Profession. At the outset it may be said that this is one field in which the African has not in any way come forward. The most likely contributory factor would be that from the standpoint of dental and oral health the African communities in their more primitive areas are comparatively speaking spared the ravages of dental decay, and that it is only when they come in contact with the so-called refined and processed foods enjoyed by Europeans that dental decay becomes prevalent. Africans who attend either the Hospital clinics (where treatment is carried out free of charge) or who attend the present practitioners (where the fees are substantially reduced), attend only for the relief of pain from an offending tooth, which usually means its removal. Prophylactic and conservative treatment insofar as the African is concerned is nearly non-existent, although at certain mission stations some conservative work is carried out by one or two missionary dentists. A little prosthetic work is done for Africans where the treatment has been recommended by the medical profession and the fees are met, for example, by Insurance Companies through Workmen's Compensation, or by Government for members of the Army.

Another factor which probably accounts for the absence of Africans in the dental profession is the very high cost of equipping and running dental surgeries today. In contrast to the medical profession, hospital or other Government appointments in dental surgery in Northern Rhodesia are virtually non-existent, and only two such appointments exist at present.

807

The dental profession as a whole feel that it is necessary to disseminate dental health propaganda and to extend the facilities of conservation treatment to the African communities, and would welcome the setting up of dental clinics to be run either in conjunction with the already established hospitals or to see installed under the local municipal authorities the establishment of dental clinics which would go a long way in catering for the needs of the African.

2. Dental Technicians (or Assistants):

There are several dental practitioners in the territory who have trained Africans, up to a certain standard in dental mechanics, although it must be stated at the outset that there is no Dental Mechanicians Board (or Register) in this territory which can set down the necessary requirements and standards, or which can assess or examine both by oral and practical examination the capabilities of entrants, or lay down the terms of apprenticeship and the theoretical and academic requirements.

There are two qualified European dental technicians on the Copperbelt who run their own laboratories. It is known that there are one or two other qualified technicians who are not practising their trade as the scope is limited. There would not be much scope in this field for the African unless he was fully qualified. There are approximately seven African laboratory assistants in the territory. Their average wage is £20 per month (exclusive of housing and rations). There is limited scope here for the Africans.

3. Position regarding the colour-bar:

There never has been a very strict colour-bar in surgeries. Africans will receive the same treatment and attention in surgeries and waiting-rooms providing that the necessary standards of cleanliness and hygiene are fulfilled. There will have to be some adjustment regarding fees as the standard of living of the African becomes higher.

4. The Northern Rhodesia Dental Association offer their full support to the United Federal Party in its claim for independence.

Ndola

27th January 1960

A. R. K. NYIRENDA and
B. Z. ZIMBA

The imposition of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland upon us Africans in a protected country of Northern Rhodesia since in the year 1953, has brought misery. Deaths have occurred in the Gwembe Valley when Africans refused to shift away from their land, and on the Chilubi Island in the Northern Province the same thing happened. Some of our European friends who tried to show openly that they were against Federation as Africans were and still are, have been deported, e.g., Commander Fox Pitt, Mr. Zukas and many others. The Federal Government has been a Government not for all the people of all races but for a white man in minority, and the Africans who are in majority have no say in the Government. This pains us very much. The Officers in all the territorial Government Departments have entirely forgotten their responsibility for an African advancement, instead they have swung to Federal Government, whereby they have been showing that they are the anti-African. Our answer to the question of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is still *no!* till this minute and for evermore.

We were, we are and we shall be the people of the Queen and friends of the British Commonwealth. Those who live in British protected countries, very well know that they march towards self Government as is the rule. So it is with us Africans of Northern Rhodesia proudly advance with full confidence towards the attainment of self independence under the Colonial rule of course, within the British Commonwealth. Now we strongly recommend to the Monckton Commission that the Federation which is a hindrance to our advancement, and quite undemocratic, should come to an end before winter 1960.

If I own a bicycle, and it is lent to Mr. Phiri, who breaks it, surely it would very much pain me more than it would do to him. Therefore it is better to misrule ourselves than someone to misrule us. We should not suffer from slavery twice.

Lundazi

8th February 1960

MRS. S. PEARSON

I wish to submit evidence before the Commission on the grounds that I have lived in Northern Rhodesia since 1929 when I arrived from England, at the age of 17 and have been

in constant contact with the African since then, both at home and in business.

It is my earnest submission that "one man one vote" is completely impracticable for this territory by virtue of the fact that nine-tenths of the African population is completely illiterate and has no conception of Federation and what it implies. From my own personal observation the average African does not know what the Federation is and which territories it covers. There is a small educated and semi-educated minority most of whom, unfortunately, are imbued with a lust for power and who are leading the masses by the nose by telling them that by a transference of government from the white man to the black, they will automatically enjoy all the benefits which we, the Europeans, now enjoy.

The African, from my long experience, I find to be a cheerful, carefree individual, possessing a great sense of humour. He responds to justice and fair treatment, but like the child that he still is, he will accept punishment when he knows that he is in the wrong. I find him completely lacking in integrity in that he will give a solemn promise and see nothing wrong in failing to fulfil that promise. He is completely without sense of time and considers that "tomorrow" can be 6 months hence. He is also fundamentally dishonest in that he is no respecter of property, especially that of the European and with few exceptions, will steal with impunity. On the other hand, I would like to say that I am particularly fortunate in having as a servant at present, a man who is honest and loyal and in whom I place a certain amount of trust. He is the exception which proves the rule.

I have read in the newspapers recently that certain African leaders maintain that no benefits have accrued to the African people since the inception of Federation. That this is untrue can be borne out by the fact that African advancement has been implemented to a certain extent on the Mines, Railways and in the Civil Service. Also, the colour bar is breaking down in public places continually.

I do not think that social integration is desirable or necessary at the present state of development because just as one would not invite certain Europeans to one's house who belong to a different strata of society and with whom one has nothing in common, neither would one entertain the majority of Africans. This is a development which can only come with time, when the African will be educated to our level, not only academically but in matters of hygiene, etc.

The African himself, incidentally, when he becomes an employer of other Africans is as feudal in his outlook as any of the early barons and refers to his employees by the hated epithet of my "boy."

I honestly consider that should any power be handed over to an ignorant majority at this stage of the territory's development a grave disservice would be made to both the Europeans and Africans of Northern Rhodesia. I also consider it essential for the smooth progress of a multi-racial state that the balance of power should remain in the hands of the Europeans and the few educated and reasonable Africans, more of whom are emerging all the time.

Luanshya

25th February 1960

MRS. A. B. PENSTONE

I am one of those obnoxious people known as "white settlers." I came to this country 20 years ago and my four sons were born here.

Federation and what it stands for is obviously a good thing but because of mismanagement by the Federal Government it is a hated word by European and Africans alike.

By choice, my husband and I brought up an African boy with our own children, because we have always wanted to see this thing called "Partnership" work. Three little white heads and one black one used to do their homework together: they swam together in our own small swimming pool, and in fact the young African did everything with my children and was treated in exactly the same way. Our ways divided when Nasu's father left our employment and our boys went to boarding school at the Cape. Best proof that this kind of thing can and does work lies in the fact that a few months ago he arrived in my drive saying his father, an old man, now wished to return to his village and would leave his son nowhere but in our care, for we were his Father and his Mother! I tell this story simply to illustrate the fact that there are many Europeans in this Territory who have done similar things and who are fully prepared to treat the African as an equal, in time, but they must not be rushed into so doing.

The thinking African is not opposed to Federation as it directly touches him, but is wondering if there is a future in

this country for his children. He is in favour of the same currency, customs, immigration, university for us all, but he is frightened of big words such as "Dominion Status."

The thinking European has no prejudice against the colour of skin but has a very real fear of being ruled by irresponsible people, i.e., those who pay virtually nothing in taxes but expect everything "on a plate." One feels that there are very, very few Africans ready to govern a country.

I am in favour of Federation, broadly speaking, because a large country gives more economic opportunity for development in industry: large schemes, such as Kariba, become possible. But I am rather an apathetic supporter of the Federal Government because of so many muddles, because of the seemingly unfair way in which N. Rhodesia has been treated.

Since Federation our high standards in the North have fallen, particularly in regards to health and education, and it is generally felt that S. Rhodesia has benefited by our losses! I feel that both the Ministries of Health and Education should return to be a territorial matter, but that higher education should remain Federal. Local integration is bound to come, but it must be selective and gradual, not forced upon us, for friction must be avoided.

Let us take schooling first. This country has not higher grade schools and will not be able to afford them for another twenty years. Therefore a very high proportion of our teenagers go outside the territory to be educated after the age of 12 (Standard V).

Our standard of schoolteachers has deteriorated because the conditions of service, although they look good on paper, are not good enough to attract a person to an unattractive part of the world, having few cultural amenities. The single girl wants more than one cinema to choose from. The married man likes to be able to take his wife out to dine sometimes.

A European schoolmistress is on a salary scale of from £640-1,470 p.a., and a master from £735-1,732. African male teachers with Standard VI or higher, plus two years' teacher training get from £96-180 max. The cost of living is fantastically high and new recruits from abroad are on a poor wicket. They get no C.O.L. allowance, no paid passages home, no free medical attention and no money in lieu of the things they have missed! They have to travel over 2,000 miles to the coast. The teacher who has transferred however has lost very little. He gets a transfer allowance, but even this is absorbed eventually upon promotion, which seems most unfair! 12½% of a teacher's salary goes on rent, and his electricity and water average about £8 a month. Consequently most masters' wives have to work, and many masters take under-the-counter jobs in order to make ends meet.

To give an example, a pair of glasses costing £2 in England costs between £8-£10 out here. A 15s. blanket costs in the region of 35s. today (African). One feels salaries ought to be excessively attractive to combat this. Instead of which, Federation seems to have been an attempt to reduce the high standards we had in the North down to a S. Rhodesia level, which was admittedly expanding after Federation.

It is difficult to find the official teacher/pupil ratio for this country, but we know that it is considerably lower than it was before Federation. Almost all classes are far too large and unmanageable. There is a very strong feeling that had we not become federated more money would have remained in N. Rhodesia and we might by now have had more schools, more permanent buildings, instead of the temporary ones one sees everywhere; more school buses instead of the overcrowded ones we see all over the Copperbelt!

The free milk issue has been dispensed with in European schools, as also the free dental treatment—and although these are but pinpricks, since Federation it has been pinpricks all along the line and one cannot but feel that the money saved, if any, has benefited the south.

Perhaps the reason for a shortage of teachers in this part of the world is because we suffer from a bad press in England. England is always led to believe that we are living on a volcano; incidents are magnified and the would-be teacher in N. Rhodesia decides to teach elsewhere. Headmasters find therefore that their choice of staff is limited far more than before Federation, when we were not in the news as often. Many things happen here that are misinterpreted overseas, and vice versa.

Health Services

I feel that more money should be spent in guarding against malnutrition. As it is, all the drugs are made available to treat anaemia and dysentery, etc., amongst the African children, who will eventually in all probability become chronic sufferers later on. If only the money were spent *instead* on giving African babies one good meal a day and school children free milk, it might in the end pay dividends!

Again the conditions of service are so poor that government doctors and sisters are always leaving because they cannot make ends meet. There are far too few government hospitals. Both Europeans and Africans who are in need of hospitalisation in Bancroft have to go 47 miles to Kitwe's Llewellyn Hospital.

There is one European government sister in Bancroft, operating in a modern clinic, treating 200-250 patients daily, but with no doctor nearer than Kitwe that she can consult. She is looking after 4,150 Africans, yet she is on call 24 hours of every day; and although she is not working all that time she is completely tied to Bancroft without any relief—yet her salary scale is the same as six others working in a ward, who have proper off-duty hours and far less responsibility. Even this salary is less than half that the mine hospitals pay their staff.

An African dispensary assistant is paid as little as £13 15s. 6d. a month. It is less than the clinic driver, who gets £14. The dispensary assistant had a three-year training whereas the driver merely had to learn to drive well. African dressers are graded by experience and earn from £6-£7 a month.

The African at least has a government sister in Bancroft: the European has no one. The European has to contact a private doctor and, if not in surgery hours, has to pay his mileage from Chingola. Nothing would actually be gained for the African by having a doctor in charge of the clinic, but it would be to European advantage, and would be nice for the sister to have a doctor close at hand.

The entire health service is governed by far too much "red tape": the power of command is too far away. Queries have to go through the right channels and the answer is always, "We will do our best but . . ." Now when this was a territorial matter, doctors and sisters received far quicker decisions, and it is felt that S. Rhodesia does not realise our problems in the north. A recent example which has irritated many people is a beautiful modern hospital at Kitwe was built without any mosquito gauze in any windows—solely, I am sure, because S. Rhodesia does not realise how vital such a thing is in N. Rhodesia. All our houses are gauzed in, and it is most necessary for comfort, apart from malarial-bearing mosquitoes. S. Rhodesia does not realise that most of N. Rhodesia still boils all its drinking water and milk. I feel we are suffering from ridiculous "over-centralisation." Now if health were still a territorial matter, each hospital would have an allotted sum to spend each year, priority being given to the most essential; and I am sure soup kitchens and extra milk would be in the foreground.

I feel Africans should pay a small sum annually, so that they cease to get something for nothing. There are very many hard workers in the Department of Medical Services, but although they are desperately keen to improve matters they are always hampered and continually frustrated by "red tape," probably because somebody at the top hopes for an O.B.E. for keeping an economic balance.

The African at Bancroft is at a distinct disadvantage when any of his relatives are in hospital at Kitwe: to visit them it costs 15s. return by bus, plus food and accommodation if they are unable to stay with friends. The European from Bancroft suffers too—some of us have to travel 94 miles three times a week, and in extreme cases daily, to receive treatment or to visit relatives.

An African to whom I talked said with deep feeling, "The missionaries came first to teach Africans how to grow, but now so many Europeans and Indians are allowed into the country to make as much money as they are able and then to depart. They are squeezing the country from fat to thin." We therefore need controlled immigration.

Many people, both black and white, resent Federation because our money—and we pay a far higher income tax now—and the Federal Government always seems to fail to make the gesture of beginning things from the North: even television is coming to us at last!

Railway link-ups that would benefit the North, such as Chingola-Lobito or even Sinoia-Salisbury-Lusaka seem never to be considered because they would harm Bulawayo's warehouse trade.

Since Federation we now have a wireless tax of £2 p.a. paid by Europeans and any African earning more than £300 p.a., yet our radio service is no better than before. It is still appalling!

Inter-racial relations have improved tremendously during the last few years. Both sides have made tremendous strides, and I think that the racial problem would virtually die out if we were given a permanent constitution with no change possible for the next 10-20 years. At present the African feels that if he shouts loudly enough the constitution will be changed!

90% of the population, both black and white, realise that Federation is to their ultimate advantage. But we are, if anything, moving too fast—sport is our only common interest, because 50-60 years ago these Africans were living on meat and berries—some were still cannibals. Tribal warfare and witchcraft flourished. Their own discipline was by tribal law, and in too short a time they have lost the secure framework of the tribe.

It is a well known fact that a high percentage of the Provincial Administration is against Federation because they lost so much in the changeover: but ill-feeling towards the African only stems now from the uneducated European. In conclusion I feel that if the Benson Constitution were adopted in this territory, so that briefly anyone who earns more than £720 p.a. may vote—providing that he is 21 years old and literate in English to the extent of writing his own registration paper, and a British subject or a resident of Rhodesia or Nyasaland. In this way Africans and Europeans vote for African and European members of the Legislative Council, and only in this way will partnership work and this land be fit for our sons and daughters to live in.

Kitwe

G. O. PETERS

As a member of the younger generation of Rhodesians, I feel that I am duty bound to express my own ideas and observations on the situation, which confronts your Commission. It is the members of my own generation, who will have to face the future in this country, and meet its many varied and complex problems. Thus, I consider it necessary to comment on any constitutional developments or proposals likely to result from the Commission's report, which will obviously affect the livelihood or status of those people who regard Rhodesia as their permanent home, and who desire to retain the status quo.

It is my contention that the Rhodesians are dutifully bound to a policy of close co-operation and partnership between all races, with those most able and qualified enforcing these basic conceptions.

I find it essential to emphasise the tremendous contribution paid to this country by the European population in all three territories, especially since the advent of Federation in 1953. It is not difficult to imagine the corruption, confusion and conflict which we all realise would have been rife in this country had this contribution not been made. I believe that the majority of the indigenous people of the three territories do not fully appreciate what has been done for them by the Europeans, nor the opportunities and advantages laid before them by the European civilization. It is true that the Europeans have also benefited from the development of this country, but I contend that this is hardly comparable to being raised out of the depths of disease, ignorance and tribal warfare.

Like all other colonial territories, the Federation must move towards self-determination within the British Commonwealth, whilst retaining that loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen. All responsible people within the cross-section of Rhodesian society must have a say in this development, whilst the rate of that progress should surely be judged by merit. It is the job of the Colonial Administration to recognise the time most reliable for this step forward, and to ensure that government rests with those most capable of liberal, democratic, but most of all sensible yet fair, control.

It must not be forgotten that it has taken 126 years (1832 1st Parliamentary Reform Act to 1958 1st entry of Women into the House of Lords) for the full development of universal adult suffrage and the present stage of the constitution in Great Britain. (How many people, even there, realise the full responsibility of a voter? Though judging by the results of the October election, many more have realised that responsibility.)

Surely lessons are to be learnt from this development, even if it was in a homogeneous society, which can be applied to the Rhodesias? The chief one seems to be that progress must necessarily be slow but sure, a policy which the present form of government follows, under the Federal franchise, and one which must be maintained.

On this assessment I believe that the Federation should be given the opportunity to make a definite move towards fuller self determination, with the authority of government resting in the hands of those qualified to do so, under the present Federal franchise.

To expand the Federal franchise to cover anything like the same qualifications as are required under the new Northern Rhodesia system would be an act of injustice to the Europeans of this country, and a betrayal of a perfectly honest desire to develop the Federation in a safe and congenial manner.

Judge for yourselves the capabilities of those recently enfranchised in Northern Rhodesia:—the 1959 election figures for the African elected seats when compared with the European seats speak for themselves if you consider the number of spoilt papers. Surely this exposes the inability and lack of understanding of recently enfranchised African electorate. I do not believe that more than ten per cent of those voters who qualified for the Legislative Council elections in 1959 had any inkling of what they were voting for, or for what principles the candidates stood. Surely, if these voters are going to return to power those so-called African leaders who threaten the security and welfare of the state, they are not to be trusted or given the opportunity to endanger those principles on which the country depends:

To widen the Federal franchise to any extent would be to play into the hands of those whose ambitions are not for the welfare of the people of this country, but purely personal. To lower the franchise is to lower the standards of the principles for which the Federation stands. The aim of all liberal but sane-minded people is to raise those standards, or at least retain the present ones.

I submit that the level of the present Federal franchise is the only adequate one, which can ensure the future maintenance of responsible government. That form of government depends upon intelligent and interested citizens. Public opinion is a distinguishing feature of a democracy, as distinct from an autocratic form of government, which, I am sure you will agree, controls public opinion instead of the other way around. If they so desire all the electorate are fully entitled to attend governmental sittings. The bulwark of democracy is that if a person feels that he cannot conscientiously support the candidates he should consider becoming one himself when an election comes round. Can we honestly say that those recently enfranchised in this territory could present themselves as reliable and responsible candidates, which surely is demanded from the above definition of democratic government? Looking at a recent speech in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council by one of the reactionary African leaders, it seems that these principles are not the ones for which that member stands. (Ref. 99s Hansard page 963 Mr. Nkumbula on motion on Constitutional Conference.)

It is the duty of all those whose interests are in this country, that they raise themselves to or maintain a sense of responsibility. No-one denies anyone the right to vote once he has achieved this standard. Before the reactionary African leaders try to rouse the irresponsible, uneducated and uncivilized mobs, it would be a good idea if they themselves learnt that violence and disruption will never contribute anything but strife between the people of this country. I suggest that these leaders also take a leaf out of Irishman John Redmond's book when trying to achieve a political end, and maybe they will achieve at least the more reasonable of their ambitions.

