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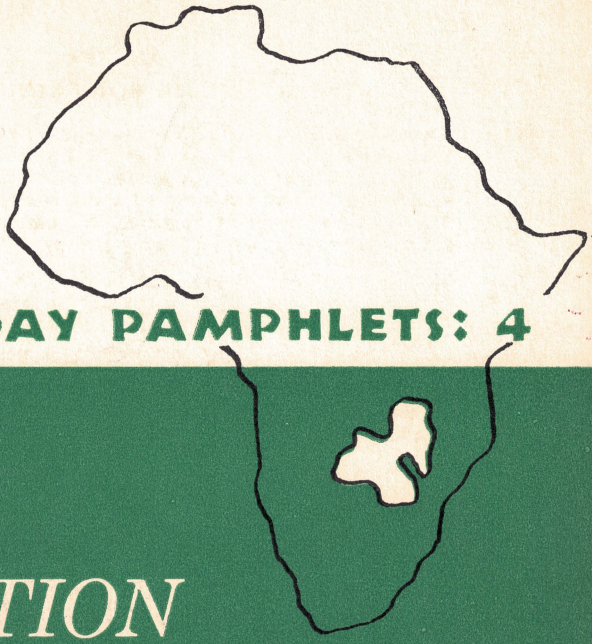

AFRICA TODAY PAMPHLETS: 4

The FEDERATION of RHODESIA and NYASALAND: The Future of a Dilemma

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American Committee on Africa

159

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THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND:
The Future of a Dilemma

By **CHANNING B. RICHARDSON**

If the 287,000 Europeans and 7,330,000 Africans who live in the Central African Federation – as it is popularly known – could find a mutually acceptable way out of their present racial and political strife, the Western world would be in their perpetual debt. The task they face is so formidable that even with the best cooperation and pooled skills, it is doubtful that a harmonious multiracial community could be established in the beautiful regions of Central Africa. As it is, with the thin margin of time running out, the outlook is dim indeed. The issues involved are complicated. All right is not on one side or all wrong on the other.

We outsiders, not living in the Federation and with no responsibilities, must approach the problem with all possible sympathy and understanding. Both Europeans and Africans need constructive criticism, yet the standards of Little Rock, Accra, or Notting Hill may well not be the best measures for Africa of the Zambesi. We on the outside may be of some assistance if we assume there are many men of ability, power, and good will in the Federation on both sides of the color line. A glimpse into the Federation's short history will also help.

The Past is Present

The legacy of the past is very much present today in the lands of David Livingstone, Cecil Rhodes, and Lobengula. The past has not been wholly kind to the peoples who live in what is now called the Central African Federation. The West has not always been represented by smpathetic missionaries such as Livingstone or his relations by marriage, the Moffats. Nor was the West always welcomed. It was, and is, represented by men of differing attitudes and contradictory desires. The mixed heritage of the past lies ready at hand to help or hinder the Federation.

The area now called Southern Rhodesia was first occupied by columns of Cecil Rhodes' pioneers. The men who raised the British Union Jack at Fort Salisbury on September 12, 1890 – Occupation Day – had pushed into dangerous territory armed not only with guns, but also with promises of a 3,000 acre farm

and 15 gold claims for each. To Rhodes, the occupation of the area promised not only gold, but also a large step towards the realization of his imperial dreams. With sturdy British and Boer miners working their claims, the all-too-possible expansion into that land of Portuguese, German, or Boer Republic influence was thwarted. All in all, the concession which Rhodes' agents had won from Lobengula, King of the Matabele (1870-1893), promised his Chartered Company many things.

First the country had to be pacified. The inter-tribal raiding and warring had to be stopped. Warrior and victim had to be convinced that the West had come to stay. Somehow or other, a concession for minerals had to become a writ for political domination. Thus a small war was fought in 1893. More serious uprisings occurred in 1896, during which probably one in ten of the small European settler community was killed. These memories are still alive in Rhodesia today. At the end of these events, however, peace had descended on the beautiful highlands of Central Africa. The European could go about his business of seeking gold. His early disillusionment with the size and quality of the deposits of the metal soon led him to seek other minerals and then to branch out into the extensive grazing and ranching operations which characterize Rhodesia today.

The political truces of 1896 were not ones designed to encourage two radically different peoples to live and work together towards unity and equality. Rather peace was imposed by the white man first to give him security against further African uprisings. Secondly, the truces were designed to provide a steady stream of African labor for European farms and mines. These two aims were fulfilled. From 1896 to 1959 not a shot was fired in anger in the area. During those years hundreds of thousands of Africans began the process of contact with the West's way of life. This is the root cause of today's troubles. At first the Africans came reluctantly, driven by the new taxes imposed by the Europeans. Now they come freely to try to satisfy their newly created wants through income derived by working for the white man.

The years from 1890 to the establishment of the Federation in 1953 saw the creation in Southern Rhodesia especially of a modern, material, European society with all the features of which the Western man is so proud. Into a wilderness have come schools, roads, churches, hospitals, and modern cities. Stable government, law, and social services mark the Rhodesian way of life as truly Western and, in many respects, more English than

the English. It is the more intangible Western value of democracy and justice for all which has a hard time taking root. As in all pioneer communities, the process of economic development was difficult and the sense of achievement high. Frontier attitudes born during those days persist today.

Patterns of Relations Set

To the European, the African appeared to be a necessary evil. Forced to perform tasks not understood by him, the African performed in ways judged by the demanding colonist to be irresponsible, lazy, and untruthful. The white rancher, impatient to drain or fence his vast holdings, could see little of value in a race which seemed to come and go at will, which couldn't understand English and persisted in so-called barbaric customs. This on-the-spot attitude of the settler conflicted with his own heritage of Christianity and democratic ideals. A tension was set up within the European mind in Central Africa which has not been resolved. The patterns of race relations set during those years indicate clearly that fear of the surrounding Africans and the desire to wrest a living from the country dominated the conduct of the European. Christianity and the liberal English political heritage took second place to the needs of time and place in Africa.

The African was quick to note the gap between Christian teaching (and teachers) and the daily practices of discrimination to which he had to submit. The gap in understanding and contact between white and black, the most impressive feature of social relations to an outsider, became fixed during these years. A master-servant relationship thought by both sides to be perpetual sealed the gap. Once again, the past had fixed a pattern.

In the realm of politics, the years 1896-1953 witnessed the growth of important differences among the three territories which were to become the Federation. By 1923 the entire structure of government in Southern Rhodesia was almost completely in the hands of Europeans. The Colony's African population was under the control of a Native Affairs Department operating under a policy of firm paternalism. Chiefs were made subordinate to Native Commissioners. Pass laws, separation of living areas, and discriminatory practices marked racial affairs. No African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament or municipal councils was allowed. Legal and social restrictions closely followed those of the Union of South Africa. By 1950, the Europeans, representing about 2.5% of the total population,

owned 50% of the total land area and most of this was the usable land. The African majority found itself either in an ugly urban slum or in an infertile "native reserve."

The picture in the two northern Protectorates – Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland – differed significantly. Since 1889 in the latter and 1924 in the former, the Colonial Office has slowly moved towards increased African participation in government and politics. Its form of paternalism has been softer, frequently tempered by the "game-warden" approach to primitive peoples. Local advisory councils were begun in 1912. Racial barriers were always less conspicuous and in many areas pass laws were unknown. As Africans were advanced in the two Civil Services, it did seem as though the interests of the "natives" were paramount, as the Colonial Office announced. The Church of Scotland, especially in Nyasaland, made ready to turn over control of its African work to Africans. In the two northern Protectorates over 90 per cent of the land was held by Africans or in trust for them. As a result, the whole spirit and attitude of the African of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been different from those of his brother in the southern Colony. Their training and experience have been more advanced. Above all, they have developed a higher degree of trust and respect for the long-range intentions of the European.