Everyone admires men who stand up for their rights and are prepared to work for those ends which they believe are beneficial to the people as a whole, but if the means to achieve those ends are to be violence and boycott, then the security and stability of the country are under strain — a position which does not lead to co-operation or progress.

What of the status of the individual territories within the Federation? I believe that Southern Rhodesia, already a Crown Colony, should advance to full Dominion status within the framework of the Rhodesian Dominion. Northern Rhodesia should achieve full responsible government at the earliest opportunity, eventually moving to be on a par with Southern Rhodesia. The same applies to Nyasaland. Should the Colonial Office still deem it necessary to retain the protection over the people in the lesser developed areas, then this must be recognised by the Rhodesian Dominion Authority.

If these suggestions prove to be too ambitious for the Colonial Office's liking, then the minimum demand is the maintenance of the status quo regarding the Federal franchise, but a positive step forward towards fuller responsible government for the developed areas of the Northern territories within the framework of a more independent constitution of the Federation.

Thus is my belief, that in order to ensure a secure future for all races in a United Rhodesia, the form of government should remain in capable and responsible hands.

Broken Hill

21st February 1960

R. W. PROCTOR

Five years ago I left England to take up residence in Northern Rhodesia, at that time, like most Englishmen I considered that Africans out here were not being given a fair

deal, that they were more or less being exploited by the European settlers, and I thought that they (the Africans) should have a voice in the government of the country.

That was five years ago, today my ideas about this position have completely changed. After living amongst them I realise that they are not fitted for governing the country, they are completely lacking in reasoning powers, the majority are ignorant, superstitious, believe in witchcraft, have little or no idea of trying to help themselves, are completely dependant on the European.

Their parrot cry of "One man one vote," is from whatever angle you look at it, unworkable, it is a simple thing for their so-called leaders to work up mass hysteria.

The point of this letter is to say that no one can understand these Africans by coming to this country for a few weeks, but one must live here amongst them for at least a few years in order to realise their lack of responsibility, the people who do understand both them and the country are the much maligned "White Settler," the ones who have made this country what it is today.

Lusaka

26th January 1960

L. E. PULSFORD

I would appreciate an interview with the Monckton Commission when they are in Lusaka, and I would like to bring forward the following points:—

1. Until such time as a definite and assured policy for the future of Northern Rhodesia is agreed upon by the United Kingdom and Federal Governments, which is the major cause of uneasiness in Commerce and Industry in this Territory there is no possibility of the restoration of a sound economy particularly in Commerce.

2. It is essential in Northern Rhodesia to have a Government assisted agricultural policy which would prevent the Rural Native flocking to the towns to seek work. The policy I have in mind is similar to the one which has been operated by the European farm settlers under private enterprise in Nyasaland for the past 30 years or more.

3. The Capital of the Federation must be moved outside Southern Rhodesia and placed in either of the Northern Territories in order that the native population in these two territories do not associate Federation with the idea that complete control of these territories will fall under Southern Rhodesia.

I shall be obliged if you will forward these comments to the appropriate authority and advise me in due course if my request for an interview is to be granted.

Lusaka

26th January 1960

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF SAMFYA*

I do not like Federation because its services and its officers have not been seen here in the Lake Bangweulu Swamps.

I do not like the structure of our Federation here and would not like to see the Federal Government given further responsibilities of looking after our ways of living.

I dislike the Federation for the following reasons:—

A. From 1948 when discussions of a Federation opened up to 1953 when they were concluded, a number of conferences were held with our Chiefs and other African leaders together with the villagers when we were being forced by those leaders of Federation to accept the idea. It was said Federation would bring in Partnership, all African wages would rise, there would be no Colour-bar, but amongst all these none has been accomplished. Subsequently the case was taken to Europe, where it was said that all Africans accepted Federation and yet all of them had rejected; but the obstinacy of the Federal leaders made them to stand strong in saying that the Africans favoured federation.

B. I myself, an African resident in the Luapula Province of Northern Rhodesia, in the Swamps of Lake Bangweulu, reiterate my objections again, that I do not like the Federal Government but like the Northern Rhodesia Government.

I hate the Federal Government for the following reasons:—

1. The Federal Government top officials have never been seen by me nor has my mother and father ever talked to them or to see them.

* Name withheld at the request of the witness.

2. These top officials just live at the Federal Capital.

3. How can I pay my money in form of tax to people who stay so far away, who do not know my sufferings here in the swamps.

4. This Government is not interested in the progress of rural areas (village life).

5. They are bent on developing towns in which they live.

6. How can a person whom I do not see or talk to ever feel like helping me when I am suffering?

7. The Health Department, Post Offices and many other Departments have been handed to this Government. The consequence of this arrangement has been that whenever we demand dispensaries or Post Offices from the Territorial Government, the answer has been that these are Federal matters. The Federal officers have never visited the Lunga area to hear our complaints. Would it be the case that when one has a slight ailment should travel to the big hospitals being built in Ndola, Kitwe, Broken Hill etc., for treatment—a distance of about 400 miles. There are not many rich people in the area who can afford these expenses; most of the people are poor villagers. We want most powers and responsibilities to be handed back to the Territorial Government so that we can be able to ask for services of this nature.

D. Partnership

This Federation advocates and preaches to you people in England that "partnership" has been established in Africa, more especially in our Federation. These are absolute lies. The people cheated are you who are in England because you are very far away. Even when Ministers and members of the British Government visit this country, they are not allowed to talk to we people who are suffering. Now that a measure of talking to you exists, you shall hear more about the ingenuity of the leaders of Federation.

Fear still exists between Africans and Europeans (white and black).

1. How can you be a partner with a man earning £150 and you £3.0.0.

2. You will also not find Africans and Europeans sitting at the same tables in restaurants, hotels or Clubs and Beer Halls—not even in cinemas. In every year I visit towns like Ndola, Kitwe, Mufulira etc., but I have not noticed Europeans and Africans playing together in the manner outlined above. I have also experienced that I cannot enter or sleep in a European hotel however well versed one might be in hotel etiquette.

3. At the introduction of Federation it was promised that:—

(a) Colour-bar would finish.

(b) African salaries would be fair. Would £3 help a man to maintain his family well?

(c) Is advancement applicable only to people with high academic qualifications?

(d) Houses of servants are still poor with nothing attractive in them, more especially to those in remote areas. This is because the Federation is using up all the money to provide things pleasing to Europeans in Nyasaland with the money coming from this country. This money should be used by this country as there would even be some of it being used by we Lunga people.

(e) Federation has brought about conflict in our country.

(f) Federation has been the cause of emergency regulations. Before Federation there was no killing by the Territorial Government.

(g) The Federal Government requires Dominion Status. This is because Federation believes in injustice and does not wish to hear from the British Government or Her Majesty the Queen who have defended us from the injustices from this Government which is inclined to throw aside the African people.

(h) The Federal Government is belligerent and much money is being spent on war and that is all she cares for.

(i) We therefore request the Monckton Commission and the British Government to defend us from this hostility luring us into a Dominion where we shall have no say (independence).

We demand the Northern Rhodesia Government to continue looking after us. She had never shot at us to see us dying like mice.



AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF SAMFYA*

It would be undemocratic to ignore the fact that a great number of the African citizens in Northern Rhodesia are opposed to the present system of Federation. They have a fundamental right to express their opinion.

It would also be very *unfair* to pretend that this opposition is purely and solely "emotional" and based on no valid reason.

It may, very probably, be true that some Africans have been drawn to opposing the Federation on the ridiculous assumption that, with self-government, there will be no tax, no work and, perhaps, no Chiefs, etc. But, nevertheless, there are Africans who think and Africans who read. These consider that the establishment of the Federation in 1953 was but a device likely to undermine the promises repeatedly made in the past by the British Government to the effect that Colonies shall govern themselves (self-government) at sometime in the future.

"Lord Hailey" has said that political future which British Policy has in mind for the African Colonies is that of self-government based on representation of the people ("Thoughts of African Citizenship" by T. R. Batton, p.17).

The main reason for opposing Federation comes from the fact that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have been linked since 1953 to Southern Rhodesia where, since 1923, responsible self-government was granted to a European minority. Hence many an African fears European domination. He believes that Federation has created an obstacle to practical equality with white men, an equality which he had hoped to reach some day through colonial policy of Britain. ("Thoughts of African Citizenship," p. 18-19).

The majority of African people in Northern Rhodesia are simply afraid that the *Constitutional Talks* proposed for this year will perpetuate the present federal system against their wish. In a democracy the interests of the state come second to the liberty of the subject ("African Participation in the Governments," p. 11). They regret that the term "no secession" has been mentioned on several occasions in connection with the proposed constitutional talks. They therefore consider that this is a contradiction with the preamble of the Federal Constitution. Since Federation is to stay, they are convinced that the matter is already judged without their consultation. As a result, many African people have therefore thought of boycotting the Monckton Commission which they think would not diminish the Federal Government.

Responsible Africans cannot but resent the use by certain Europeans, amongst whom are some very high personalities of such expressions as "civilised" people as opposed to "uncivilised people," namely the Africans.

The *Federal Franchise* is practically reserved for "Whites only." There is discrimination and segregation practically everywhere:—

- (a) in residential quarters
- (b) in restaurants, cafés, hotels
- (c) in public transport (Federal concern)
- (d) in hospitals and clinics (Federal concern)
- (e) in schools
- (f) in prisons (Federal concern)

There is discrimination in the professions:

- (a) The example of a non-European nurse, trained in England and in possession of exactly the same qualifications as her European colleagues, cannot be exactly on the same salary scale, simply because of her race. (Federal concern).
- (b) The Rhodesia Railways (also Federal concern). Yet they were the slowest of all departments to decide on African advancement.
- (c) Even in other parts of Federation, African advancement (with same rates of pay for equal jobs) is a slow process.
- (d) Too many jobs are still reserved for Europeans.
- (e) Many industries are centred in Southern Rhodesia and not in N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Unemployment has affected Northern Rhodesia today. Customs (Federal concern). When the duty on cigarettes was increased, it was curious to notice that this affected only cheap cigarettes (mostly bought by Africans).

The *African Affairs Board* enshrined in the Federal Constitution, in fact, was never allowed to fulfil its aims and duties.

It appears that a voluntary education agency has been advised that *multi-racial schools* could not be contemplated at the moment.

* Name withheld at the request of the witness.

In fact the division of responsibility for education, as expressed in Federal Constitution, is to be blamed for that the education of Europeans is the concern of the Federal Government, while the education of the non-Europeans is the concern of the territorial governments.

The same principle of division of responsibility for education is to be blamed for the fact that no understanding has been reached so far in regard the *multi-racial technical colleges*.

There seem to be a number of Medical projects (a Federal concern) which would probably materialised already under the territorial government of Northern Rhodesia, but which, so far, seem to have been shelved by the Federal Ministry of Health (Rural hospital nursing schools, mental hospital).

Since Medical services have gone to Federal Government, conditions of transport of African patients to distant hospitals have become practically impossible, and beyond the means of the average African. The machinery for refund seems to be so complicated that very few uses can be dealt with.

Too much of the revenue of Northern Rhodesia goes to Federal schemes outside Northern Rhodesia itself. Even European businessmen in N. Rhodesia bitterly complain about it. This may greatly hinder the progress of this country.

European politicians can address meetings and make inflammatory statements against the Africans (often in abusive terms) practically with impunity. When African politicians make similar statements against Europeans, they are likely to get into trouble for breach of law.

There is an enormous discrepancy between the sums of money allotted by the Federal Government to the education of a minority of European children and youth, as compared with the sums of money available territorially for the education of the Africans.

The same applies to European hospitals compared with African hospitals. Feeding in African hospitals is something one cannot tolerate.

The unpopularity of even the name of the so-called Federation will never be remedied in the minds of the African people. As Sir Benson puts it, the six years of the existence of the Federation (since 1953) have been wasted insofar as Government has been unable to prove to the Africans that they had anything to gain from the new system.

The only alternative left is, in our mind:—

- (a) to grant self-government (within a certain time) to both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
 - (b) Then, mostly for economic purposes, to have treaties signed between the three self-governing states to the effect of establishing economic co-operation, and possibly a joint system of defence.
- This would fit the statement "No amalgamation."

Of course, the Africans of each territory should be thoroughly prepared for political responsibilities, and territorial franchise should be enlarged. To this effect, more and more secondary schools are needed, more facilities for technical education at all levels must be given (including apprenticeship) and drastic methods must be taken to abolish all sorts of discrimination.

Lastly, I am quoting a very good statement from the Atlantic Charter written by President Roosevelt of the U.S.A. and Mr. Churchill, in August 1941: "No nation, however small, should be forced to be ruled by another. Even backward countries, i.e., not yet developed nor completely civilised, *should be allowed to rule themselves* under a Government chosen by themselves, as soon as they could prove to be clever enough to do so."

Samfya

16th February 1960

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF SAMFYA*

N. Rhodesia *must* secede from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the following reasons:

1. Most of N. Rhodesia's revenue is shared among the four Governments of the Federation and thus the country loses its normal financial standing both directly and indirectly.
2. Every African citizen (educated and un-educated, civilized and uncivilized, poor or rich) has totally opposed to Federation, in fact opposition has been right from its creation both in principle and in detail.
3. Because Federation has caused a lot of African deaths through emergencies.
4. N. Rhodesia has lost most of the rich Departments which have a lot of revenue for the country because they have gone Federal.

*Name withheld at the request of the witness.

5. African Civil Servants have economically suffered since Federation came into being and as a result of No. 1 above, they receive 5% increase in pay, in revising salary scales.

6. There has been unrest in N. Rhodesia, since Federation, e.g., disturbances all over the country since its introduction in 1953, but very very rarely before.

7. The bigger projects, e.g., Kariba dam is only mostly beneficial to European Communities and their Industries.

8. Federation has made us think that the mother body (Colonial Office) has forsaken us and has sold us to the Second Government in Power (Federal Government) with special reference to Sir Roy Welensky's new year's message to the people of the Federation in which he tried to oppress the Colonial Office by trying to exercise powers which is out of bounds and cut us bit by bit from the mother body (Colonial Office).

9. We wish to have our own Independence within the British Commonwealth and not while within the Federation.

10. We wish to continue to have more say to the Colonial Office as we had before Federation.

11. Because Federation was only dictatorially enforced on us despite of African majority's opposition.

12. Because Federal Government gives false promises both to Colonial Office and to the people of the Federation and to N. Rhodesia in particular so as to blind the Colonial Office, e.g.,

Partnership which the Federal Government proposed and promised to put into force in consultation with the Colonial Office has now totally failed practically in Central Africa because of the Whitemen's selfishness of colour, superiority, greediness and other qualities, e.g., high education, high standard of civilization and natural hatred. Concrete examples are obvious. Several prominent Africans, Asiatics and coloureds are refused in their public bars and in their recreational areas never mind how educated, civilized and well dressed one of the above may be.

13. Since Federation an African has lived in fear, thus having no freedom of speech, no freedom of movement.

14. Federal Government has made many African people to separate instead of unite because of its political attitude towards Africans.

15. Federal Government has to a certain extent lessened the true and normal understanding between the Colonial Office and the African people of N. Rhodesia.

16. Comparatively speaking Federal Government's attends to minority's views (Europeans) more than to majority's views (Africans).

17. Federal Government now practically and completely rules N. Rhodesia because the ruling Party now is Federal United Party in which the Federal Prime Minister (Sir Roy Welensky) is the President while comparatively the African majority favours Central Africa Party for one reason or the other.

18. An average African Politician and non-Politician hates Federation as a whole and loves Colonial Office and its policy wholeheartedly.
Samfya

D. C. SAVIYE, Employee of the Mwinilunga Trading Co.

(a) Sirs, for the first thing I would like to say is this

It has been really a wonder to me here that, as the commission is coming there are 21 Europeans and only 5 Africans why is this?

Why not equal?

A balancing scale cannot balance where there is a 21 lb. stone and a 5lb. stone.

(b) Why have you not asked the people to tell whether they like Federation or not and yet you say, what are the difficulties.

(c) The thing is we don't want the so called Federation.

Since the Federation, we have seen that Northern Rhodesia is still on a limit stage.

(d) Colour bar is still existing. No equal pay for equal work.

(e) The Government is bringing in unnecessary laws. Sometimes money which is to be used by Northern Rhodesia is sent to be used by Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it just goes on changing like that.

For this, we have seen that our countries will not grow rapidly.

Our side is always supported, there are many on the white side in the Legislative Council than on the Africans side.

This is becoming serious on our side, it means that all these are the badness of Federation.

I now come to an end that we don't want Northern Rhodesia to be a Federal Government, neither do we want Federation.

Mwinilunga

12th February 1960

THE PEOPLE of SCHILENDA VILLAGE

Here are the points which the people of Shilenda wish to give to the Monckton Commission.

1. We do not want Federation because it has not organised well the Medical Services. Many people are dying because of distances from the Rural Areas to the Kitwe Hospital. The Northern Rhodesia Government organised Medical Services very well.

2. We do not want Federation because our Chiefs will have no power in their areas—as it is in Southern Rhodesia—there are no chiefs.

3. Federation is bad because it has taken the great amount of money to Kariba which would have helped with the Schools and Developments in Northern Rhodesia.

4. Federation is bad because it will bring bad laws of passes to go anywhere.

5. Federation is bad because it will bring some people who are highly educated and as a result of this we shall have no good jobs in this country of ours.

6. We do not want Federation because Federation will stop the people from cutting gardens where they wanted to do so.

7. We do not want Federation because it has the power of Europeans. We only want our Northern Rhodesia Government.

8. We do not want Federation because there will be no Headmanship as it is in Southern Rhodesia.

9. We do not want Federation because in pre-Federation or before Federation traders used to buy food from our villages but since the advent of Federation the traders have stopped buying food.

10. What we want is the Queen of England to Rule our country as hitherto and not Sir Roy Welensky who wants his Federation in this country.

The speaker in this case will be R. Malitati, Court President.
Solwezi

17th February 1960

P. F. SHIELDS

I wish to submit the following as evidence to your Commission.

Firstly I would like to say that I was born and brought up in Ireland and have natural sympathy towards any people striving for their own national independence. I have spent the past nine years working in the Federation and have two children born in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.

I have travelled extensively over both Southern and Northern Rhodesia and I have met and worked with many hundreds of Africans but in all this time I can say with complete truthfulness that I have never yet met one African who even had the slightest inkling or idea of what was required to run a modern country and in fact most of them in my opinion would never understand what was going on, and would always be extremely easy meat for the few Political Agitators and Extremists who are to be found in most large African Locations.

In other words, I would have no confidence whatsoever in the future of this country if any major powers were handed over to the Africans in the Federation at this stage of their development, as I could not expect the type of impartial government which we have been used to and in my opinion the development of this country would practically cease in a very short time if any of these self-styled leaders of the Africans got into control.

A perusal of the 1959 N. Rhodesia Registrars report throws some very interesting light on the inability of the present day Africans even to run their own workers' Trade Unions honestly and fairly. The registrar states that no African Trade Union has even been able to submit returns that were capable of being understood, in fact in the case of the African Railway Workers' Union (Northern Rhodesia), their returns up to and including 1958 had to be entirely ignored as they were completely beyond comprehension.

As the leaders of these Trade Unions are generally the most active and vociferous in their demands for total African Government, one is tempted to believe that their present



methods of running their Trade Unions would be applied to the running of the country.