Federation

In 1953 the three territories were made into a Federation. African public opinion in all of them was almost wholly ignored in the long debate in the British Parliament leading up to the step. Insofar as one can judge, African opinion was against the move. Riots of protest against the step cost the lives of several Africans in Nyasaland. Rev. Michael Scott, who was against Federation, was deported. Anti-Federation Chiefs were deposed. There was genuine fear in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia of the Southern Rhodesian way of life. Suspicion of the motives of the Colonial Office was created. Above all, the manner in which Federation came laid foundations for lack of trust and for fears of any future move which might give increased political power to the southern Colony.

The complicated Federal Constitution proportioned political powers between the two northern Protectorates (i.e., the Governments strongly controlled by the Colonial Office), South ern Rhodesia, and a new Federal Government (located in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia). "Partnership" between the races

was the avowed aim of the new Federation. Each of the three constituent territories continued to have control over its own "native policies." Thus the diverging Colonial Office and Southern Rhodesian policies were allowed to continue their chosen courses. To quiet the fears of Africans and liberal Englishmen, a safeguard is written into the Constitution establishing an African Affairs Board. Composed of three Europeans and three Africans – all Members of the Federal Assembly – the Board has the power to "reserve" legislation it considers to be inimical to the African for the pleasure of the Crown. This is a kind of veto. In addition, the Preamble states that the newly formed Federation is to move towards full membership in the British Commonwealth when its inhabitants so desire. This is widely taken to mean that total independence (and the removal of control from the Colonial Office and, therefore, ultimately from the British Parliament) cannot take place unless an obvious majority of Africans approve. Finally, the Constitution provides for a review of its workings sometime between 1960 and 1962. This constitutional review conference is scheduled for 1960.

In general, the course of events in the Federation since 1953 has given the African sufficient opportunities to see his doubts and fears confirmed. It is natural and human for him to concentrate his attention on the negative aspects of those years and neglect the affirmative events. Thus he points to the fact that twice the African Affairs Board has "reserved" legislation to stop enactment of offensive laws. Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd – Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1953-58 – was, because of his liberal instincts, driven out of office by his own party in 1958. To date neither he nor his remnant party has been able to capture a single seat in the Federal or Southern Rhodesian elections. New anti-African white extremist organizations have sprung up, although they still represent a minority of the European community. Anti-African political parties have increased their votes and seats. African Members of the Federal Assembly cannot live in European housing areas and run the risk of being called "boy" should they venture into many European shops.

These are the things that Africans see and dwell upon. These are the things which are blown up constantly and create the daily sense of hurt, especially for the literate African. Increased European attention to African housing, education, and the extended franchise cannot compete against constant reminders of his subordinated position.

The road from Occupation Day in 1890 – itself a living reminder of conquest – to the present has been a rough one. For both African and white communities in Central Africa, the ingredients for extreme nationalism are at hand. The lost opportunities to teach and practice mutual toleration are many. Once let into Africa, the West was bound to conflict with Africa. The only question was with how much violence. Partial answers to this question were provided by the Emergencies of 1959.

The Emergencies of 1959

The political explosions of February and March, 1959, shook the foundations of life in the Federation. No one can predict their ultimate importance. The immediate sparks from which the Emergencies arose were, of themselves, not important except as they reflected the accumulating tensions between black and white communities in Central Africa. In this role they illuminated the grown forces of African nationalism. There were three proximate causes of the Emergencies.

The first was the return of Dr. Hastings Banda to Nyasaland after years of study in America and Scotland and medical practice in England and Ghana. Greeted upon his arrival in 1958 as a cross between a Nyasaland Nkrumah and a messiah, he at once took command of the Nyasaland African National Congress organization and proclaimed himself as "extremist." He scoffed at African moderates and demanded that the Protectorate secede from the Federation. In five months, 83 branches of the Congress swelled to 200. For the first time, the Central African European was confronted with an African political leader with the skill – which he frequently used – to sweep masses of people into a state of emotional hysteria. The Nyasaland Government was trapped between this rising power, its own vague gradual liberalism, and a Federal Government in Salisbury anxious to "teach the natives a lesson" by nipping African power in the bud.