In my opinion there is no alternative to Federation and the Federal Government should be granted full and supreme powers as soon as possible to destroy all ideas anyone has that the Federation can be dismembered. I would be the last to deny that Africans should have the right of voting for their own interests and I would like to humbly suggest that at least in these two Northern Territories, Adult Suffrage should be granted but all Legislation passed should be capable of being Vetoed by the Federal Government which should sit as a type of Higher Government which could delegate certain powers to the Territorial Governments but retaining most of the important Ministries to itself. The Voting qualifications for Federal Government elections should be kept high, ensuring that only civilised and thinking men should elect the Federal Government which would have supreme power.

This method would allow the Africans time to gather experience in the sphere of Government, something which in my opinion not one of them in thousands knows even the slightest thing about.

I would also like to say that all too little has been done for Africans in the farming sphere. Most Africans are born farmers and I think that more money should be spent in opening up and irrigating small farms of say 10 acres to be made available to law-abiding Africans and worked under a communal system, for there is no surer way to breed contentment than to let people own their land and allow them to have their roots down deep and an interest in the country, then they would not be so liable to listen to Political Agitators who are generally using these simple minded people for their own Power Seeking ambitions.

Above all, the Central African Federation's Affairs should be taken out of the British House of Commons and cease to be made the football in the nasty Vote catching game being played in the United Kingdom, especially by the British Labour Party, for I would say that every European in this Federation has done more for Africans individually and generally, than any Labour M.P. who has never lived in Africa.

Broken Hill
22nd February 1960

W. SIFANU—Mbereshi Mission

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be dissolved.

The following are my reasons why I support the breaking up of the Federation :

1. Northern Rhodesia Losing Instead of Gaining

Since Federation came into being, Northern Rhodesia has been losing economically. If Northern Rhodesia used all her revenue from her rich minerals for the past seven years, she would have by now been ten times ahead of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but this has been shared among three countries comprising Federation, while as Northern Rhodesia gained nothing from other two colonies.

2. Communication

Because of Federation roads in almost rural areas of Northern Rhodesia have been neglected. Communication among the Africans in rural areas is very difficult. The grant for improving and building roads is used to improve the communication among the unfeeling greed white settlers.

3. African Health

The Ministry of Health has been under the control of the Federal Government for seven years, but the conditions in which the African hospitals are, in this country are very shocking, for example in Lusaka African hospital, sick people sleep outside in verandah and the treatment is hopelessly useless. On the other hand the hospitals for the voracious white invaders are magnificent and comfortable, the treatment is excellently well.

4. African Education

Northern Rhodesia has only one African school which leads to University Education. This has been the case because Europeans have made it a point to hinder or prevent African progress. Europeans have many of such high schools such as Gilbert Rennie, and Jane Rennie, to mention but only a few.

Without Federation Education would have gone up. Northern Rhodesia would have many African Secondary Schools.

5. African Political Advancement

Federation was formed in order to impede and hinder the African Political Advancement. This can be proved by one of the statements made by Sir Roy, when he said at the formation of Federation in Salisbury on March 26 1953 : " We

Europeans have no intention of handing over the Federation to any one. Even in a hundred or two hundred years' time, the African shall never hope to dominate the Federation." This clearly shows that an African will never become a Prime Minister of this Federation for the Whites.

It has been seen for many times that any person from overseas who came with liberal minds or thought and tries to sympathise with Africa grows unpopular among the inhuman White Settlers.

Africans who demand their right to vote and take part in government of their country as citizens are hated and imprisoned by the Whites.

The qualifications to vote are unreasonable, and are selfishly high, so that Africans fail to qualify for votes.

All these prove that as far as Federation is in existence Africans will not participate in the Government of their own country.

6. Partnership

This has been said to be the aim or policy of the Federation. It is a mockery to speak of Partnership between Europeans and Africans. When black is an opposite of white and will never go together.

In the Federation there is no equal pay for equal work or education.

Africans who have the same education and the same knowledge of work with Europeans their pay is selfishly kept low because of the colour of their skin and texture of their hair.

I know I have wasted my time in giving this evidence because this Commission was designed in order to meet the demands of the whites and no blacks.

After all a great number of these whites are of British blood and British Government will make it a point to agree to their plan, it does not matter whether they are at the disadvantage of Africans.

Kawambwa

A. M. SIKAZWE

It's the desire of an all African community to support this Commission which is believed should show frankness and complete Independence of the British, Federal and Central Governments which are wooed by the minority European Settlers in this country.

Looking back to 1953 when the Federation was imposed despite the bitter opposition of an all African masses in the two Northern territories, i.e., Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland ; with sympathisers beyond our borders. A point to register was a critical division of opinion on the imposed Federation also within rank and file of the European settlers.

Partnership

This term became alive when it found its way into the Preamble of the Federal Constitution, which is merely an introduction without any legal binding implications. It did not take long before the implications of the said partnership began to become more and more abtruse as far as the Federal Government is concerned and in general the territorial Governments as the Governing Party plays rolls in Central Governments also. They have not made any constructive contributions towards the racial problems. Partnership means a different thing in Salisbury from what it might mean in Lusaka. In short, it has found no place for implementation for these settlers are total believers of European supremacy at the expense of the African.

British Government

This Government was committed to consenting to the imposition with a view that Partnership would work which in seven years has proved a complete failure with introduction of discriminatory legislation—two voters' rolls with so high qualifications to deprive of the African participation in the country's affairs. Now on this issue for Britain's consenting and approval of this discriminatory rolls despite the militant protests from the African masses and the African Affairs Board united which Board was established to safeguard African interests. The establishment of these two separate rolls marking discriminatory practice is against the constitution whatever be the place to find refuge. It is Britain to whom we owe our allegiances that for the second time has gone ahead to putting us on a wholesale market to numerically inferior European settlers, consequently she has lost the faith and confidence the African had in her.

I wish to allege that the existence or inclusion of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland within the Federal borders is illegal as far as Democracy based on British traditions and justice is

concerned. Democracy is government of the people, by the people, for the people. A government with the consent of the governed, i.e., people.

Dominion Status

This is one of the principal objectives of the Federal Party. No. 3 reads: "To obtain full membership of the Commonwealth as soon as possible."

In view of the trend of events it has proved unacceptable which not even the richest Solomon could view without concern.

Accordingly the numerically superior Africans who are well over 6,600,000 within the imposed Federation are demanding in the strongest terms possible for Self Government based on British Democracy.

This popular system of Government favours the Africans who were before and still opposed to the Federation much more with experience of the trend of events in seven years elapsed.

The establishment of a Federal State was merely a way and means of eliminating African political social and economical advancement, i.e., to be turned to worship apartheid and remain in an ending slavery.

African Nationalism

It's no policy of any political organisation African Mouth-piece that is worked for attainment of Master race but to do away with discriminatory legislation and attain equality for all lawful inhabitants citizens of N. Rhodesia, and restoration of native customs and traditions by the establishment of the National Council of chiefs above the Cabinet to preserve these customs and traditions, full participation for everyone in country's affairs from and above age 20 provided is normal—*Right of vote*, proper representation in legislative and on Executive Council, to encourage social, political and economical advancement for every inhabitant, also the declaration of universal human rights as laid in the United Nations Charter, to foster racial harmony for all inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia so there is no danger for the future of any such inhabitants believing in majority rule and equality—Africans by virtue.

To further strengthen the stand against Federation I must point out the beginning of Emergency Powers Regulations which has resulted in detention of African political and Trade Union leaders demanding the preservation of rights and freedoms which are violated by the companies as directors of the present Government. These leaders are committed to detention not for wrong, but patriotism—protection of rights, peace and security. These detentions are mere frustrations to create disunity among the Africans by keeping them live in fears.

Sir Roy

The Prime Minister of the Federation has repeatedly and very severely told meetings his intention to cut off ties between N. Rhodesia and Whitehall which he alleges to give too much interference, e.g., in Nyasaland on constitutional changes, also that the Whitehall paves the way to African domination—shame "this is not our policy."

It is here brought to this Commission to recommend that we shall no longer consider to accept anything short of our freedom. It is not our belief either to remain under the perpetual servitude. Any consideration for the cutting of ties must be borne to be only our Independence not *foreign*.

I am certain also that this Commission is aware of the African reaction in this territory about its composition, so it is for the Commission to prove and win African confidence only from your recommendations. There is much expected from your recommendations; secession has much weight.

Abercorn

10th February 1960

N. SIMAKANDO

I am not at daggers drawn to the Federal Government. But I have a black book with the opinion of giving more power to the Federal Government than the Government of N. Rhodesia.

1. Federal Government has only a buckle armour by the side of Europeans.
2. Federation seems to have a bolt from the blue in words not in action.
3. It has brought a babel to both Europeans and Africans living in Central Africa.
4. Federation does not burn the candles at both sides.

I do not mean to boycott the Federation, but would like N. Rhodesia Government to have more power in Northern Rhodesia than the Federal Government.

Kalabo

4th March 1960

T. SINADAMBWE

Personally myself I think that the powers which were given to the Federal Government should be returned to the Northern Rhodesia Government.

The Northern Rhodesia Government shared the power to the Federal Government without consulting its inhabitants.

We Northern Rhodesia inhabitants we were happy with our Government and we never complained about its ruling.

Personally myself I wish to know the reason why the Northern Rhodesia Government wants to sell its people to the Federal Government?

If Northern Rhodesia Government find it hard to rule people of Northern Rhodesia well, it is best to let them have self Government instead of selling to the Federal Government.

We were happy, and we are happy with its ruling. We are not prepared to be ruled by a group of selected persons who mainly are chosen to promote ill feeling between different classes of the communities.

We are protectorate people, and we are not charter people who can agree to any arrangement.

I am repeating saying that if the Northern Rhodesia Government fails to rule us and it is best to grant self Government instead of selling us to the Federal Government.

The way how the Federation was imposed was undemocratic because it was imposed by power not by agreement between African and European.

The Northern Rhodesia Government and the Federal group agreed each another without African corn. Therefore we see no reason why we should favour the Federal Government.

Sir, Roy Welensky's speech made people understand the opinion of Federal Government upon African. Sir, Welensky said that the idea of break up Federation should be forgotten, he went on saying that he would ask the conference to encourage African to look to the Federal Government instead of looking to the Whitehall.

Sir, Welensky said that the colonial Laws vility Act should be abolished because it prevent the Federal Government to make its rules. To finish with, the N. Rhodesia Government should take all the power given to the Federal Government.

I understand one of the phrase says no one can serve two masters yet a time; I am sure we cannot manage to obey two Governments peacefully.

The Root of All Difficulties Is Kariba

It was said that when Kariba is closed everything will be at easy. Now Kariba is completely finished everybody are busy hanging up the electricities for easing the difficulties met before Kariba was closed.

Therefore Northern Rhodesia Government should take back its power. Federation is really helpless to primitive people like myself. Federation is good for those people who are highly trained, people of forms and degrees.

Badness of Federation to African

1. High taxes. (2) Higher fees in schools. (3) High Rent. (4) Dearness of goods in stores.

We don't want to join S. Rhodesia Government because its rules are bad, Northern Rhodesian people were born free and grow up freely. S. Rhodesia people were born in free and grow up unfree people.

S. Rhodesia Government control every trees, fire-woods, while in Northern Rhodesia people regard trees as their properties and they regard land as their own gift from God.

We shall accept if the word Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland read Kariba Federation, because these two territories will get every thing from Kariba to ease their difficulties in their countries. Joining of these three territories means to join everything into one thing.

- 1) Food 2) 1 water 3) 1 Governor 4) 1 Rule.

Southern Rhodesia people will be happy because they are crowded and they have no lands to plough, all good lands are in the hands of white settlers.

Federal Government should control Kariba Dam and power lines. If ruled by Federal Government are we still called protected people?

I am telling the Monckton Commission that all power given to the Federal Government by the N. Rhodesia Government should be taken back, and it will be immoral for the Monckton Commission to contemplate such thing or to encourage Federal Government to continue using the power which belong to Northern Rhodesia Government. We are protected people and the power which protecting us should not be given to the Federal Government. We are children of the Queen of England, and we should not be ruled by formed group.



Formed group should rule Kariba Dam which caused all these ill feelings between white and black.

Chisekesi

6th February 1960

A. SINVULA

Aim: Long live Colonial Office Rule.

I strongly oppose Federation, and worse still, is the self-independence that is in question now.

My reasons are:

1. I found nothing wrong with the British Colonial Office Rule and its Laws so as to necessitate changes. If people demanding constitutional changes are dissatisfied, they had better leave our country.

2. We Africans are not yet fully educated to compete with Sir Roy and his friends, so it is too early to leave us in the hands of such ambitious men. Why Sir Roy demands self government is self evident; that is, he wants to do it now before we are fully educated and so take the advantage of our ignorance.

3. We have no confidence in the leaders of the Federation because settlers are always listened to rather than the poor African e.g.

(a) Federation was demanded by settlers, so it was forced on us.

(b) Africans are always not called when constitutions are drawn.

4. In the Federation, Africans can be arrested for no reason when there are political discussions, e.g. our leading politicians. Some in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were shot down for no reason, whatsoever. This, we fear, will be the procedure if self government is granted.

5. Northern Rhodesia is a Protectorate under Her Majesty the Queen so it must remain under Her care till we Africans want self government. By then, it will be an African State like Ghana, not like South Africa.

6. Federation has proved a failure since it was introduced, e.g. State of emergencies which we did not know are now common.

7. As a Mulozi, I know that in Barotseland we have well written agreements which were made with Queen Victoria, so if self government is granted to the Federation, Barotseland will secede.

We are still satisfied with Colonial Office Rule. Let it guide us till we are able to stand on our own.

Mongu

D. S. SMITH and MRS. M. A. SMITH

Written evidence by Duncan Schroeder Smith, Building Contractor and Decorator and Mary Augusta Smith of 7, Edinburgh Avenue, Mufulira to the Monckton Commission.

We wish to express our dissatisfaction with the present functioning of the Federation, which has resulted in a lessening of the privileges of the Northern Rhodesians to bring them into line with Southern Rhodesia practice.

We have noticed this trend in every government department which is now under the Federal control.

European Education

Free milk and dental treatment have been suspended; halls are not built for Primary and Infant Schools unless the Parent Teachers Association supplies nearly half the money; equipment now has to be ordered from Salisbury and even when the official store no longer has the required stocks it is difficult to obtain permission to buy them locally; children now have to supply their own pencils and rulers. All these losses to the children date from Federation.

Health

Charges for Non-Northern Rhodesian Government personnel at Government hospitals are extremely high, they include not only doctors fees and treatment fees. Against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of Chingola and Mufulira the hospital at Kitwe was built on so large a scale that these two towns will be able to have Cottage Hospitals only when they have been able to raise the greater part of the money for their building. Mufulira children whose fathers are not employed by the mine do not receive many visits from their parents as the hospital is 26 miles away.

Transport

Copperbelt businessmen have continually requested the Federal Government to negotiate with the foreign companies controlling the Lobito Railway concerning freight and charges, and through trains from Ndola. These requests until this present month have been turned down out of hand because granting them would mean a loss to the Rhodesia Railways and Southern Rhodesia although time taken in transport from Europe to the Copperbelt would be very considerably decreased. Ndola airport buildings are still temporary.

Customs

Before Federation a large number of imported goods from the United Kingdom came into Northern Rhodesia free from customs, fruit, tinned and bottled foods from the Union of South Africa also were customs free. After Federation customs were charged on these in conformity with those existing in Southern Rhodesia. Customs charges and increased freight charges on Rhodesia Railways have raised our cost of living considerably, and as the Copperbelt's agriculture is not extensive has cut the variety of foods (chiefly fruit and vegetables) the average family can afford.

Immigration

Elderly parents of settlers to the Federation are not in good health but without independent means are not permitted to take up residence with their children in the Federation if they are at present in Europe, if they are in the Union of South Africa they may do so provided their children will stand the security for them. A higher proportion of Northern Rhodesians than Southern Rhodesians are affected by this legislation.

Post

Air letters now cost 6½d. since a charge of ½d. is made for the form, which increase is contrary to the spirit of the international agreement entered by countries using this form of letter. Although telephone rentals have been reduced charges are now made for every local call. Since there is no public transport within the towns reliance has to be placed on telephone calls for such things as household shopping.

From the above examples we consider that while there are more Southern Rhodesian Members of Parliament than Northern, the citizens of Northern Rhodesia, as a minority group, must expect further diminution of their privileges whenever these are contrary to Southern Rhodesia practice. The Copperbelt in particular will suffer financially because it is so far distant from the Federal Capital. It's only benefit to date is the extension of the Cold Storage Commission north of the Zambezi.

Mufulira

D. H. D. SOKO

Before federation came into force, there had been no much talk. In 1953 the Africans became to distrust other races—especially after Dr. Scott left Nyasaland Protectorate, and after holding many meetings with the Africans of that country.

My own views on federation, I am not hesitating to say that a great deal has been done to the two territories i.e. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. For example, we have now good hospitals and the number of the Africans in Legislative Council has been increased. Not only in Legco, but we have also our African leaders in the Federal Parliament. Handing over the government to us at present would, certainly, mean a civil war among ourselves. Speaking about Nyasaland, the inhabitants there are of different tribes, and it is for this reason that there is no Paramount Chief or Chiefs in that Protectorate. Late Inkosi Mumbelwa II was the Paramount Chief for Jeres only, and not for other tribes. I have much doubt if other tribes would agree to be under the Ngoni or the Ngoni under others. Some years back the question of a Paramount Chief in Nyasaland was raised. Each tribe considered to have a Paramount Chief from their own tribe. Because of this I believe that this is the reason why there is none in Nyasaland.

The Ngoni now living in Nyasaland migrated from Zululand in 1825 being afraid of the fearful Chief Tshaka. They conquered many tribes in Nyasaland including one of Dr. Banda. Having self government now while the Africans are still untrained by the Europeans, I doubt very much if the Ngoni would be prepared to be led by Dr. Banda whose tribe was conquered by hem or by one of the Malawi Congressmen.

I always appreciate to see Labour Party members visiting the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but I do not agree with their attitude on Nyasaland. They know very little about us. What they know is what they hear: from the few African Politicians who go to Europe. Mr. Stoehouse visited the federation last year, he met many African politicians. It is again that the people started making troubles against other races. Without visits of the Labour Party Members in the federation, I do not think that all these troubles would have been occurred. About 52 people lost their lives in Nyasaland last year.

We know that we are going to rule, but this can only be done after we have been trained by our present leaders i.e. White people. Until we have been trained and proved capable to run the native government, then we shall ask for self rule. Nyasaland is a very poor protectorate. No one could deny that the Federal Government has done much to raise up that country. Many Africans left and are still leaving the Protectorate in search of employment outside. If Nyasaland will remain within the federation, I have every reason to believe that work will be available enabling us remaining in the country.

On the other hand, it appears that the word "federation" was not fully interpreted to the Africans in 1953. I believe there are still other Africans living in rural areas who do not understand the meaning of "federation". I think that this should now be done to them if the federation is not to break up. The Commission must bear in mind that there are many Africans who have not yet been visited by their fellow Africans who are representing them in the Legislative Council. This is another reason why in most cases their ideas differ from theirs and those of their Chiefs.

It appears that the Labour Party Members are too fast in saying that government should be handed over to us by this time. Time is not yet ripe. We shall be glad to see federation of the three territories continue.

Mongu

27th February 1960

THE SOLWEZI SUPERIOR NATIVE AUTHORITY

Memorandum and Associated Documents

1. Rejection of Federation

In accordance to our opposition to the Federation ever since it was imposed upon us in 1953, we Chiefs, Councillors and our subjects of this District, *strongly reject* the continuation of the Federation as per the attached copies of a resolution dated the 30th August, 1952, and a letter dated the 16th December, 1958.

2. In addition to what we have stated above, Federation has not brought peace in the country. Recently, there have been troubles in Nyasaland and since Federation was imposed on us our subjects have begun to be disloyal to us. We foresee that if Federation is continued, its future is not bright.

3. Federation has also brought hardships in the Social Services. Some of these are:—

- (i) Medical Facilities
- (ii) Educational Services
- (iii) Postal Services
- (iv) Finance of the country, e.g., Minerals

4. Federation has encouraged immigration of Europeans, etc., into the country.

5. This memorandum to give evidence is written in council of ten Chiefs and their Councillors and we would like to give oral evidence in council of all ten Chiefs, and Councillors.

Solwezi

19th January 1960

Annexure A

Letter from R. Kalepa

(Administrative & Finance Councillor to the Native Authority)

Sir,

I attach herewith the following copies from the Solwezi Superior Native Authority for your action as follows:—

1. Copy of the Solwezi Native Authority of the meeting with and welcome address to Mr. Morgan of the Central African Bureau Colonial Office in London (one) which please cycle-style.

2. Copies of the views of the Solwezi Chiefs, Councillors and the people of this District on the Proposed Federal Conference in 1960 (5), which please distribute as follows:—

- (i) Secretary for Native Affairs, Lusaka (one).
- (ii) Provincial Commissioner, North Western Province (one).
- (iii) Sir John Moffat, Member Representing African Interest in the Federal Parliament of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (one).
- (iv) Mr. Morgan of the Central African Bureau, Colonial Office in London (now on Colonial Tour) (one) in addition to the welcome address already handed to him on 8th December, 1958.

3. In addition to the copies of the views of the Solwezi Superior Native Authority, I have attached on each copy of the *Petition* of the Solwezi Superior Native Authority on its rejection to the Federal Proposals in 1952.

Solwezi

Annexure B

Unanimous Views of the Solwezi Chiefs, Councillors and all the People on Proposed Federal Conference 1960

We the under mentioned Chiefs of the Solwezi District have critically viewed the imminence of The Federal Constitutional Revision Conference of the Federation in 1960—demanding more power of Dominion Status from the British Government.

We are aware that the only safeguard for our Political, Economic and Social Interests is through the Protectorate Government for which the Secretary of State for the Colonies is responsible to the British Government.

We the Solwezi Chiefs and Councillors together with all our people have united together to denounce, object or reject any Constitutional move or Scheme such as: Dominion Status, or Amalgamation, etc., leading to our withdrawal from the Queen's Reign as already opposed per attached letter of 1952.

We therefore beg to put on record for public information that we adhere to various assurances:—

1. That any future development towards Dominion Status in Northern Rhodesia until such development is requested or agreed to by the majority of all the Inhabitants living in Northern Rhodesia, instead of putting the matter concerning the Africans to the Federal Parliament or else where to be dealt with by the electorates (as it had been done in the case of Federation when it was imposed against the African wishes).

2. That we completely adhere to the Preamble of the Federal Constitution which runs as follows:—

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue, under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate Governments for so long as their respective so desire, the said Government remaining responsible (subject to the Ultimate Authority of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom), for, in particular, the control of land in those Territories and for the Local and Territorial Political Advancement of the peoples thereof.

So, under the circumstances, we have the right to put on record before the Advent of the proposed Federal Conference that we have unanimously come to the conclusion that we desire to enjoy ourselves continuously under the protection of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, as, we abhor and hate to be handed over to the European Settlers of Northern Rhodesia against our wishes.

We prefer to be ruled and be under a Monarch other than a Government of Political Parties, as it was in the early days of the British South Africa Company, this should not be repeated.

Signed by

- (1) Senior Chief Mujimanzovu
- (2) Senior Chief Musele
- (3) Chief Kapijimpanga
- (4) Chief Mulonga
- (5) Chief Mumena
- (6) Chief Musaka
- (7) Chief Mukumbi-Lubinga
- (8) Chief Chikola
- (9) Mwelumuka for Chief Matebo
- (10) Senior Chief Kaliile

Annexure C

Resolution of Federal Government Proposal

At the public meeting held at Solwezi Native Authority Headquarters in the evening of 30th August, 1952. It was unanimously resolved that the Solwezi Chiefs their Departmental and Traditional and Provincial Councillors including Village Headmen and people in the area, strongly disapproved the proposal of Central African Territorial Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Council as previously already stated, wishes to remain under the direct rule and protection of the Colonial Office in the United Kingdom.

The Council concluded by saying that, this today's statement on the question of Proposed Federation is and should be the last and in any no other way this Council will not change its attitude on the Federal Proposal and stated that the Council should not be asked any more to change its opinion.

Kaonde—Chief Mujimanzovu
Lamba—Chief Kalilele
Lunda—Chief Musele

For and on behalf of Solwezi Native Authority,
Solwezi District

SOME AFRICAN RESIDENTS OF SOLWEZI *

The African Attitude Towards The Commission

Many Africans, and we are included, justifiably feel there is almost no point in giving evidence to your commission Lord Monckton, because your findings will not be used for

* Names withheld at the request of the witnesses.

considering or recommending secession. From the launching of the Federation and Nyasaland to this day the African opinion has been bitter. At the start we gave strong objection, but the Federation was forced through. The reasons we gave were said to be unreasonable simply because the European wanted to gain his end. He, the European, is still striving to make his position in our land firmer and firmer relying on "blood is thicker than water."

Colonial Office and the Protectorates

Northern Rhodesia is a protectorate and as such she is looking forward to a day when she will be able to stand alone with Her Majesty's continuous support. It is crystal clear that this protection was meant for the indigenous people and their land and not for the settlers as these did not exist then. The question of the settlers arose much later when Missionaries who came to christianize us, traders to bring us up in commercial, etc., matters, and Her Majesty's representatives to govern us and to foster the protection, fell into and swelled up the category of settlers. These three groups worked so hard that in a comparatively short time our Northern Rhodesia shot up socially, economically and politically. Needless to say that this is the British competitive characteristic strengthened by the 1884 Berlin Conference Policy. Since the appearance of the settlers to the initiation of the Federation, we, the indigenous people and the settlers lived happily together, under the Queen's protection, drifting to our prospective self-government.

Transfer of Protection

The Federation, Lord Monckton, is striving to break us from Her Majesty's protection and put us into the hands of the settlers. This we strongly reject because we see no reason why there should be such transfer of protection. Worse than that, we do not want to become South Africa Africans without anybody to look to when we are in unbearable difficulties. Still under the Queen's protection, the African dies ruthlessly in Nyasaland, who can fail to foresee the position of the indigenous people under the settlers' "protection." The settler is quite sure that his brothers in Whitehall will help him win Central Africa and rule and dominate over us perpetually. In 1949, Sir Roy Welensky said, "Our best chance of breaking away from the Colonial Office lies in the Federation." The settlers are doing this in order to get their position quite secure when Africans are half awake. When the Federal Constitution was prepared in 1953, we were given to understand that it was prepared only tentatively. But it is clear to us today that it was so said simply to quieten the then few vocal Africans, because no sooner had the Federal taken place than the settlers began to say "Federation has come to stay."

Africans and Her Majesty's Representatives

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Lord Monckton, has very sadly deprived us of the respect of and faith in Her Majesty's representatives. To our disappointment, we have observed and noticed that the people who came out to carry out Her Majesty's obligations and the fulfilment of the Queen's promises for protection over us have shamefully dropped that honourable bidding and are now doing Sir Roy Welensky's will. We hate Federation and consequently we have a burning hate for the agents of its government—D.C.'s, P.C.'s, Governors, etc. They are the ones who have imprisoned many a poor African for uttering any word against Federation. They have echoed "Federation has come to stay." It can not be denied that Federation culminating in Dominion Status means nothing less than annihilation of Her Majesty's Protection over us and the loss of our only asset—land. So anyone supporting Federation is correctly dubbed our enemy.

Developments and Promotions

The Federation is like a sugar-coated pill. The pill is bitter but you do not know it; it tastes good and looks good. The coating makes it palatable. The Federation shows us improved roads, the university College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Kariba Dam, and a few other undertakings. But all these are the coating of the bitter European Dominion, a sure doom of the African. Some black and white Europeans, no doubt, have tabulated what developments and promotions have taken place in these three territories of the Federation since 1953, supporting the pamphlet by the High Commissioner to the Federation. It is all well to do this, but it is not true to say that these are the fruits of the Federation. Federation has no mines from which to tap its financial ability. These promotions and developments would have been much more pronounced in Northern Rhodesia without this parasite (Federation). Northern Rhodesia had its own Schemes for Hydro-Electric Power, for Hospitals, Higher Education, Agriculture, etc. It is a pity to see that funds which could be wisely spent on our developments are being wasted on the Federal Ministers.

Partnership

Some yet say that they support Federation because it introduces partnership. They forget that partnership is a territorial affair and they don't see in it a junior and a senior partner. Where is the mystery which can only be solved by a Federation? Is this partnership between countries or races? If it is between races why the solution can best be given by a territory.

Review of the Constitution

Finally, Lord Monckton, we thought our evidence was going to help in considering whether to stay the Federation or not. But we shudder to see that our evidence will merely make available to the five governments assistance in their review of the constitution. The far-sighted Africans have done well by boycotting your commission. We who have given evidence have done so hoping some miraculous thing may happen to the dismantlement of the Federation.

To sum up, Lord Monckton, (1) We want to be ruled by Her Majesty's Government not by the settlers'. When we are ready we shall ask for independence. (2) Her Majesty's Government helped to put us into this Anti-African Independence Government. We ask the same Government, our guardian, to hear our cries and take us out of the Federation. (3) We should not be asked to help review the Federal Constitution because we do not want their Federation. The whole thing is sick-causing to us.

AN AFRICAN RESIDENT OF SOLWEZI *

Memorandum and Annexure giving Extracts reprinted from Nshila No. 51

Reading from Nshila reporter of Monckton Commission No. 51 where he says that a man was to go to the court for a case to be settled against his neighbour and he refused to give evidence, the magistrate would listen to his neighbour's evidence, but would have no picture at all of the other side of the case. Would such a man be surprised if the magistrate settled the case in favour of his neighbour? And he goes on saying that "I believe" he would not. Exactly, why would such a man be surprised at all when he does not know the actual case.

Really and truly to my mind I see that this statement is vice versa.

Supposing again a certain man was resting in his home peacefully and happily, suddenly another man comes to him and tries to insult the resting peaceful man, he does not reply to such bad words said by the man who insulted him, because he does not reply to the quarrelsome man, would the quarreller go to the court and report that he had insulted someone resting peacefully in his home, "having not answered me" I have come to report him here, Sir? Would the magistrate go and call up the man insulted seated in his home who did not mind to such bad words from a certain man who actually said before the magistrate that he had abused someone for nothing? Would the magistrate settle the case in favour of the quarreller who came to report and because he gave the evidence and because the seated and insulted man did not give evidence? May I know, Sir. I personally do not think so. But what he (the quarrelsome man) would do is to try and advise the seated man idly what to do and how to be, as a mine manager. Provincial Commissioner, get proper education, proper Technical courses, better jobs of any kind and so on. I think the seated man may accept this idea because he is seated idly. But not scorning and fooling at him he would either not mind for he does not want troubles.

This applies to the Federal Government which tried to force or ask the three territories, Rhodesia and Nyasaland to combine together. Of course the three Territories which were free did not want Federal Government though they were low in education and in technical courses, and, yet the same Government forcing other three Governments to combine. This is the Government which is now appealing to the Monckton Commission to be helped in order to combine the three Territories.

Then the Territories concerned should not say anything at all. And they should be away from the Monckton Commission since they were not ones who wanted this Federation. Was there any accordance at all? If there wasn't why should the Federal Government then be worried, and yet it was, and it is the one asking or forcing the other Territories to combine as one Government so called Federal Government.

In short to keep quiet is better than troubling ourselves on this matter which we refused just when Federation was born on 4th September, 1953.

Personally thinking we should first be educated properly and be given a chance to have proper technical courses, better jobs, better salaries as white people do, then Federal Government

* Name withheld at the request of the witness.

last. I then think this would be right for every person white or black.

But at present though Federation will be accepted still we shall just be assistants to Europeans in every occupation and be looked down by them since we are not educated enough and have no special Technical courses.

Finally Federation was (and is) the one Government who came and said to the concerned governments that there should be a such Government but the three Governments did not like the Federal Government. Then why should the same go on forcing other governments. Is there anything behind it?

Actually if you want the Territories to change as you say in Nshila reporter, that times are changing fast in Africa. I strongly accord, they should and we should be changing in Education, better salaries, better jobs, better courses as times are changing.

A certain African working as a District Commissioner, Manager of Schools or Assistant mine manager, or assistant District Commissioner and so on.

This is what I have to say.

Solwezi

18th February 1960

Annexure

Extracts from Nshila No. 51

1. What Nshila thinks about Monckton

We believe that the wise course for all Africans, whatever their views on the future of Northern Rhodesia may be, will be to tell those views to the Monckton Commission. The British Government has to find out how the Federation is working. That is why it has appointed the Commission. Government is for *all* the people. But if the great majority of the people will not state their views when asked to do so, how can the members of the Commission form a true judgment?

Several political leaders have advised Africans that they should not give evidence. But supposing a man were to go to the Court for a case to be settled against his neighbour and then refused to give evidence? The magistrate would listen to his neighbour's evidence but would have no picture at all of the other side of the case. Would such a man be surprised if the magistrate settled the case in favour of his neighbour? We believe he would not. He could not expect to win it.

Mr. Macmillan the British Prime Minister, said in Parliament "what really matters is that African opinion of all shades will be fully heard and objectively recorded". In fact everything he has said about the Commission shows that he considers that it is entitled to hear any kind of evidence whatsoever.

Whatever happens some Africans will speak before the Commission. Are you willing to let those who will speak, speak for *you*. Can you be sure that they are the people who will tell the Commission what *you* think? If you are not sure, you must speak for yourself.

Times are changing fast in Africa. If you want to shape the future your way you must not miss any opportunity.

The Monckton Commission has been appointed to give you an opportunity to help to shape your future. If you miss that opportunity you will be allowing someone else to shape it for you.

In the opposite column we have reprinted some important words about how other people are thinking of your future. Read them and then make up your mind. Having read them, do you think it would be wise to keep silent? The future is in your hands but only you can take action to turn it the way you want it to go.

If you decide to give evidence to the Monckton Commission or to persuade somebody to give evidence on your behalf, you must act quickly. Tell your District Commissioner or write direct to:

Secretary-General,
Monckton Commission,
12, Chester Terrace,
LONDON, N.W.1.

2. Two important views on 1960 talks

Speaking in a debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister, said in November: "I want to make it quite clear, as I tried to say, that the Commission of course can hear any evidence of any kind on any subject."

He went on: "I would really have thought that the phrase which I have tried to interpret on the terms of reference—

'consider the whole field of the redistribution of powers in either direction'—is a pretty wide one. . . . I tried to make as wide and generous an interpretation of the terms of reference as possible, and I think when Members look at them they will see they do include a very wide possibility for Lord Monckton and his colleagues to conduct their affairs in such a way as to bring about the result we all wish."

In reply to questions the Prime Minister went on: "This Commission is appointed to review an existing Constitution, to which its terms of reference naturally relate. I am sure that it is the wish of the House that a solution should emerge acceptable to all races in the territories concerned. The terms of reference, in my opinion, give the Commission full scope to advise us on how best that object can be achieved, but, of course, if the Commission thinks that it could not fulfil its task to its satisfaction within the terms of reference no doubt it would say so. I have every confidence in the Chairman and the membership."

Speaking in Salisbury last week Sir Roy Welensky said he wanted the African Affairs Board—set up to protect Africans from discriminatory legislation—abolished in next year's Constitutional review. He thought the alternative might be an Upper House, a Senate or a State Council.

Sir Roy said the Federal Government should get complete independence in the field for which it was responsible and it must get it quickly—this year or at the latest in 1961. It was essential to destroy the belief that the Federation could be broken up.

He would ask for certain changes in the Constitution to encourage the African people to look to the Federal Government rather than constantly "looking over their shoulders to Whitehall."

Sir Roy said he would demand the end of the British Government's right to veto Federal legislation. This had never been used, but it represented an "apron string" which weakened the Federal Government.

He would also demand that the Colonial Laws Validity Act should no longer apply to the Federation. This at present prevents the Federal Government from passing any legislation which is repugnant to the laws of England.

E. J. SQUIRES

Feeling that it was not my prerogative to do so, I failed to make application to be heard by the Commission whilst it is in Livingstone. On reflection, I feel I was wrong because the more I consider the problems which you are studying, I realise that too many views cannot be put forward in evidence.

I am a Local Government Officer, a professional man, having been in Local Government service for almost twenty-five years and in Northern Rhodesia for two years. During the war I spent nearly two years in West Africa, particularly in Sierra Leone. I have, therefore, seen something of the emerging African whom I respect and admire.

There is one thing which to my mind is extremely important. The African whom one meets in England and in political spheres here is the educated or literate man who has come to appreciate the immense power which political education yields. Out of this has arisen the demand for a majority in this and that and now the cry for "one man, one vote". It is perhaps this latter which is the most dangerous cry of all at present. It is undoubtedly true, as I hope you will find, that the mass of the rural African people are unaware of the implication of present events, but the worst thing which could happen to them would be for them to be placed under the complete power of their "superior" fellows. Whilst the European holds the balance, their development will be slow but sure. If their "brothers" hold the balance, repression is certain. The European Rhodesian can take care of himself, the African cannot.

May I urge that the utmost consideration be given to this aspect of the problem and that the emergence of the African be guided and controlled by those of all colours and creeds who are best able to help them.

Livingstone
18th February 1960

R. N. STEWART

By my reverting to my opening paragraph in a previous Memorandum drawn up in 1934 on the Commission of enquiry that set at that time I can but reiterate that this present Commission of enquiry has also brought to light many interesting phases of African Life and his aspirations as well as phases of African Administration,

It may be an essential feature to the interest of this Memorandum were I to present at the outset a short resume of my standing in this Country.

I am now in my 74th year, of this period 26 years were spent in Natal, where I had a very close insight into the life of the Zulu; then 48 years north of the Limpopo River, 6 years of which were spent in the Belgian Congo as an official with the Union Miniere du Haut Katango where I again had experience of the Congo African. Forty-two years of this period have been spent in Northern Rhodesia.

Mineral prospection took up quite a period when three copper prospects were discovered, pegged and registered.

The Mineralised Ventures negotiated an option and insisted that the development, such as had been planned, would be conducted by myself. After this had been accomplished and in view of the distance from rail head it was decided that work would cease but it was requested that I agree to commence operations of prospecting for and with them.

After one season's prospecting I was called in and was informed that I would be given the option of accepting one of two situations—Compound Manager—or Superintendent, this owing to my knowledge of the African and his peculiarities—or that of Surface Manager, as this latter position offered more scope to prove my ability, it was accepted. This position was held until the temporary closing of the mine during the depression.

After 6 months vacation I again returned North with the intention of contracting once more, joining the firm of J. Ritchie in a general and transportation business in 1938, eventually negotiating a partnership as Managing Director, the position I still hold.

I am able to say that during the last 22 years of operation our labour force has reached just on 500 African employees. This number has however been reduced to 250 odd, principally owing to the fact that the Mining authorities have ceased using cordwood.

During 1951 His Excellency the Governor of Northern Rhodesia saw fit (presumably owing to my knowledge of the African and his ways) to have me placed upon the African Advisory Board as an alternate to Mr. J. E. Jager, O.B.E., of Livingstone.

This rather lengthy set up of myself is merely to explain that my experience of the Federation is such that having traversed it from end to end and across, am conversant with many tribes and their doings, not only this, but am fairly conversant with what has been, is, and what can be of assistance from my point of view for future operations.

Let me now endeavour to attend to a few fundamentals.

It is a known fact that prior to the coming of the mines to Northern Rhodesia, the Africans were a happy and easy going lot. Their wages were from 5/- to 22/6d for cooks and houseboys per month. Prior to this, many were content if they were but fed. In 1929 wages for cooks and houseboys-come-table boys were still in the vicinity of 22/6d—30/- with rations and accommodation.

As the Mines became more developed and the African gained experience their wages obviously increased, as did their scale of feeding and accommodation.