The second event was the holding in Accra, Ghana, in December 1958, of the All-African People's Conference. The Federation's leaders allege that there Dr. Banda and other African politicians from the Federation pledged themselves to drive the white man out of Central Africa. This was allegedly to be done with help of the Ghanaian Government and the support of the Communists. This charge figured often in the public speeches of the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, during the weeks leading to the Emergencies. These allegations produced a name-calling contest between Federal and Ghanaian leaders.

The European press in the Federation took up the charge, overlooking wholly the struggle made by Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana and Chairman Tom Mboya of Kenya at the Conference against Communism and in favor of non-violent solutions of African political problems. Because of these charges, Sir Edgar Whitehead, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, began in late December to take steps against what he and Sir Roy Welensky believed to be an approaching crisis with the African Nationalists.

The third factor was another allegation based upon informers. It was charged that 150 African leaders in Nyasaland held a meeting on January 25, 1959, during which a plot was made to massacre the Protectorate's 8,000 Europeans, its Asian population, and those Africans too friendly to European control. The massacre was to start, it was alleged, at a signal to be given by a drum placed near Dr. Banda's home in the European section of Blantyre. Dr. Banda himself was not at the meeting. "Massacre, widespread violence, and murder were being planned," later stated Alan Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary in London. By the beginning of February, European public opinion throughout the Federation was in a highly excited mood.

Tensions and Rioting

In Nyasaland, tensions continued to grow until, by the 20th of February, open defiance of District Commissioners, stoning of police cars, and riots had become frequent. The Governor asked for Federal troops to maintain order, and these were dispatched from Southern Rhodesia.

On February 26, the Prime Minister of the Colony proclaimed an Emergency. The Southern Rhodesian Congress* and three other congresses with branches in the territory were banned. Arrested in pre-dawn raids and jailed were 495 of its leaders and others, including a widely respected European liberal, Guy Clutton-Brock. On March 3, an Emergency was proclaimed in Nyasaland and Dr. Banda and 1328 of his leaders and followers were arrested. He and a few top aides were deported to Southern Rhodesian prisons. On March 11, a limited state of emergency was proclaimed in Northern Rhodesia. The Northern Rhodesia Congress – under its President, Harry Nkumbula – was not banned. The Zambia African National Congress, led by Kenneth Kaunda, was banned and a total of 150 of its leaders jailed.

*Congress: the political organization of Africans.

Kaunda, an able man, was "rusticated" to a remote area in Northern Rhodesia. One of the more spectacular events of those days was the forcible deportation from Northern Rhodesia of a British Labor Member of Parliament by Federal Government immigration officials.

The various Emergencies legally lasted into May in the two Rhodesias and into September in Nyasaland. There were no riots or violence of any sort at any time in Southern Rhodesia. In the two northern Protectorates, about 54 Africans were killed by federal troops and hastily deputized Europeans acting as civic guards. In Nyasaland, Africans received rough and sometimes brutal treatment at their hands. African houses were burned; mass fines were exacted for damages done. No European was killed at any time in any of the three territories; a few were injured.

Emergency legislation passed in the three territorial assemblies and the Federal Assembly has been of a broad and harsh sweep. Presumptions of guilt rather than of innocence have been enacted. Any organization deemed "likely to endanger public safety – or to promote ill-will – between different races" was banned. Whether this will include Afrikaner churches and the Segregation Society remains to be seen. People deemed potentially dangerous are subjected to indefinite preventive detention up to five years. The use of the boycott and intimidation by Africans are proscribed. Within a short time after these laws were put on the statute books, review procedures were established to investigate the cases of the detainees. By mid-October, most of the Nyasa detainees had been released. By the same date, the review tribunal in Southern Rhodesia had reviewed the cases of the Southern Rhodesian detainees and, in the overwhelming number of cases, prescribed continued imprisonment for them.

Devlin Commission

A shocked British public opinion, already concerned about the course of events in the Federation, demanded an official investigation into the tragic and dangerous situation in Nyasaland. One was established under Sir Patrick Devlin. His Commission's report, published late in July, indicated that there had been no "massacre plot" and that the Government had been misled by its reliance on informers. The report calls Nyasaland a "police state." It admits that violent resistance was planned at the Congress meeting of January 25 and that the Governor

had rightly declared an Emergency. The contention held by most Europeans in the country – that the troubles were the products of a few self-seeking agitators – was rejected. Rather, the report continued, agitation was part of the growth of African nationalism throughout the continent. After a sharp debate, the House of Commons voted to accept the less critical portions of the Devlin report by a straight party vote of 316 to 252. The report will continue to provide major political ammunition for all critics of the Central African Federation both in Africa and the British Isles.

Lowering of Racial Barriers

As a further result of the Emergencies, there was some lowering of racial barriers in the country. Whether dubbed "panic-partnership" or ascribed to the desire of the Englishman for fair play, these recent moves may be important. Separate entrances for blacks and whites in post-offices have been eliminated and African postal clerks now wait on Europeans. Hotels may now admit Africans, but only one does. A moderate African has been made Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs in the Federal Government. Africans can now bet on the horses and participate in the rich federal lotteries. Labor unions with African members are being given stronger legal status. Job advancement on a prime citadel of white job reservation, the Rhodesia Railways, may be opened up. The Southern Rhodesia Civil Service is now open to the top for Africans. An African journalist has been appointed assistant Federal Information Officer in London. The list could go on. It is hopeful.

The Emergencies of 1959 have come to an end – at least on paper. That they were in any degree necessary was alone a confession of failure for any policy called "partnership." With normal avenues of political activity closed, it was only to be expected that the country's African majority would sometime seek – and, indeed, almost be forced to seek – violent means of asserting its demands. One cannot agree with Sir Edgar Whitehead that "we have to cut the canker Congress out completely." To take but a few examples, the recent histories of India, Ghana, and Kenya deny this somewhat simplified view. Jail and political martyrdom appear to be necessities for the successful nationalist leaders of the Twentieth Century. The leaders now in jail will benefit from this. Their positions have not been weakened within their own organizations. Further, the way has been opened for more radical and less experienced leaders to

attempt to grasp power. It is hard to escape the conviction that the European of Central Africa will very soon have to be dealing with some of the men now in his jail. There may be no others who can command the loyalty of rising African peoples. It may be true to say that the Emergencies prevented more violence than that which took place. Their chief result, however, was to make non-violent solutions to the Federation's dilemmas much more difficult. Time alone will tell. In the meantime, all races must now pick up the next tasks.

Conference and Commission

Preparations for the Constitutional review Conference of 1960 are well under way. Already the Conference has become a central point around which the political tides of the Federation are swirling.

An advisory and fact-finding Commission, has been appointed on which all five Governments, opposition parties, and Africans are represented as follows:

Chairman (chosen by the British Prime Minister)	1
British Parliament (3 Government, 3 Opposition)	6
British "Independent"	4
Commonwealth "Independent"	2
Federal Government	4
Southern Rhodesian Government	3
Northern Rhodesia	3
Nyasaland	3
	26

It is interesting to note that, without the vote of the chairman, the total Federation group has a one-vote margin over "outsiders." However, of the 13 federal representatives, five must be Africans, not members of Governments or legislatures. This could force the selection of some of the men now in jail, if the charge of "stooge" is to be avoided and fair voice given to African opposition opinion. Commonwealth representatives will come from countries with experiences of federal governments—India, Canada, Australia or Malaya. How the Commission will produce its report, what will happen to the views of minorities within it, and how the constitutional review Conference itself will react to the suggestions of this advisory Commission, remain questions for the near future. However, if the selection of delegates is guided by the best traditions of British political life, such a group should produce suggestions for the Federation's

future as acceptable as the heritage of the past and the interests of the various races permit.