During these early days 1930—1934, the African cooks and houseboys claimed a superiority over all other African labour, including the mine boys; it was soon to be seen that this superiority of the "Houseboy Element" as I saw fit at the time to call it, was gained through the information gained by them through listening to the unguarded conversations while serving meals, especially during the dinner periods, many which should never have been mentioned in the presence of their African servants.

The African is known to be a great story-teller and many utterances picked up from these various table conversations would truly astound a thinking person, as it is a well known fact that in passing along this information it has been greatly exaggerated and embellished. I had been constantly warning people against the careless practice of talking, very often of important topics, in the presence of their servants.

The danger arose too from the fact that the African servant of this period was not altogether a fluent linguist and often misconstrued what he thought he had heard; after it had gone the round it had obviously reached an almost criminal utterance. At this period it was rather extraordinary how quiet the African Underground workers were, but to me who knew his mind I realised that it would not be very long before this element would awaken and make trouble.

The contention I had relative to this houseboy element proved to be correct, when in 1934 they made the bullets and

egged the lower element on to fire them, while they remained in the background enjoying their nefarious amusement. Never would they admit that they had any hand in the organising of the disturbance.

We come now to a period where the African mining fraternity considered it was time to try their hand at organising something of interest to themselves. This period, 1944 onward, mine labour had become truly troublesome, organising on their own, various methods of bringing by forced action (which they considered justifiable) to the notice of other than mine labour, certain features which they considered should be taken up by them. This type of labour numbered several thousands on the Copperbelt and it was realised that if this element could be co-opted the miner would have the necessary sway to hold up mine operations to the detriment of all. At this period my own labour was becoming more difficult to handle, and when I suggested to the European Mine Workers Union to take on the responsibility of permitting them to form their own union under the European jurisdiction my idea was ridiculed and there it remained until the situation once again became really serious. The Labour Party of Great Britain took hold of the reins and in, I think, 1947 sent out an officer who would build up and control an African Mine Workers Union.

It was obvious from the commencement that this officer would eventually create for himself a wonderful situation which would enable him to hold a tremendous influence over the African worker. He was apparently making an admirable job, not always coinciding with the considered views of the mining fraternity, in fact with the views of the so called "Old Timers" who were not used to seeing Africans flout the instructions of Europeans and many wondered where this new method would take them.

Our own labour was becoming at this period most troublesome and it took all my ingenuity and patience to combat the situation. Realising that there was probably some European behind it all, other than the Officer appointed to organise the African—let us call him Mr. X—I was determined to call a meeting of our own Capitaos to make a final endeavour to unravel the mystery of who was responsible for all the unpleasantness that was growing to a serious dimension.

After an unsatisfactory 45 minutes discussion I decided to call a halt and close the meeting telling them that it was up to them to find out and report to me who this individual was that was creating this unpleasantness. To my consternation the oldest member, a white headed Barotse came forward and offered information, for he was positive he knew who it was, as he wished to hold our meeting privately; I agreed, dismissing all others and returned to the office.

Well, what have you to tell me? Bwana it is a simple thing to know who is responsible for all this trouble and unrest. He is of course a European—I now quote him in full to prove that he was at least a thinker and able to form his own conclusions.

"There is but one man in Northern Rhodesia who could do these unpleasant things today. He is the builder of the African Mine Workers Union.

"Bwana it is like this! You are aware with your experience of this Country that when a hive of bees has swarmed it is possible to remove them carefully and not receive even one sting. If you by chance behave roughly or carelessly in working with them you will no doubt be stung. I compare this trouble with a badly handled swarm of bees. The Union organiser is becoming rather rough with his hive. The members are paying their monthly subscriptions but getting nothing but talk, and not increased wages as contemplated and are becoming rather suspicious and now wish to know what benefit is really to be derived from the Union.

"A section of the Union wish to strike, these are being pushed aside and are prepared to sting by taking matters into their own hands. The Organiser is a wise man he realised that something would have to be done, members were brought from all the mines, discussions took place with the result that the mine authorities were approached and the now true strength of the Union was appreciated, increased wages were demanded and a proportion of these claims was agreed upon, much to the delight of Union members. Bwana, the Africans do not correctly understand where we must stop. I am sure trouble about, not only wages, but everything the white man has, will now be a constant demand.

"The African Executive of the Union will not now be held back, they realise what can be gained and will sting if they do not get what they desire." This has been the musical piece played ever since. Strange in a way how this African's views have persisted, he has refused to become a member of the Union, preferring to remain loyal to his employer he claimed. To those of us who have been able or prepared to give the general situation that is being developed through these Unions

and their very often excessive demands a little sound thinking, have realised that to give a primitive race of people, something merely through threats, but precious little through endeavour, will never tend to create or develop a sound economic situation, and it is this that is needed for the Federation. I am convinced that through the so called success of the Union Executives there has crept in a certain type of ambitious African who seeks a position of aggrandisement, but not by being tied down with constitutional laws and regulations but by loud and in the majority of cases, bombastic utterances. The African has not yet developed that essential and necessary qualification of far-sightedness and personal balance which would enable him to control in a more satisfactory manner than he shows at present, the various, and at times vast, gatherings of peoples, most, clamouring for they know not what, but a condition well known to the bombastic orator—a position of self aggrandisement and conceit. I would make bold to warn the Federal Authorities against this type of so called African Politician. There are Africans who are able and qualified to hold exalted positions. All that is required is sound and sensible guidance in political matters and there are men who are well able to give this guidance too.

We cannot expect a primitive race of people to assimilate in the space of a few short years what it has taken the European many generations of study and hard work to accomplish.

Am firmly convinced that the majority of Europeans are being grossly misled by the clothing an African wears and by his selection of topic for discussion when desirous of securing for himself some personal benefit.

I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the rod manufactured in the early mining days, the period 1924—onward has been used upon our own backs—this I say most advisedly for the reason of the great difficulty in securing African mine labour at that period. As inducement to come to the mines he was given almost every benefit he called for. They were too freely given until the time arrived when everything he received was looked upon as an absolute right. This was rather a fatal mistake, for he carried this imaginary right before him.

During the various periods of acting on various committees, Conciliation Boards and Arbitrations I have strongly advocated that the African should be made to realise that, if he wishes to improve himself and attain as near as possible the European standard of existence he must realise from the outset that every privilege must be worked for, he must not expect to receive them on a plate as a gift. Even at the very early stage of development I strongly urged that the African be made to pay for his food and accommodation and by so doing he would learn to understand that he was helping himself to become a more worthy person and better able to appreciate what lay ahead for the betterment of himself and his family. The European from that period saddled himself with unnecessary burdens which should have been carried by the African population themselves, had they done so I am sure they would have been better off today.

Molly coddling the African has done him no useful service. On the contrary the practice has held him back for the reason that he was not trained to fight and work for benefits he imagined he was entitled to. Had he done so I am sure he would have been a more self-reliant person than he is today; this period of self-teaching and discipline has been lost.

Again I say, a more serious mistake is being made now and this, to my way of thinking, is going to prove of greater hazard than all our previous ones. Am positive that the African still a somewhat primitive person cannot be bulldozed along into a position he cannot thoroughly understand and fully appreciate. He is being forced into losing his balance and perspective and being driven along a road that left to himself, will lead him to simply nowhere. The Africans of the Federation must be led and directed with patience. The building of a Country is obviously a long term policy and no short cuts will prove of benefit.

This spoon feeding of, not only the African, but the European as well has been the cause of holding us back to quite a considerable degree; having received what they have with precious little expenditure of finance, energy and self determination both parties have shown rather a lackadaisical approach to the more serious factors of life and living generally.

There are few Africans for instance, who possess that really necessary and true tenacity of purpose to hold on to a given idea or project. They are apt to tire and when others observe this attitude immediately set about and usurp the position if in any way possible, thereby creating distrust and a degree of unrest which brings about the intended disruption of interest

which again causes a splintering of interests of a community, thereby holding up sound progress.

The African is a born orator really, commencing from childhood he, with the village elders, spends a tremendous amount of time sitting around their villages discussing many topics of interest to their community. My experience has been such that to the African who can shout the loudest and maintain a dogmatic tenacity will go the vote as the most useful person to conduct their affairs, be his views truly sound or otherwise. It is this primitive aspect which comes to the fore, viz., that might is right and it cannot be got away from.

Africans must be educated to my mind the girls as well as the boys; educating boys alone is bound to produce a lopsided community. The method at one period was to have lads from 10-14 compulsory taught. This to my mind is absolutely wrong and a waste of money, for an African lad of 10 has learnt all the monkey-tricks and wickedness that can be assimilated during the early years of travelling around the compounds in search of amusement and something to do. Their education should be based on the same background as that of the European system viz., from the age of 5 years and most emphatically I state girls as well as boys.

I wish to now state that my unbiased opinion regarding the progress of the African is that his Emancipation must go on. It cannot possibly be stopped; he must be assisted and taken along a well thought out and conducted scheme. Only by this method will the African be taught how to conduct his well-being and true advancement.

At present he is being rather "bulldozed" along a road of existence he is not yet ready for and it has been proved that he has not and cannot properly assimilate all that is necessary for him to become a useful and worthy citizen. Rome was not built in a day! !

The phrase "Partnership" is one that has proved most difficult for even the European to truly understand. Knowing that it concerns the African, he finds it most difficult to apply the interpretation of the words meaning as the African desires it.

It is not expected, nor is it called for, that the African will be expected or permitted to enter every sphere of European existence. Again I claim the primitive in the African's make up comes to the fore. He simply cannot and does not for that matter, want to understand what the true situation should be.

It is not expected that a European employer for instance, will invite all his employees to the various functions that his position warrants he interest himself in; far from it. It is not expected and does not take place, yet the African imagining that by this association only which to him he considers is imperative before that social balance can be cultivated and satisfactorily proved in public to safeguard his many interests, is of any value to the Federation, he must be equal in every respect.

There is not the slightest doubt but what the status of the African will eventually be on a very much higher level than it is at present, but he must be gradually taught however to understand that this social uplift must be earned and cannot possibly be picked up by merely asking for it. It will I feel sure, take quite an appreciable period of time to accomplish, but will be well worth the necessary time devoted to its accomplishment. It will not be treating the African kindly by placing him in a false environment regarding his social status—that is, in the way that he would like to take.

The imagination of the African, owing to his early environment and upbringing has invariably considered that "might is right" but has been rather forced to now understand that this is a fallacy and must conform to a more highly developed perception of the true fitness of things.

The average African has a perception of a youth of 18. Even the better educated African after returning to his village after several years of environment around and on the mines, will very quickly revert to the type he was prior to his arrival into more civilised areas, on his return he has to commence all over again to learn what one would have imagine he would never forget.

My wide and varied experience of the African has proved that when it comes to a point of reverting to original types, or forgetting in the shortest possible time something that has taken years to learn, he cannot be equalled

The proof that the African is still a very primitive person can be fully appreciated and gauged when a few hundred congregate for the purpose of demanding something which they are not quite sure they are entitled to. If thwarted in their endeavours, immediately become excited and before many minutes have passed they become troublesome and mob psychology takes possession and force must perforce be used

to quieten them. This is an unfortunate state, but one that does exist among the more primitive types of people, not only the African.

The Federation unfortunately, does not possess a great number of sound and stable men of consequence among the African; men who could really be looked upon as leaders, as a whole have not that necessary experience which is absolutely essential for them to be placed in real positions of political trust.

All this training will of necessity take time, a factor which is most valuable at present and which must not be wasted.

I fully understand and appreciate the many desires and aspirations of the African peoples. I also understand the many methods that have from time to time been employed so as to enable them to attain their object, led in many instances by upstarts who seek self aggrandisement and not be honest and true leaders of men.

In my kindest endeavours and feelings toward them I unhesitatingly call upon their true leaders to be in no great hurry to be pushed forward too forceably by the unthinking element mentioned but listen to and appreciate the utterances of the more sober and stable minded leaders, some of whom already realise that the great majority are not yet ready by a far cry to attempt to rule alone in an independent way this huge tract of country.

I urge the African to show his wisdom by accepting Federation and all it implies, by doing so, with each doing his and her faithful share am absolutely sure that through Federation the Rhodesias and Nyasaland will be countries well worth living in. The African must be taught to be patient, the European too must realise that a backward people must be educated to the new conditions so far apart from what they have been accustomed to. This takes time.

The phrase "Time will tell" can well be quoted here and brought into being.

I sincerely hope and trust that the deliberations of your Commission will not forget this aspect of our political situation when summing up. I personally am certain that your final decision will be the result of very deep and sound thought, which will no doubt bring about and suggest a new policy that will assure of a stable conclusion to your deliberations and the aspirations of our Federation.

I will now make bold to state as a so called "Old Timer" that now is the time for me to state that I am absolutely positive that we have here in the Federation men who owing to their past history and wise handling of the various vexed and complex problems that have from time to time presented themselves, proved their worth and certainly deserve well of the Federation.

None, to my way of thinking, appreciate more sincerely the true position of affairs than our present Prime Minister of the Federation, Sir Roy Welensky who, I am sure, with a selection of certain members of his Government, both European and African will be well able to handle successfully the affairs of the Federation providing he is given the necessary support and backing of our British Parliament which anyone in his exalted position would obviously anticipate.

One condition I would very much wish to emphasize in concluding is, that I beg your Commission to take very serious cognisance of the meaning of the word "appeasement" and whatever happens they will not give way too easily to this very dangerous manipulation of a practice that is being too freely applied these days.

Africans love appeasement and their interpretation cannot be broken down for it means but one condition to them and this is "weakness"; the greatest danger at present to the Federation is appeasement ill begotten.

In conclusion, my Lord, I would crave permission to wish your Commission every success in its arduous and difficult task.
Kitwe

12th March 1960

B. B. C. SWANA

My point of view about the Central African Federation are as follows: I came across of the paper which calls all people of Northern Rhodesia to give evidence to the Monckton Commission about the present form of Federation in Central Africa. The paper reads (1) Are you satisfied with the present form of Federation in Central Africa? No, No, No, I personal doesn't want to hear the word Federation and don't think that I shall one day like it. (2) Do you think that it should have less control over affairs and that more power should come back to the Northern Rhodesia Government? Yes, yes, yes, etc. Not less control but all control and all power should come back to

the Northern Rhodesia Government. It must be understood by the Commission that all power which was once under N.R. Government which are now under their nuisance Federation Government should come back to the N.R. Governments, and that Central African Federation should be abolished before the end of this year 1960. We don't like it and I don't think we shall one day like it. Anything that is said Federation in Central Africa under European settlers should be abolished. We Africans want to remain under the Northern Rhodesia Government as long as United Kingdom Government stands. We shall remain under the Northern Rhodesia Government until when the time comes when we shall stand on our feet. I mean that the time will come when we shall come forward and ask for such form of Government which will be under African or both Africans and Europeans on equal franchise. Africans in Ghana and Nigeria did not reminded by other races but were reminded themselves that they were ready to look after themselves.

Why should we be reminded by those who want to have all the power in their hands. We Africans will continue to oppose to European Central African Federation until it is abolished.

Let me again use the plainest language I can find that all power which are now under the Federal Government go back to Northern Rhodesia Government and that the Federation in Central Africa should be abolished and it should end in peace rather than by violence. This federation of theirs was imposed against our wishes and is now being tried against our wishes. If Federation brings good which were not under both territorial and British Governments we don't care with it and let it go away with its goodness. We trust and look forward to the British Government and the Territorial Government in all what Federal Government brings now.

Federation is against our wishes and it should be abolished or Northern Rhodesia should secede from Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Why should some people try to convince us when we use plainest language that we don't like it.
Livingstone

D. K. SYAMAZIZO

I am one of those who don't like Federation of Central Africa nevertheless the commission is not here to look what we Africans want. This Federation is under one race only the civilised race, which means Europeans because they brought industrial, education and others. They say Africans were found babarians and savages before they set foot in this country. Yes quite true all these good things were brought by them, it doesn't mean that the country should be theirs. The thing which should be understood by the commission is this: Federation of Central Africa which is called Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be *abolished* or abolished before the end of this year. All power which were once under territorial Governments which are now under the Federal Government should go back to the territorial Governments before the end of 1960. We Africans want to remain under the territorial Governments until we come forward and ask such form of Government which will have one man one vote. We are not prepared to accept Federation and we will not be prepared. Federation is not ours it is for Europeans only. Please Commission know that we hate federation and it should be abolished and it must be finished into peace rather than by violence. Abolish Federation, Federation should be abolished. We want to remain as we were before 1953.

We only want to remain under the territorial Government. If it hard to abolish federation Northern Rhodesia should secede from Federation before the end of the year 1960.

Federation to be abolished in 1960.

N. Rhodesia to secede from Federation in 1960.

TABWA NATIVE AUTHORITY

We wish to give written evidence to the Honourable Monckton Commission which may be of help at the review of the Federal Constitution.

2. We wish to state that since the inception of Federation almost seven years ago, the Africans in Northern Rhodesia particularly those of us in the rural areas (who form the bulk of the population) have not gained much economically, politically or socially. In fact it would be true to say that we appear to have come out more off economically and may be politically as a result of the Federal set up and its undoubted influence and pressure on the British and Northern Rhodesian Governments.

3. It is a fact that before federation, Northern Rhodesia used to get a lot of money from its copper mines. The money, which counted in millions of pounds, would have gone on improving the Rural Areas, primary as well as technical education. Chiefs would also have benefited from that revenue

by way of receiving high subsidies or wages. The same would have been the case with Native Authority employees generally. We understand however that several millions of pounds are paid into the federal government coffers by the Northern Rhodesia Government and invariably therefore all the important things requiring lots of money have been side-stepped and have not received the necessary attention.

4. It would appear also that the chiefs in general do not carry much weight with the federal government. Thus although Federation is seven years old now, not a single Federal Cabinet Minister or a Federal Member of Parliament has been to visit our Native Authority, only Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners visit us. Also it is asserted that because of Federation, several chiefs have been deposed since 1953. Most chiefs now fear that chieftainship is not as secure as in the days prior to federation.

5. It has been noted that it is the Northern Rhodesia Government which has voted £2,000,000 to improve and develop the Northern and Luapula provinces. The work of that £2 million can easily be seen and indeed has helped to improve the lives and the lot of many persons—Africans and Europeans in the rural areas concerned. No similar gesture appears to have been shown by the federal treasury!

6. We are confident that the federal set up could and can be improved so that it exists for the benefit of all—Europeans, Africans, Coloureds and other minority groups. For that reason we beg to make some suggestions, which are:—

- (a) The British Government should not relinquish or relent its protection over chiefs and persons of Northern and Nyasaland.
- (b) The federal electoral Law should be amended, so as to allow for the election to the federal Parliament men of goodwill and keep out extremists of all races. That will give us a stable government which may be trusted by all peoples of the Federation. The present electoral Law intentionally or not keeps out such liberals as: Mr. G. Todd, Dr. Alexander Scott, Sir John Moffat, Mr. Harry Franklin, Mr. S. H. Chileshe, etc., but places power in the hands of men, some of whom are suggested extremists. Such a change in the electoral Law will have to take into account the fact that this is a multi-racial community and difficult as that sounds or may be, the properly and educational qualifications will have to be relaxed; something like what has been granted to Tanganyika (with slight modifications) but perhaps passing also a Bill of Rights for the protection of individuals.
- (c) In the meantime, all the powers held by the British Government should not be transferred to the Federal Government—including the validity Act—until all the peoples of the Federation (including the voteless masses) have expressed their free consent.
- (d) There should be liberal constitutional changes in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia before Federal constitutional changes take place in 1960 or 1961.
- (e) In the meantime, certain responsibilities should be transferred from the federal spheres onto the hands of local legislatures.

In Northern Rhodesia, we suggest that:—

- (i) Health and Hospitals.
- (ii) Higher education (European).
- (iii) Main roads and bridges.
- (iv) Agriculture (European).
- (v) Prisons.
- (vi) Mines and Aviation.

should be transferred to the Territorial Government and with that re-transfer, the Northern Rhodesia Government will have to pay less money to the Federal Treasury than hitherto.