Settler Politics

The Europeans of Central Africa have always dreamed of becoming a permanent British outpost with all of the British political institutions. They have expected that dominon status, that is, complete independence within the Commonwealth, would come at an early date. Until the Emergencies, this was freely predicted as the probable outcome of the 1960 conference. Independence, of course, would mean the end of Colonial Office rule in the two northern Protectorates. So, too, would the resented interference of British politicians in the internal affairs of the Federation. This applies especially to the Labor Party, *bête noire* of Central Africa's Europeans and therefore – or because of it – the political darling of all African nationalists. Sir Roy has often proclaimed that the Colonial Office "has to get out of Central Africa." In 1957 he negotiated an agreement with the British Government that it would not legislate on Federation affairs except upon request by himself. Recently he declared that if in 1960 he were faced by an unfriendly (i.e. Labor) Government in London, the Federation might "go it alone" and unilaterally declare itself an independent country. The Boston Tea Party has long been a favorite event of Rhodesian political orators. Sir Roy has said that the Rhodesian does not lack the courage of the American colonists. Criticism, often vicious, of British politicians, public opinion, and debates on Africa – these are the prime prerequisites of any Rhodesian political aspirant.

Of late, Sir Roy and his United Federal Party (U.F.P.) have become more cautious about promising independence in 1960. His current phrase is "rapid progress towards independence." Beyond this, his policies are not spelled out in detail. He is strongly against the break-up of the Federation, repeatedly asserting: "I was not elected Prime Minister in order to preside over the dissolution of the Federation and I have no intention of ever doing so." On the other hand, he has stated that he recognized the special position of the Africans in the northern Protectorates and feels that their legitimate demands may be met without slowing up the progress of the whole towards dominion status. There is a hint here that some kind of treaty relationship between two possibly self-governing territories in the north and the Federal Government might be discovered in 1960.

The U.F.P. claims to be a middle-of-the-road party with both right and left wings. Its right, or radically conservative wing, is far more powerful in party circles than its very small left wing. However, both Sir Roy and Sir Edgar Whitehead are proud of the progress made in race relations — in the constant elimination of those "pinpricks" which they both admit are wrong and unnecessary. Sir Edgar has stated that the European has no future in Central Africa unless he brings the African into public affairs as a friend. Both leaders have announced their determination to continue the recent lowering of racial bars.

To the right of the U.F.P., the Dominion Party (D.P.) today holds the voting allegiance of at least 45% of the Southern Rhodesian electorate. This Party presently holds 13 seats out of 30 in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, and would have held three more had it not been for a complicated system of preferential voting which favored the U.F.P. The D.P. finds its strongest support in the rural areas where a high percentage of the Colony's 52,000 Afrikaners live. It also draws heavily upon the lower economic groups of urban Europeans who find themselves frightened by the prospect of African competition. It attracts the votes of the white extremists and those who would have the Colony join the Union of South Africa or, at the very least, follow its policy of *apartheid.*

The D.P. holds that the Federation has been a failure. In its place, and as a proposal for 1960, it would substitute a new Dominion of Rhodesia. This would be a white-controlled area in Central Africa permanently in "civilized" hands. It would consist of Southern Rhodesia and a strip of land along the railway through Northern Rhodesia, dividing the latter. The strip includes the rich copperbelt. This piece of real estate would contain about 275,000 of the Federation's present 287,000 Europeans and perhaps 2,800,000 of its 7,330,000 Africans. Nyasaland would be able to secede or take whatever course is open to it. Since the new Dominion would continue to depend upon Nyasaland's migrant labor in its mines and industries, some form of loose economic tie would permit the free flow of that labor to it. Further, the annual federal subsidy of an estimated £3-4 millions to the uneasy "Protectorate" would stop and the Federation's taxpayers, almost wholly European, would get relief. Barotseland, since 1909 a Protectorate within Northern Rhodesia and covering 20% of its area, might remain under the Colonial Office. Northeastern Northern Rhodesia, perhaps 35% of that Protectorate's area, could itself become a new Protectorate and

be under Colonial Office control. Or it might be that the new Dominion would attempt to assume control over these areas and take them away from Colonial Office tutelage. This would then become a new Central African Alliance.