- (f) It is suggested that the Federal Government should mainly borrow several millions of pounds to enable it carry out its responsibility and or improve the federation as a whole.
- (g) It is further suggested that in view of the suggested fair-to-all electoral law, the African Affairs Board should be abolished.
- (h) The only danger against federation's existence seems to be coming from Southern Rhodesia, who by a Referendum, may decide against its continuing?
- (i) In conclusion we wish to point out that the only apparent benefit this area (40,000 persons men, women and children) has got as a result of a seven year old federation is a £2,000 Rural Health Centre at Nsama

with allegedly insufficient drugs and facilities. Had there been no Federation, it is suggested that the rural and chiefs areas would have had better health centres, clinics and dispensaries well equipped with trained staff and all the requisite medicines, beddings, etc. In the field of higher education, there is not a single graduate in this area out of a population of 40,000 odd persons—there is no evidence of the federal government having given grants or loans to the Native Authorities. There is little public works projects which have been carried out by the federal government in most of the rural areas.

7. There is no gain seeing that most Africans feel that Federation is a bad thing. This is because contrary to expectations there has been no tangible economic or political benefits. Our neighbours, the Congo, have, we understand, voted over about £40,000,000 next 10 years or so. The congolese villages on our boarder have decent wells, clinics and sound economics, whereas we have not got them here. Also there is the fear that Europeans will soon or later demand for Dominion Status, for the federation and thus the Federation Africans and Asiatics will be reduced to the status where their counter-parts in South Africa are today as a result of the 1902 Union.

8. We trust that our criticisms and suggestions will be of some help.

Mporokoso

13th February 1960

E. K. TAYALI

Name: Eliya K. Tayali,

I am Ex. Evangelist of Church of Scotland.

I am the Church elder,

I am a Bisa-Chiundaponde.

I do not want Federation because I am used to territorial Government. For the Queen has promised to protect us until we grow up then she will free us by giving us our responsible government.

That is when she will see that we have grown:

- (1) Politically,
- (2) Economically, and
- (3) Socially,

then she will grant us self Government.

Therefore, the promise which was made by Her Majesty the Queen is very important. We always think of it and we depend upon it because it is the progress of our future.

In the Territorial Government I do not doubt there is power to rule and to protect. For example:—

In Native Authority there is quite big change in these years gone by, compared to few years behind. If we accept Federal Government we shall confuse many things and power of Native Authorities will go behind.

There are many examples which show to Africans that Federation has come to divide races because in some ways we differ even in departments, e.g., European Agricultural Dept., African Agricultural Dept. and so on all these things are being encouraged by Federal Government so I do not want this Federal Government.

Mpika

11th February, 1960

B. C. TEMBO

Many thanks for these three questions that affect all of our lives.

I was a teacher at Chitambo from 1924-1942, Supervisor, Elder of the Church of Scotland, Store man, tailor, work of carrying fish with my lorry, and Chairman of School Council.

1. I am not satisfied with the present time. Many children suffering and die from malaria, we tried to ask a help many times about Dispensary, nothing is done why?

2. We have lorries but we are not using them in three months time of rain, because of having no good bridges and roads so our work spoiled of carrying goods of stores, and motorcar licence for nothing.

3. I do not feel well because some villages have no good water, so they need wells of good water.

4. Changing of stamps in every year makes my life very hard to understand it, why?

5. Changing of Rules without discuss with villagers is not good it threatening many people, and think that the country is



already taken by strangers, this why many people join prison, because it is very hard to carry them on properly.

6. I do not know well about the Churches to pay tax of 20/- a year, while all members paying themselves. Church itself is a house, why ?

7. Another thing which makes me very hard to understand, is this. A man buys a shot gun, after using a long time, he found that it is no able to do its work, so I must go to change a new one, they got old one without repay, and so as people who have their Garages of Motorcars, if he wants a new one, they can give back half of sum which he spent. Why is that ?

8. Why the Government refused to buy new rifles unless second hand ?

9. Why our Government sometimes forced people to a thing which people themselves refusing—such as this new form of Federation ? Federation is done in quickest way in this country while three quarters of people are still uneducated, only one quarter seeing light of education, so that kind of Federation is very hard and difficulty to understand it. I think it should take time to learn well about it or to add more years of discussion. It is invisible to the people and many people are in pocket, some people who learnt in the schools still remembering the proverb of a man and donkey. That man had a tent, one day a donkey came to the man in humbleness and respectfulness way, first head in the tent after the whole body, the owner became outside the tent and kicked as a football.

10. I do not know the different between the Northern Rhodesia Government and Federal Government, it is just sharing the work. The power they use, just same as the power were used.

Mpika

10th February 1960

A EUROPEAN RESIDENT OF THREE ANCHOR BAY, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA *

1. Fanatics, mostly Overseas, are under the dangerous misapprehension that we Europeans in the Federation, and elsewhere, are usurping African Territories, and exploiting the African. We are exploiting the Territories, but for the benefit of the African, as well as for the Empire.

We do not want to leave the decent Africans to the mercy of a few dozen would-be Black Dictators, some of these already seem to be popular in Europe. There are a few capable Africans, mostly in those Countries which have been connected with Western civilisation for a century or more, but these must be "prodigies." Of all the many thousands with which I have been connected, some of these officials, and even Members of Parliament, I have never yet found one of these "Prodigies."

How can one expect serious Administration from peoples who are only on the very first rungs of the long civilisation ladder. Experienced people realise this, but it *still bears* reiteration. The Missionaries, especially, know this full well, why don't they speak? I am a Christian, and proud of it, and I will not remain silent when there is a chance that decent Africans are to be allowed to revert to their *recent* savagery, and chaos. There are still plenty of Witch Doctors about, and they can be very unpleasantly powerful, still.

2. In the vast and valuable Territory of Northern Rhodesia, the Native population, including Barotseland is only approx. 2,100,000 only. Surely there is lots of room for both Blacks and Whites in such a country? It seems, deliberately, not noted that the only *Real Paramountcy* in N. Rhodesia is in Barotseland. I claim that Chief Chitimukuru, etc., are *not* Paramount. Their only claim can be, probably, that they came to Northern Rhodesia before us. As regards room, I can, personally, take you to great tracts of the country which are nearly without population.

The United Kingdom still does not know sufficient about the very important Federation, despite the great efforts of Sir Gilbert Rennie and others.

3. Dominion Status for the Federation, as rapidly as possible, is very strongly urged. This would solve a lot of serious problems in Africa, and impress our restless neighbours to the benefit of everyone. Millions of Africans would soon become satisfied. They want good pay, security, wise administration, and education. That is what they would get and they would then very soon ignore the dangerous Agitators.

Such a Dominion would add a valuable asset to the great British Empire, so much of which has been given away of late years.

The irresponsible, inefficient, new Afro-Asian Nations bid fair to break up the very important United Nations organisation, as happened with the original League of Nations. It would

* Name withheld at the request of the witness

be wrong to add to their voting power. The Commission will note the awful mess in the Belgian Congo, and in the Territories to the West ; more future trouble for the U.N. The responsible members would surely welcome another decent Dominion member?

4. A Federation Port is urged (of our very own) to the West, if not at Tiger Bay in the extreme South of Portuguese Angola, as near it as possible. This has been referred to Mr. Harold Macmillan.

Beira could still be used to an extent, but it is surely not practical to send goods far South when their destination is North. The expense is realised, but the policy is "long term," and surely worthy of consideration?

5. The Kafue Flats scheme is a fine conception, which I have favoured for many years, a Secondary Industry in the making, and it is in good hands with the R.S.T.

6. It seems obvious that the Colonial Office will be well advised to leave Nyasaland under Federal Administration, even if they have to subsidise us to look after the country, and stop it from becoming a complete liability. I doubt if Dr. Banda knows more about Nyasaland than I know, and the longest period I have spent there at one time is six weeks. I think he would be happier in England, where he resided for so long.

7. Those of us who have the honour to know him, consider that we have a very capable Prime Minister in Sir Roy Welensky. He is the strong man required at this critical period, and I consider he is a credit to the Empire in every way.

Cape Province

South Africa

4th January 1960

J. L. TUSAMANDA—Ex. Vice Secretary African National Congress under G. M. Lewanika. N.R. Ex. President General African Chamber of Commerce and Industry. N.R.

What I write is what I mostly hear from many Africans during my political life about Federation.

The Government is undoubtedly feeling the strong and persuasive pressure of the Settlers, headed by Sir Godfrey Huggins and Sir Roy Welensky, the imposition of Federation after it has been referred to the Parliament and Legislative Councils of the three countries in which the Africans are scarcely represented will be suggested as a proper course of the evidence to the Monckton Commission, and those who lobby on behalf of the Settlers argue that only those who live in Africa can judge African problems, but the boers have lived longer in Africa than the British yet I may question the wisdom of their policies.

Federation in Rhodesia and Nyasaland may well be in the ultimate interest both of Africans and Europeans, but there can be no hope of success for Federation until the Africans recover confidence in the good faith of the Europeans, the Federation plan has been backed about by 170,000 white Settlers whose leaders framed it they say it promises a better life for all. It is distrusted by 6,000,000 African inhabitants of the three territories embittered by broken promises in the past. The British South Africa Company undertook the development of these three territories certain pledges were made to the Africans their land would not be taken from them, there should be no immigration without the consent of the Chiefs, after the Crown took over the administration of N.R. from the Company, the territory was divided into Crown lands from Zambesi to the Copperbelt and on either side of the Railway trust lands and Native reserves. Then the Africans contended that from the start their land has been encroached upon by the Europeans.

From point of view the Africans have rejected the Federation that the idea behind the Federation is economic and repeat that it is political and racial, they say that what ever economic benefits their might be from closer working together of the three territories the benefits would not be shared by the Africans, what the Africans ask of the British Government is that no change in the Constitution, should be forced upon the Africans until they are granted democratic franchise and full say in the conduct of affairs, Africans insist that they do not wish to drive away the white people but they are prepared to resist Federation in any form, it has already been suggested that the first form of resistance would be a general strike. We want Europeans in our countries provided they accept our national aspirations and treat us as human beings and the British should avoid putting herself in a similar position to the Union Government this would mark the beginning of the end of British influence, nobody would regret this more than the Africans, because they have opposed Central African Federation on principle on the following grounds, we fear the extension to Northern Rhodesia of the native policy of Southern Rhodesia if three territories are federated. History has shown

that that has happened in the Union of S. Africa where the Boer policy has supplanted the liberal British policy of Cape Colony completely. The Native policy of Southern Rhodesia approximates more closely to native policy of South Africa than to native policy in any other British African territories, in Southern Rhodesia Africans are virtually excluded from the franchise by the high income qualification, £250 a year, forty-eight million acres of land are reserved for 136,000 Europeans, while 37 acres are reserved for two million Africans.

The European minority in the three territories has striven for 28 years to create an amalgamation or federation of the three territories in order to gain Dominion status and throw off Colonial Office control, the grant of the present constitution to the Gold Coast today called Ghana, has given that moment a fresh impetus, because the Europeans wish to entrench themselves in political dominance in these African territories, before the African inhabitants of the territories are politically conscious and active. We look upon Federation as a proposal to bar Africans from advancing in the administration of their own government, we want the British people to understand that the imposition of Federation is quite detrimental not only to African interests, but to those of Britain and of the white settlers as well. Britain will lose a great deal by defying mobilised African opinion which is practically unanimous. The trouble makers are those who want to force Africans into Federation, there are certain people both officials and others who have advised the Government that it can disregard African wishes without risking serious trouble if things go wrong these people will have to shoulder the responsibility for their mistaken interpretation of the situation.

The British Government sent out people to educate us in local government and all other things and paved for development. When the Royal Family came to Victoria Falls a great number of chiefs went to meet them and again we were told by His Majesty that the British Government would continue to teach us to prepare for Self-Government. Now we hear things which concern us and we are very worried about Federation, and we totally reject Federation, we are not at present sufficiently advanced politically to defend ourselves against the European minority without the assistance of impartial officials of the British Administration.

Mporokoso

21st February 1960

UNGA NATIVE AUTHORITY

We, the Unga Native Authority have found it useless for ourselves to write this letter. We find it worthwhile to refuse and to denounce the Federal Government because we have seen nothing that has been done by this Government.

We know the promises which were given and was going to be done by this Government when it was first instituted in October, 1953. These promises were for all the people of the three territories disregarding their colour. Firstly, it was said that the Federal Government would work hard to improve the living conditions of the African people together with their salaries and secondly, on the question of colour discrimination, it was said that this government would do everything in its power to see that the Europeans and Africans stayed together, worked together and played together.

We ourselves together with our people have not received the benefits of the work of the Federal Government. We have not been visited by any of the Federal Officers here in the Lunga area. We have confidence and have received help on many occasions from officers from Samfya Boma who are employees of the Northern Rhodesia Government. From our point of view, therefore, we would say that the Federal Government is useless to us. We Northern Rhodesians who make a greater contribution to the finances of the Federal Government disapprove of this form of government as nothing good has come to us. The money that goes to federal government should be retained by Northern Rhodesia to be used by the Government of Northern Rhodesia because we know that this government has our interests at heart and requires to develop us.

It would be very surprising to us if the Federal Government ever claimed to know anything regarding our living conditions here in the Lunga area. No doubt, the Federal Government has spent money to help Africans in other areas of the Federation but, within the seven years of its existence, it has done nothing for us. In this connection, we find it difficult to see any reasons justifying the continuation of this form of government.

When we go out on Urban Tours to the Copperbelt we see nothing to indicate to us that partnership is at all working. The situation looks as it used to be both in the social conditions and the working conditions.

From our own observation, and to tell the truth, the Federation is there to disturb the peace, to instil fear and to cause misunderstanding among the people.

We did not agree that the Federal Capital should be in Salisbury. We also know that Europeans in Southern Rhodesia have got more privileges and power in this government and we very much fear that their influence will be extended to the Northern Territories—Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

We agree that it is not yet time for Northern Rhodesia to have Self Government but at the same time we have failed to notice what the Federal Government would claim to be doing for our people. We have confidence and faith in the Northern Rhodesia Government that she can do everything for us that we might require because we have seen her efforts to help us over a number of years. We would therefore say that the Northern Rhodesia Government should continue to help us even in the future until we can prove that the Federal Government is starting to be of some help to we people in the Lunga area—because it is only then that we shall know we are not cheated. But, so far, the Federal Government has fulfilled none of her promises made in 1953.

Signed for Unga N.A.

Senior Chief Kalimankonde Designation

Witnesses

Chief Kasoma Lunga

Chief N. Samba

Chief Bwalya Nponda

Samfya

Fort Rosebery

19th January 1960

UNITED CHURCH OF CENTRAL AFRICA

Memorandum by a Committee of The District Church Council "A" of the United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia (Union of Churches which have grown out of the work of the London Missionary Society, The Church of Scotland, N. Rhodesia, the United Missions to the Copperbelt and in Association with the United Church of Canada).—

C. R. Catto—Secretary

I. M. Mutabile—Chairman

In view of the composition and the terms of reference of the Commission, we feel we are not in a position to give evidence in person. We would also send the members of the Commission, this memorandum in order to draw their attention to the feeling of the majority of Christians in our Church. We would also draw the attention of the Commission to some of the very important issues at stake as hereunder stated:—

On the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia

We believe that the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia should embody the wishes and needs of the majority of its inhabitants, that it should be so constructed that there will be greater representation of the majority interests. Notwithstanding this fact, we recognise the importance of safeguarding the interests of the minority groups until our society grows in such confidence as will make this unnecessary. We urge that the franchise must be widened to include the majority of Africans who are now without a vote, but that this will only be a step towards the objective of universal adult franchise.

African Opposition

We want to reiterate that the present fears and opposition of the majority of Africans to the existing Federal structure are real. This opposition is not only confined to politicians but we find members in our churches no exception. In our view the hope seems to lie in the meeting of legitimate demands for self-determination rather than in rationalizing on the situation. In our opinion the present Federation has failed since it has not fulfilled its promises of partnership.

We are convinced that the solution to the problems facing us lies in Her Majesty's Government granting to Northern Rhodesia responsible Government as a first step leading the territory to the achievement of independence within the British Commonwealth. This does not mean domination of one group over the other but legitimate rule of the majority. We have pointed out already that in order to meet the needs of the minority groups, adequate safeguard could be provided in the constitution.

Return of Powers to the Territorial Government

As one of the immediate steps, all powers previously vested in the Territorial Government, but which have since been transferred to the Federal Government be returned. This, in our view will restore confidence of the African people in the

promises of Her Majesty's Government and would thus form a basis for negotiation on the future constitution of the territory. Kitwe

THE UNITED FEDERAL PARTY—LUSAKA
BRANCH—A. Tidder

Industry In Relation To Political Stability

Political stability is generally accepted as an essential condition for progressive economic development in any country.

In Central Africa, the political climate has special significance as it is a reflection of the marked differences in the economic, social and cultural conditions of the population. These variances, in turn, affect, if not control, the speed of industrial development to a degree not necessarily related to market potentials and other inducements required for the initial promotion of industrial enterprise.

If the industrial history of Southern Africa is examined briefly, a definite trend South to North becomes apparent.

South Africa

The manufacturing industry of South Africa virtually started during the first world war. Giant strides have been made since 1939, and something closely resembling an "Industrial Revolution" has taken place. It is not the purpose of this paper to quote voluminous figures in support of this statement, but it is worth mentioning that in 1956 27% of South Africa's national revenue was derived from her manufacturing industry.

The foundation to this development was political stability during the period of growth, and although students of political systems may look askance at some of the Union's political policies, *this fact remains.*

Southern Rhodesia

The manufacturing industry in this country has also expanded since the last war. In addition to the stimulus of the war, there are several other factors that have led to this growth: —

1. Hard currency restrictions,
2. Infusion of British and other development capital,
3. Influx of skilled immigrant European labour,
4. Again the basic factor being political stability providing correct "nursery" conditions for such development.

Northern Rhodesia

The likely trend of industrial development in this territory is by no means clear. It has been stated many times that the Government hope to find employment in industry for the growing African population, large numbers of whom cannot live, let alone raise their standards, as agriculturalists. There is also plenty of evidence that raising the productivity of the African is a very slow process, and in the absence of any specially favourable factors, there are definite limitations as to what can be done on the basis of the local market, when this is assessed in relation to the industrial productivity of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. On the other hand there are certain primary materials, mainly metals, for which an assured market exists both overseas and in the developed industrial countries of Africa.

From the point of view of the balance of payments, as well as making the best use of existing transport facilities, the development of such primary exports, rather than the abortive encouragement of a multiplicity of miscellaneous industries, is probably the strongest card in the Federal pack.

To approach, organise and develop this potential calls for a stable political climate of the highest order, as the development capital required is considerable and essentially international in character.

Apart from capital in a large measure, immigrant skills and the labour of the African population will also be required.

To enable both overseas and local capital to be put to the best use in Northern Rhodesia, and the Federation as a whole, emphasis is again focussed on political stability as an essential pre-requisite, and this can only be accomplished on a background of racial harmony.

The political aspirations of the indigenous people should not, unless conceived with violence in view, be discouraged, but guided along paths least likely to disturb an emerging economy capable of considerable expansion and ultimately benefiting all sections of the community.

Lusaka

UNITED FEDERAL PARTY—MONZE BRANCH

G. A. L. Farwell—Chairman

I. M. Savory—Secretary

Franchise—No Lowering of Voting Qualifications

That this Branch urges that there should be no lowering whatsoever of voting qualifications. This is in the interest of

all the inhabitants of the Federation, to whom stable government is of the utmost importance.

To quote B. G. Paver: "A healthy growth is not assured by the number of electors, but by their knowledge," and we would point out that the great majority of Africans have little if any knowledge of what a vote means, and have no interest whatever in politics. Furthermore, in their ignorance such Africans are particularly subject to intimidation — hence extremists would be likely to seize power were ignorant voters to outnumber the others. "One man, one vote" may be possible in the dim and distant future but at the present time it is childish even to consider it.

Government must remain in the hands of civilised and responsible persons, be they black or brown or white. We feel that the lack of responsible Government and the fact of the final authority resting in the hands of the British Parliament is the cause of many of our troubles today. Hence it is imperative that independence should be achieved with the least possible delay.

Monze

5th February 1960

THE COURT ASSESSORS OF THE URBAN NATIVE
COURT OF LUSAKA

We, the Assessors of the Urban Native Court of Lusaka, wish to re-affirm before the Commission our belief that the Federation of Central Africa is a most desirable thing for the three territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as long as it will allow each and every one of these three territories to advance and develop politically and economically, thereby raising the standard of living of the people, who will then more readily absorb culture and be able to participate fully in the social life of the society of Central Africa. If this is to be the result of Federation, then few can deny its advantages.

Federation has been in reality for the last seven years, and one would expect by now to have seen some results that would be advantageous to each territory; but unfortunately it has not happened.

We realise that to create the unity desirable for a strong Federation of individual territories, it is essential for each of these territories to make little sacrifices in order to give the Federal Government sitting in Salisbury the power and wealth to bring into being a strong and united state comprised of three individual states with something to offer each other. The Federal Government is, therefore, just as responsible to the people as are those Governments of each territory. By the term "people" we think that this means all the people of the Federation and not just those who are members of the Federal Electorate, as we believe that as time goes by and people develop they will assume sufficient responsibility to become enfranchised, and even now they are contributing to the wealth of the state which entitles their opinion to be heard and considered. Take for example the thousands of African miners on the Copperbelt, few of whom are members of the Electorate, and yet by their skill and labour contribute in their own way to the largest share of the Federal income. Surely, Government is in some way responsible to these people? And yet, since 1953 the Federal Ministers have personally and directly ignored these people and have done nothing to gain the faith, trust and respect of these people. Never has a Federal Minister personally addressed them or visited them in any environment except for the visit of the Prime Minister when he visited the then Northern Province nearly two years ago. While it is agreed that labour is a matter which comes under the control of the Territorial Governments, we feel that if the Federal Government is sincere when it states that the African should look to Salisbury rather than Whitehall, then it should have gone out of its way to show its sincere and good intentions, which can only be done by personal contact. It would seem that we have had more personal visits from members of the Westminster Parliament than from members of Salisbury; how can we then change from looking at Whitehall to Salisbury?

We feel, however, that the Federal Government could and should have gained the confidence of the African people by taking note of their opinion and plight. Again we realise that Native Affairs is under the control of Territorial Governments, but surely the Federal Minister of Health could have visited some of the hospitals and dispensaries in the rural areas, and thus seen how inadequate the health services are? We are also very suspicious of the intentions of Southern Rhodesia in that both the Federal Capital and the University College are in Salisbury; could not one of these have been situated in one of the northern territories, and thus have shown all people that each territory can and will play an

equal share in the life of the Federation? But it appears to us Africans that this is not the intention of the present Federal Government. Because of this the Africans of Northern Rhodesia have tended to look upon the Federal Government at Salisbury as something foreign and more distant and remote than the Colonial Office in London.

However, this is dealing with the present discontent, distrust and lack of faith in the Federal set up as it stands in general terms. We now wish to put forward before the Commission more detailed arguments which will confirm our fear, suspicion and discontent. Because Northern Rhodesia has a great mineral wealth it is at present the richest member of the Federation, contributing approximately sixty per cent of the Federal income, and yet what have we to show for it? Nothing but a deterioration in the social services, a rise in the local cost of living and the jeopardising of industry in Northern Rhodesia.

The Health Services in Northern Rhodesia are deplorable. There are not enough hospitals, and the doctors do not stay in the service because they are not satisfied with the conditions. The Commissions should visit the hospital in Lusaka to understand what we mean by "conditions." It is deplorable that such a dilapidated hospital should exist in the capital of the richest member of the Federation. Perhaps the Commission would like to compare it with the hospital in Salisbury, the capital of Southern Rhodesia. Since 1953 the Federal Ministry of Health has served Northern Rhodesia with only one major hospital, that being at Kitwe, which incidentally, cannot be used to the full as there are not sufficient sluice rooms. Of course Southern Rhodesia has gained enormously. We have recently learnt that the maintenance vote for the whole of the Northern Rhodesia Health Service is approximately only £1,500 for this year; a sum minute and mean, and out of all proportion with the needs and contributions of this vast territory. We now have to pay for the use of an ambulance and pay a fee when aided at child birth. Not only has the African suffered, but the European too; no longer do children attending school receive free milk and dental treatment. We feel that if Health had remained under the control of the Territorial Governments such deterioration would never have occurred, and ask, therefore, that the Commission advise that this service be returned to the control of the Territorial Governments.

We now come to the question of the rise in the cost of living, which in the case of the African has risen thirty per cent since 1953, it is nearly double the rise suffered by the European. This fantastic rise occurred as a result of the decision by the Federal Government to take off the maize subsidy, maize being the basic diet of the African. Such luxuries as cigarettes and spirits were not affected at that time. The Government at Salisbury also decided to put a duty on imported second-hand clothes in order to protect the small clothing industry in Southern Rhodesia. The welfare of the African in the two northern territories was not considered. Few villagers can afford to buy expensive new clothes and as a result they have always depended upon the sale of second-hand ones; but it appears that this was far too insignificant a point for the Federal Government to consider. This action caused yet another rise in the cost of living of the African, and brought about much hardship.

Industry in Northern Rhodesia has suffered greatly at the hands of the Federal Government; we are told that industry brings wealth and prosperity to the country and its people. Does the Federal Government hold contrary views that it should hinder industry so much north of the Zambesi? Why is it that Salisbury should frown upon the use of Lobito Bay, increased railway charges (these affecting Northern more than Southern Rhodesia), and not support what could have been a very prosperous and successful sugar industry in the Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia? And then there is the vexed question of Kariba. Although the copper industry could have been supplied with power from the Kafue hydro-electric scheme a long time ago; although much money had already been spent on the scheme; although the copper industry had to buy power from the Belgian Congo; although the outlay of capital would have been less, this scheme was dropped and Kariba built, much to the advantage of Southern Rhodesia, and to the detriment of Northern Rhodesia.

If we return to the beginning of this memorandum and agree with the principle that one of the aims of Federation is to improve the wealth and prosperity of each and every member of the Federation—and we think that this is a reasonable and sound principle—then what has been said above shows only too obviously the present set up has failed miserably, for it has neither gained the confidence of the people nor achieved anything for one of the members.

We can also claim that Northern Rhodesia in the field of Federation has not advanced politically, and that it has not had its chance to because of the unfair distribution of Federal Assembly seats. In spite of Northern Rhodesia's large contribution to the wealth of the Federation, it is only represented by nineteen members in the Federal Assembly, while Southern Rhodesia has twenty-nine representatives. Is it any wonder that seventy per cent of the Federal expenditure is spent on Southern Rhodesia?

We ask the Commission, therefore, to advise the British Government that not only has the Federal Government failed to gain and command the confidence and respect of the people of Northern Rhodesia, but also that it has not attempted to do so. How then can it call itself a responsible Government? We also ask that you inform Her Majesty's Government that the concept of Federation has not been put into practice by the present Regime, as it would appear that Southern Rhodesia only joined the Federation in order to exploit the labour force of Nyasaland and the wealth of Northern Rhodesia. We feel that the only means of arresting this flagrant act is to advise that certain ministries be handed back to the control of the Territorial Government. We ourselves advocate the return of the Health, Education and Prisons departments. We also suggest that there be a change in the representation of the territories in the Federal Assembly in order that the representation is in ratio with what each member of the Federation puts into it, and not what it takes out as is the case at the moment.

We also wish to bring to your attention that we want certain assurances from our own Territorial Government. It is our desire that the Northern Rhodesia Government affirms its belief in non-racialism and our inherent right to participate fully in the social life of the society in which we live.

We realise that many of us are not yet fully developed to allow equal position and place with the European at the moment, but feel that we must be given every opportunity and encouragement to develop. One of the greatest hazards to the development of the Urban African along social lines is the housing of Africans which at present comes under the control of the local municipalities or authorities. As a result our housing is of a very low standard, and what houses there are, are too few and inadequate, and so many Africans making an honest living are compelled to live in hovels which are insanitary, and often develop into dens of iniquity and vice. Even those houses which the Municipality provides hardly encourage us to improve our standard of living. A bachelor has to share one small room with another in which they must eat, live and sleep. Married couples are little better off. Lavatories and water stands are shared amongst many, and at one Lusaka Location lavatories have no privacy whatsoever. We feel that this is the fault of the Municipality, the members of which are usually representatives of commercial concerns whose interest rarely considers the lot of the African other than his out-put at work.

We ourselves, although not qualified lawyers, are learned in Native Customary Law, and as such have to dispense justice. The African community in Lusaka, therefore, look upon us as leaders of the society, but how can we maintain such a social position with such a meagre salary and with such deplorable housing? We feel, therefore, that African Housing should be handed back to the control of the Territorial Government which is far more competent, able and interested in dealing with the present appalling conditions than the Municipal Council of Lusaka.

We would stress that African houses built in the future must be of a better kind in order that we can live better and prove ourselves as worthy members of the Central African community.

Lusaka

J. H. VENNING, J.P.

Owing to the widespread condemnation of the Union policy, Apartheid, one is led to imagine the term to imply a state of slavery and oppression, but the word merely means "separateness".

When the Imperial Government took over the administration of this country from the British South Africa Co. in 1924 it was decided to introduce Indirect Rule; it was not actually introduced until 1927. The policy was, in effect, "separateness" for reserves were demarkated and all living outside those areas were compelled to abandon their homes and live in the reserves. Europeans were strictly excluded from those reserves and the Bantu were brought under a separate legal system. Although it was not the main intention to separate the races the policy had that effect for it was only the comparatively few Africans who were in European employ who were permitted to live outside the reserves.

One can only think that Indirect Rule was introduced in order to train the Bantu for self rule with a view to handing the country over to them. The country, at that time, was of little, or no, value to the British Government; there were less than 4,000 Europeans, including those in the Service, and the African population numbered well under a million. There were barely half that number some twenty years earlier but with peaceful conditions and a steady inflow of migrants the population had almost doubled. It was, apparently, not realised that the Bantu were not indigenous but had drifted, and were still drifting in considerable numbers, into the country. Later, in order to confine the Europeans to the areas where they had already established themselves the whole country, excepting those areas, was earmarked for Native Trust Land. However, it was some years before that was put into effect and in the meantime vast copper deposits were opened up; more Europeans flocked in and it was realised that the country was of enormous potential value. It was, one can only think, owing to that and to the great inflow of capital that the Order in Council was so worded as to make the name a misnomer. It merely had the effect of confining the races to their respective areas.

In spite of the "separateness" policy it was not possible to keep the races apart. Labour was, and still is, required for industry and the Bantu were, and still are, eager to live in European developed areas, so today there are an enormous number of Africans living outside the reserves and they have been encouraged to do so in order to stabilise their labour and to improve their efficiency. They are now starting to acquire land in European settled areas.

Later another policy was declared. It is said to be an experiment in partnership and the establishment of a multi-racial State with no discrimination but without miscegenation. How is it possible to carry out a policy of two diametrically opposed principles—bring the races together but keep them apart? Europeans are encouraged to mix freely with the Bantu and receive them with social equality. Although Europeans and Africans alike are, generally speaking, opposed to inter-marriage, for it is the desire of neither race to live in intimate association, and although inter-marriage is, again generally speaking, repugnant to European ideas, yet there is little individual natural repugnance to inter-racial intimacies. When large numbers of Africans are earning money on a European scale, when they are living in houses in European style, when the races are in close association in schools, colleges, hotels, cafes and in social life there will inevitably be miscegenation. Unless by legislation—and it would not be reasonable to encourage unity and at the same time legislate against it—it will not be possible to prevent mixed marriages. Public opinion will have a restraining influence for a time but as such marriages become more common public opinion will modify. Owing to a 30 to 1 African numerical superiority mixed marriages would not only lower the standard of living but would be disastrous to European interests. What seems extraordinary about the multi-racial policy is that it is, apparently, intended to apply only to those living outside the reserves for otherwise it would be only logical to throw open the reserves and encourage the races to mix freely together. As it is we have a multi-racial and a separateness policy working together. One can only think that the policy was adopted here without proper and thorough consideration of the inevitable consequences.

There is now a new policy and that is to create a middle class. With increased education and increased earning capacity a middle class would naturally evolve but for the Government to encourage it merely enriches a few at the expense of the masses. Take, for instance, the fishing industry. Were Europeans and others allowed to compete, even with transport and distribution, the price of the fish to the consumer would be considerably lower.

It is still the policy to support hereditary rulers and native authorities, and now, after about 25 years, with careful supervision, the Native Courts are said to be functioning fairly satisfactorily, but the creation of a middle class will steadily undermine tribal rule. At the rate education is progressing, and the people becoming financially better off, ever increasing numbers are qualifying for the franchise and that, apparently, is being actually encouraged, so it cannot be long before the Bantu gain a parliamentary majority. Power would then be in the hands of the educated few, one of whom would become Prime Minister, and no one could be so naive as to believe that they would not use their power to dominate for their own interests.

The trend of present day conditions makes me all the more convinced that a separate development policy, on some such lines as I suggested some time ago, is the only policy which can save this country from becoming a Black State. My suggestion was that there should be two Legislative Houses,

one purely African and that should comprise representatives of all tribes. Each tribe would control its own affairs under the authority of their own Legislature. It would be necessary, in any case at first, for the Governor to appoint an Advisor to the House who could report on African affairs to the main Legislature. The African House would elect representatives to the main Legislature and they would have the same status as ordinary members. In that way the Africans would share in the responsibilities of government and it would do away with the vexed and dangerous question of qualifications for franchise. The African Legislature would be for those who come under a separate form of government, as at present, and enjoy special African privileges. With the present policy qualifications for franchise will require revision from time to time if Bantu domination is to be avoided and may reach a point when comparatively few Europeans would be qualified to vote.

At the time I put forward my suggestion it could have been adopted with little opposition but now that the multi-racial policy has been carried much further opposition would naturally be greater. Hereditary rulers are still jealous of their rights and the masses have no wish to be ruled by an educated few and so break away from their ancient tribal system. Old traditions and superstitions still exist, probably as strongly as ever. I believe that were the policy I suggest put properly before the rulers and masses it would still be readily accepted. Opposition would come from the educated few and their followers who for the most part are probably the potential middle class. Although the leaders—those who will eventually gain power—realise that they cannot progress without the continued support and guidance of European they are determined to allow no one to share with them the control of government. Their aim is Black State and they will be satisfied with nothing less.

It may be that the motive behind the multi-racial policy is not only to comply with the new, now almost universal, "equality of man" idea but to create a happy, contented community with no racial ambitions which would halt the flow of African imperialism. Those entertaining such an idea may be perfectly sincere but they are certainly not realists for it is not possible for anything of the sort ever to come about. No amount of appeasement will halt the flow of African imperialism. The Africans themselves say so and with the support they can rely on nothing will alter their aims.

The Bantu appreciate firmness and justice but they would follow an unjust tyrant rather than a weak ruler. Weakness in a ruler they despise; appeasement is regarded as weakness. In some eastern countries benevolence is regarded as a vice rather than a virtue. The Bantu distrust benevolence, it is contrary to their ingrained ideas that anyone would do a good turn to another unless with some ulterior motive. In time of trouble it has always been the missionaries, and those who have done most for them, who have been the first to suffer at their hands.

The multi-racial policy seems to me to be an attempt to impose on the country a policy which is not only the desire of neither race but it is one that both races are definitely opposed to. Neither wish to live together in close association. It must be remembered that not only are the negroes people of a different nationality but they are physically and mentally a different variety of the human race; a different branch of the human tree. It is not, and never will be, possible to merge as one homogeneous community unless, perhaps, after many generations of interbreeding.

Central Africa is the home of the Bantu as Europe is the home of the Whites. Those who migrated south of the Congo have no better right to this country than have the later European immigrants who have been entirely responsible for their uplift and their vast increase in numbers. The better conditions since European occupation has attracted, and is possibly still attracting, an inflow of Bantu migrants from adjacent territories.

Judging by much that appears in the papers some Europeans are becoming reconciled to the idea of inter-racial association, probably unmindful of the inevitable consequences, but what becomes of this country is of little moment to many in industrial employment, but to those who have a stake in the country, who were born or have made their permanent homes here, have built up a fine civilisation—those one might call genuine Rhodesians—black domination is unthinkable. Even the name Rhodesia would disappear should that come about.

A multi-racial policy in which there must be no racial discrimination is not practicable, desirable or even possible, but if it is the set policy of the Government attempt should be made to put it into practice. The ancient tribal system should be done away with and people of all races brought under the same legal system. Racial disabilities and racial advantages should cease; all should be on a basis of equality. Land in the present Native Reserves should be available for all,

Native Trust Land should become Crown Land. All should enjoy equal hunting and fishing privileges and should be entitled to equal Health and Educational services at the same cost. Licences and taxes should be the same for all.

The policy as practised today is one of two diametrically opposed principles; partnership and parallel development. Unfortunately, it must remain so for the Bantu will not voluntarily surrender the many advantages they now enjoy, especially the land and fishing rights which they have acquired.

Anyone with any knowledge of the Bantu must know that should they gain a parliamentary majority they will use their power to further their own interests. For that reason to allow them equal franchise will be total surrender and the death blow to European interests.

Although—according to frequently expressed views—the North has been called on to contribute an unfair proportion of its wealth to the Federal Government, this country should give the Federation its full support leaving that matter to be thrashed out between the parties concerned. Should the Federation be dissolved, or should the Bantu here gain a Parliamentary majority Southern Rhodesia would inevitably look to the south and the north would be left without any support and with Black States on its border.

The ideal solutions of the problems in Southern Africa would be by the fulfilment of the aims of our great Founder, a United Southern Africa from the Cape to the Congo; a country in which there are practically no indigenous people.

It seems to be a more or less accepted idea that because there are black races in Africa the whole of Africa belongs rightly to people with black skins. Such is not the case; the earlier migrants have no better right to the country south of the Congo than have the later European immigrants. Because the Europeans have occupied the country and have established civilised rule where before were merely savage, primitive hordes they have every right to maintain control.

The time has come when this bogey of "Apartheid" is laid to rest. Judging by the way Bantu of all tribes flock to the Union for work and are always eager to return there one can only suspect that the bogey was raised for political purposes and by people seeking notoriety. For all I know it may be that the present Union Government is unduly harsh, but there is every sign that there are very many more liberal minded people in the Union who are striving for better conditions. It must be recognised that no country in Africa has done more for the uplift and welfare of its Bantu people than has the Union.

With regard to Northern Rhodesia the present position here recalls to my mind something I saw very many years ago in, I think it was, Punch. "Tell me, Mr. Dooley, do you think they will give Home Rule to Ireland?" "Yes," said Mr. Dooley, "I do—if the Irish will let 'em."

Abercorn

30th January 1960

S. P. VIBERTI

Greetings,

I, the undermentioned Simon P. Viberti, a teacher, a supervisor of schools, and Agricultural Instructor, later a Secretary Councillor to Biza Native Authority answering to questions concerning Federal Government.

I am not satisfied with the present Federal Government for the following reasons:—

1. I do not know what sort of Government the Federal Government is. This Government has claimed to build its Government on superstructures of other Governments with no reason to do so.

2. Building on superstructures already there. It claimed in its constitutional matters things like railways, trunk roads, posts and telegrams, medical and customs, etc. Before it set up its Government found all these things already, and what are new things made up by them then?

3. Federal Government has no more in our lives because it does not know. What does it know in lives of ruler areas. What history it has in its mind earliest time when our Colonial first found us. Our Colonial Government is pulling along because it knows us from time it found us.

4. I have tested this Government since its information has only increased struggles than peace. Ruler areas are neglected in many things. Restrictions of dispensaries in ruler areas. Postal rates too high and etc.

5. It should cease to central over affairs which we think could have been well ran if were controlled by Colonial Government. We have already approved that with the Colonial Government we are better off. We do not want to come out from its hand. We are protected tribes in N. Rhodesia.

6. The Federal Government is just like a parcel, has something wrapped in it. It has invisible plans and ideas in its Government. This Government is a *parasit* has no root in ruling this country.

7. I appeal to a considering Committee meeting which the Government has appointed to pre-think possible ways representing views of African people in Central Africa. The Committee should represent us with best mind to the coming meeting of Federal Government. Should what Africans are thinking be the final.

8. All over people are not objecting coming of Federation today. They began to refuse it at the earliest days of its coming.

Mpika

18th February 1960

C. P. VLAHALANIS

As Eurafican born in Northern Rhodesia, I have a mixed feeling on the Federation of Central African Federation. My views on the Federation are as follows:—

As a British Protected person and a Native of Northern Rhodesia the majority of us are happier under British protection—and we regard this as the only hope we have for our future roll in the Administration of the country. Our men have now come to realise that the Federal Government is one sided and is failing in its duty as a Government to advance the backward races so that they could be used in developing the country. The Federal Government is almost 10 years old. If the problem of tackling these backward races had started at same time to-day we would have quite a good number of skilled men in any field. The back bone of any country is that of its human resources. I read in papers of more and more immigrants are being brought from overseas to fill posts which by now would have been occupied by some of the local inhabitants had the training started a while back. It is becoming very clear that it will be centuries if this present form of Government is to remain in power before the backward races can reach its goal.

In Northern Rhodesia our money is being used all over and as such the country is now without enough money to do all the development it would have done had it not been through this Federation. Therefore I do not trust the Federal Government with its present form of administration—many things have been promised and for these past 10 years nothing good has so far been done for most of us. It is a matter of time now which they are playing with—once Dominion Status is granted now while the majority of the people are still not satisfied, another South Africa is imminent.

The British Government will be doing a great service to these backward races if they again give another trial period to the Federation before the Dominion Status is granted.

It is the wish of the local inhabitants and as such they look to Great Britain for help.

Gwembe

14th February 1960

H. B. WAUGH

I have spent some thirty years in Northern Rhodesia first as a District Officer and then in retirement as a farmer. I first came to the country in 1929 and walked the last 200 miles to my first station Mwinilunga from Solwezi, as there was then no motor road.

I settled in Northern Rhodesia after leaving the service as I like Africa and Africans. I also have a special affection for the Mwinilunga District.

As regards Federation's constitutional reform is a highly complicated matter, and as my experience has been gained chiefly amongst rural Africans I shall not presume to do than make a few general observations.

First of all as the Prime Minister so recently stressed the problems of the various parts of African differ widely. West Africa which I have visited for instance is far removed in every way from this Territory. When white people first came here soon after the turn of the century tribal warfare and slave raiding were in progress. All villages were then stockaded against invaders and I found the remaining of one of these stockades near my farm here only the other day. Africans when I first knew them lived a primitive subsistence although has of course been some advance especially in the towns actual village life has changed little. You cannot expect miracles and normal progress must be gradual. Any indecent waste or attempt to force the pace at this critical stage would in my opinion be disastrous to all concerned.

We have had Africans in the Legislative Council for some years now and it is only right that the local tribesmen should

rec

have an increasing share in Government. Their showing so far has not been very impressive but tolerance must be shown on both sides.

The concept of Federation is not understood by the average rural African. A few of the more sophisticated have heard of the strange word but very few have any idea of its real meaning. The prejudice against it is the African fear of the unknown. There is also fear of amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia a country with unpleasant Pass Laws and other tiresome restrictions.

In actual fact the ordinary villager has not been affected by Federation in his every day life. It is possible that the prejudice might be overcome by more explanatory propaganda or if some visible benefits could be brought to his notice. A case in point is that before Federation funds were available for the transport of patients to hospital, whereas I believe the Federal Health Department makes no provision for this very obvious contingency. A Land Rover to carry serious cases to hospital would be sufficient for the present in most outstations.

The second important point to be borne in mind is that this Territory is multi-racial and is likely to remain so. As African representation is gradually increased the interests of minorities must be safeguarded. The Federation has a wonderful future before it provided and provided only there is security for all its people.

Mwinilunga

J. P. WHATMORE

Brief details of my background, if these details are required, are :- I am 40 years of age, married with four children, have lived in Ndola since October, 1952 and am employed in a firm of Manufacturers' Agents and Distributors as Director and Secretary. I am by profession a Chartered Secretary.

In my opinion the concept of Federation in 1953 was sound and of definite economic advantage to the three territories. It gave a boost to overseas investment and one has to recall how all the major towns expanded, particularly in 1955, for material evidence of the benefits of being federation.

Unfortunately since 1955, there has been a tendency for secondary industry to develop mostly in Southern Rhodesia, particularly in Salisbury and Bulawayo. The reasons for this are many; more settled community, lower wage structure, larger skilled population, easy distribution to other parts of the Federation. The Federal and Southern Rhodesia Governments appear to have adopted a policy of laissez faire to this development. They argue that they cannot interfere with the plans of business men and, with the demand for capital investment elsewhere, they should do nothing that might deter investment even though it may be concentrated in Southern Rhodesia.

Basically, this reasoning is solid, but knowing how vulnerable the north is, depending for the major part of its income on copper, it shows a surprising lack of foresight, and has tended to alienate European as well as African support here for Federation.

There have been many examples in other parts of the world of how depressed or backward areas have been developed. Something more, however, than tax holidays for newly established secondary industry or increased special initial allowance was needed. A lower tax rate in the two Northern Territories might have proved a sufficient attraction and although this would have involved a sacrifice by Southern Rhodesia, it was purely in their interests to succour Federation, dependent as they are on Northern Rhodesia copper. Tariffs, too, although normally valid in young countries, have helped to develop Southern Rhodesia industry, some of it not efficient and producing shoddy articles, and have pushed up the cost of living in the two Northern Territories.

Politically the African sees the Federal Government situated in Salisbury, the capital of a European dominated community modelled very much in his view on the South African pattern, whilst the European sees Southern Rhodesia skimming the cream off the milk economically.

It seems to me that economic and political advancement must go hand in hand. It is vital to Northern Rhodesia that secondary industry is encouraged to absorb the more educated indigenous population.

Although there are real advantages in Federation, I consider the Federal structure should be altered to try and ensure that there is parallel development in all three territories.

It is also important that there is no lowering of the franchise qualification in Northern Rhodesia to ensure that Government is at least elected by people who can read or write, while the Federal experiment is continued for a further period.

Ndola

22nd February 1960

MRS. H. M. WIENAND

I am the daughter of a British officer who fought for Britain during the Anglo Boer war.

I was born out here and I have spent all my life here, first of all playing then working with the African. I arrived in Rhodesia in 1930. I have had much opportunity during the past thirty years to learn a great deal of the Rhodesian black man, for I travelled often on foot into parts where a white woman was something unseen. It was during this period that I saw the African in his natural state; ignorant of the outside world, simple and polite but always reluctant to disclose much about himself and his traditions.

These people as you know, moved into the Rhodesias originally from the north and later back from the south. They brought no indication of early civilisation which so widely influenced the middle east North Africa and the Mediterranean areas. The African had no culture of their own. This is so clearly evident for although they arrived here before the European, the last only having come some eighty years earlier than we did have left nothing to mark their period of occupation. There are no buildings in the form of temples or homes. In fact they had no form of worship. Fear instilled through witch craft was the governing factor of their lives. The fertile areas were chosen for the production of food. As soon as the soil was devoid of its fertility they would move to better pastures, so leaving in their wake destruction instead of construction.

The European early settler like the black man came alone quite unaided by mechanical transport. There was no medical attenders no medicine no homes or hotels to go to. Fresh vegetables and meat were not easily obtained. It was a question of hard pioneering. Simply the survival of the fittest.

Then came the railways. Education was introduced for black and white alike. It was not long before the European had provided better educational facilities for the African than for his own people. Secondary education came to the African first. The European was compelled to send his children away to school if he could afford it, for education was expensive and money was not plentiful. When parents could not afford it the child had to use the little education he had and educate himself as best he could. In spite of all this the European has worked for the good of the community as a whole.

Hospitals were built. Medical men and nurses were brought into the country. They had an uphill battle trying to convince the African that they were solely there for their welfare. They resisted the new form of medicine for a long while. In fact in the rural areas today many of them will not attend a hospital. Nevertheless much has been done to relieve them of their sufferings. Through medical treatment and general improved conditions the infantile mortality has decreased and the Africans have steadily increased in numbers. The growing prosperity along the line of rail has attracted many thousands of Africans from our neighbouring territories.

A vast amount has been done and a great deal more has to be done. The African has contributed largely with unskilled labour. His financial contribution has been about one third of the revenue spent on African education. At least sixty per cent of the Africans in N. Rhodesia are able to attend school, whilst in S. Rhodesia it is as high as eighty per cent.

Together the black and the white Rhodesians enjoy all civil amenities which have come with the opening of the territory. It is not expected that the African should contribute a large amount of the finance, but co-operation and gratitude for what has been done for them is necessary. Some of the capital spent in this country is often from a drained British public which cannot afford to contribute as freely as they have done. The white Rhodesian has earned his keep and this constant claim of the African that he must possess Rhodesia is an unfounded demand voiced by a few political agitators who are working for personal gain in most cases. The followings they seem to have are often people who do not understand what they are doing. The women often have to take part at the demonstrations and nearly all of the women are uneducated and do not know what federation means. In fact had federation been explained to the African in its initial stages it is doubtful if these agitators would have the following they seem to have. The constant demand for power by a few causes the suspicion that it may be a relic of the past.

I am confident that the average African in Rhodesia black or white is perfectly happy to live together. The impressions obtained unfortunately through powerful channels such as the press radio and television are not a true reflection of what we out in Rhodesia feel. Through no fault of their own the people outside this country have been misguided often by people meeting their own ends.

Tragically but true the missionaries have had something to do with it. There are so many different denominations

represented in the field, each trying to offer the African more than the other. These people have to have finance. They appeal to the outside world who in turn believes that the African is sadly neglected and very badly treated.

In turn the misjudgements from the outside world cause disruptions within and so cause bad relationships between Britain and her colonies. Something which should never occur.

The federation has a gigantic task ahead of it. This commission will I hope give us an unbiased hearing and so help federation to be a success. Give it an opportunity to solve its problems with as little obstruction as possible. Both sections of the community will know that they must work harmoniously together for the good of all.

We cannot allow ourselves to be divided and by so doing let a third party walk in and rule. These influences appear to be busy in our northern neighbours.

Lusaka

R. G. W. WILLCOCKS

In response to the invitation to people in the Federation to present their views, the following notes are offered for the consideration of the Commission.

It is hoped that the points raised will be relevant to your deliberations, although they seldom appear to be considered in their public or private discussion.

1. Basic Facts and Assumptions

In the following notes, certain facts are accepted and assumptions made which will be stated now to avoid repetition.

Based on published figures and allowing for natural increase and the current immigration rate, it is assumed that the total population of the Federation would not exceed 10,000,000 for some years, unless some hitherto inoperative factor were to supervene.

Mineral resources, except oil, are estimated to be very adequate to support much greater industrial output than exists at present in the Federation.

The land area of nearly 500,000 square miles contains no desert and, moreover, it is or can be made to be well-watered. At least 85% of the land is amenable to intensive husbandry of one kind or another.

It is assumed that expanded communications can be established with the outside world through neighbouring territories, given the need and resources.

2. Development of Resources by the Existing Population

A basic question related to the future of the Federation is: Can the existing population develop adequately the resources available? The short answer would appear to be: No—for the following reasons.

It is axiomatic that the development potential of any population is closely related to its size and its calibre. The population density of the Federation is unlikely to exceed 20 per square mile for some time. This density is extremely low in well-watered, highly mineralised country, even if the average calibre of the population were similar to that of the highly developed countries. The United States exceeds 45 per square mile, in spite of extensive desert regions. The Soviet Union, with even greater desert areas, exceeds 30 per square mile. Furthermore, the most optimistic assessment of the present average calibre of the Federal population could not rate it at more than a small fraction of that of the more developed countries.

There is no record of any population increasing its intellectual, technological and social achievements by even as much as threefold in less than two generations. Therefore, the most optimistic estimate of the time necessary for even a barely adequate increase in calibre of the existing population would be at least fifty years.

It follows that reasonably adequate development of the Federation's resources requires an increase in both numbers and calibre of the population from outside sources.

3. The Possible Dangers of Slow Development

It appears self-evident that the Federation cannot be expected to exist in an Arcadian pastoral state, unaffected by world progress. The sparseness and low calibre of the population and the concomitant slow development constitute a sore temptation to any other country which is either seeking a wider field of influence or is suffering from severe internal population pressure. In any event, it is questionable whether the Federation or its components, however governed, could sustain a moral justification for maintaining itself under-populated and its resources un-exploited.

It might, of course, be argued that a similar situation existed during the colonization and development of North America.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the world population pressure then was lower and the world communication system at the time left many areas of high population in more or less blissful ignorance of the potential of the American continent.

Nearer in time, there is the demonstration of the danger of under-population in Australia which has been subject to severe pressure from Asia. The Australians have recognised the danger and have taken vigorous steps to circumvent it by mass immigration.

The present state of the Federation makes it vulnerable to populations pressure from outside and in the event of an upsurge of warlike tendencies to the far north or east, the pressure might rise so high that it would result in an implosion of other races. That this is no idle threat is evident when the pressures to north and west and the distances involved are considered. The overland route from the Sudan border is not difficult for modern transport. However, the most bottled-up area of high population density is India. Furthermore, the distance across the Indian Ocean via Tanganyika is quite short and en route there is already a large Asian population which could be expected to be sympathetic to a south-westward movement of similar people. There is the definite possibility, therefore, that a social or political upheaval in India would set in motion something akin to an invasion of eastern Africa and the inevitable follow through into Central Africa.

The present rate of growth in the Federation would not be sufficient to prevent on moral grounds or by physical opposition the movement of 10,000,000 or more Asians into the Federation over a period of a few years. Such a number, on the other hand, could be mustered in India almost overnight.

4. Can any of the Current Factional Aspirations be Fulfilled Ultimately?

On the foregoing analysis, it is most unlikely. Factional demands appear to range between the African supremacy extremists to the White supremacy extremists. As the latter usually seek to restrict immigration in order to maintain the standard of living, both groups would decrease the investment incentive and restrict internal development. The rather wide spectrum of "moderates" would be little better off. Those who would accord political superiority to the African population would find themselves faced with extreme African supremacy very quickly, and ultimately with Asian or Arab supremacy. Those who would retain White political superiority under the existing political pattern would find themselves faced with either internal unrest or political stalemate according to the degree of forced African advancement they favoured. In no case would development proceed fast enough to obviate danger from external pressure.

It would appear therefore that there is little chance of survival of either an all-African state or of a multi-racial state developing at the present rate on any of the commonly proposed systems.

The two major races in the Federation are therefore faced with two choices each. The African can choose approximate numerical equality with the Whites or he can accept ultimately being over-run by another race (as he cannot populate the country by himself). The White can accept accelerated immigration (even if it temporarily lowers the standard of living) and ultimate equality and free competition with the African or he can choose virtual extinction as a significant force in the Federation.

These conclusions appear to fit the known facts better than any other and if it is assumed that the first choice will be made in each case, it is necessary to consider how full development can be brought about.

5. Essentials for Reasonable Development

Simple authoritative statement of the acceptance of the first choice mentioned above would be a strong stimulant to increased development, in that security of investment would be assured. The economic atmosphere would return to something similar to that which made the Kariba loans possible.

The "protectorate status" of the two northern territories would have to be re-defined. Blind application of the Native Trust Land concept would have to be modified. Much greater usage of land in the north would be required and the necessary immigration could only be encouraged by releasing the vast areas of unused land for development by immigrants.

(The Commission is urged to travel by road in the remoter areas for at least a week so that members can gain some insight into the very low level of land usage, particularly in Northern Rhodesia, west of Solwezi and north of Mkushi.)

The territorial governments all have far too many functions which could be more economically and efficiently conducted on a federal basis. It is certain that the multiplicity of interpretations of policies to the Africans resulting from differing

602

government directives and the ambivalent allegiance of territorial officers has done much to confuse the African and render him prey to any glib would-be politician.

Any attempt to preserve four different electoral systems which tend to diverge more and more can only lead to chaos. The territorial governments would be better reduced to provincial councils and the reserve powers of the British Government operated only in relation to the Federal Government, rather on the lines of the original arrangements when Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing colony. Official policy could then be presented to the African with clarity and he would undoubtedly accept a well-presented explanation of the advantages to himself of the economic development which would be possible. The odd disgruntled demagogue would be noisy for a while but would be neutralised by proper presentation of policy to the ordinary African. There is, in fact, some reason to believe that the very existence of four governments has served to confuse the African who has reached the conclusion that "The Bwana can't make up his mind"—not unjustifiably.

The details of revised Federal and territorial constitutions cannot obviously be dealt with in a short memorandum but, once the basis is accepted, the details should be much less complex than the present amorphous situation. However, irrespective of the particular system adopted it must be clearly expressed and not left to be interpreted at the whim of any political group either in the Federation or in Britain.

6. Personal Note

I have no particular wish to give evidence before the Commission in person but would be willing to answer any questions which might arise from this memorandum.

As a Colonial, born in the West Indies of English and Scottish descent, I was accustomed from an early age to associate with children and adults of all shades of skin. I have therefore no inherent colour prejudice. I am only interested in seeing the Rhodesias preserved for Western civilization which, in spite of its many shortcomings, seems better able to provide for human happiness than do the various systems which show signs of development from the Asian mind.
Kitwe

A. H. J. WOOLLEY

I have been in Northern Rhodesia 31 years, and my wife 23 years. We have given the best years of our lives to the development of this country, hoping it would mean security for us. We have developed a farm of 4,000 acres from virgin bush.

The only way in which we can see there is any likelihood of security and peace, and for the white man to remain in this country, is that the line of rail which has been developed by Europeans should be joined to Southern Rhodesia.

The remainder of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland could be administered by the Africans as they think fit, with Colonial Office supervision if they wish it. All Europeans in these areas who wish to leave should be compensated for the development they have made.

This will enable the Africans to run their own affairs and develop their own country, and the Europeans to maintain what they have developed, and will eliminate all racialism and strife.

Mazabuka

4th February 1960

M. M. ZIMBA and J. Z. MOULA

Disadvantages of Federal Government

1. The British Government in these countries has different ways of ruling.

- (a) e.g. S.R., or S.A. An African man or woman is not free travelling without a pass from the Authorities.
- (b) An African man has no chance to live on the rich soil, soon to be chased away by whites.
- (c) Customs on duties are now higher than before.
- (d) Immigration of people men and women from other countries will be far more higher than now. And Africans will have no enough lands to live on happily.
- (e) In other countries Native Authorities have been given less power.
- (f) In S.A. coloureds are not regarded as people are just wasters, as well as Africans.
- (g) Roads have been taken by the Federation Federal Government because of the customs duties.
- (h) Post Offices have made their things very high. e.g., stamps, postal orders, registered envelopes, etc.
- (i) Hospitals have changed than before, e.g., a person very sick not allowed to be helped, to be carried in their ambulances but paying for it.
Taxes of wireless sets, dogs.
Money being used too much to the European schools.
- (j) By these reasons we find and know that most of people are *not* in favour to have these countries come together.

Lundazi

7th March 1960