Many Europeans who are not members of the D.P. feel this scheme has a good deal of merit. It would mean, of course, the break-up of the Federation, a thing which neither Salisbury nor London officially tolerates. Since Nyasaland would soon take or be given self-government, it would mean a Ghana-type state on the borders of the Alliance. This would be an anathema to most of the scheme's supporters, but preferred to any form of continuation of "partnership." Implementation of the plan would mean that the Colonial Office would abandon its guardianship over 400,000 Northern Rhodesian Africans, turning them over to control of the European leaders of the new Alliance. This the Colonial Office has so far refused even to discuss. Northern Rhodesian African leaders are against the scheme. In spite of this opposition to the plan, parts of it may well be utilized in the coming conference, especially since Sir Roy has announced that his federal delegation will contain representation of the D.P.

Liberal Politics

Liberalism, or perhaps enlightened conservatism, is a hardy plant in Central Africa, even though it represents only 10-12% of the European electorate. Its frequent deaths at election time do not seem to prevent its frequent resurrections under new labels. The United Rhodesian Party became the Central Africa Party and is joined by members of the Constitution Party which itself emanated from the Capricorn Africa Society. Under whatever label, it serves well as a counter-weight to the D.P. and its allies and thereby forces the U.F.P. to be more progressive in racial affairs than otherwise it would or could be. Under the leadership of Sir John Moffat, a descendant of Livingstone, and the determined Mr. Todd, formerly a missionary, the C.A.P. attracts a steady core of European and African voters. Its two leaders are the only two prominent Europeans in politics in the Federation who enjoy the confidence of the Africans.

Concerning 1960, the C.A.P. has yet to become specific. Guides to its policies are, however, clearly available. Its basic position pledges it to "build a united nation of all our peoples – and to remove from each race the fear that any single race might dominate for its own benefit." It stands in favor of the Constitution's preamble and so believes that independence should not

come until a majority of the Federation's African people wish for it. It promises to secure the right to progress for all, according to ability and without regard to race, color, or creed. It believes that, as Mr. Todd demanded just after the Southern Rhodesia Emergency was declared, the color bar should be broken massively and immediately. If Africans will use fully the Southern Rhodesian franchise they now hold, which has not so far been the case, the Party's vote will greatly increase. It is wholly possible that its European support will increase as more of the Federation's whites realize the inevitability of increased African participation in politics and swing their votes to a party which is, by outside standards, very moderate. The Party could in that case obtain several seats in the Federal Assembly and possibly one or two even in the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly. Even if this does not come about, however, the C.A.P. is invaluable as an aid to racial progress in Central Africa.

Naturally the Colonial Office cannot tip its hand in regard to its position in the Conference. Its policies and attitudes must be seen from its actions in the two northern Protectorates. In Northern Rhodesia, for example, the franchise has been extended and in the March 20, 1959 elections, 20 African candidates for the 8 African seats in the Legislative Council (total seats: 30) polled 18,000 votes out of a combined African and European poll of 34,000 votes. For the first time, two African Ministers sit in the Executive Council. Only in Northern Rhodesia has the C.A.P. gained seats (4). Africanization of the Northern Rhodesian Civil Service is at a high level. Strong and moderate men, Africans and Europeans alike, are pressing for a continuation of this progress. So far, much of it has been dependent upon the fact that the Northern Rhodesia Congress President, Harry Nkumbula, and some of his chief aides, have been cooperating. Mr. Nkumbula and Mr. S. H. Chilshe both ran for seats, with the former winning. Mr. Nkumbula is, however, running into heavy fire from his previous followers for being "too cooperative" with the Colonial Office and the Europeans. If, and it is a big if, the continued cooperation of the Northern Rhodesia Congress can be assured, the Colonial Office in 1960 can point to a truly multiracial Government and the beginnings of an orderly transfer of power to the Protectorate's majority – the Africans.

The picture in Nyasaland is not so clear because of the impact of the Emergency there. The new constitutional changes proposed will depend for their success upon finding Africans willing and equipped to take increasing roles in government.

The Colonial Office is determined to walk the line between violence and the temporary status quo. On August 24, 1959, Africans obtained a majority over other races on the unofficial side of the new interim Nyasaland Legislative Council, with Official members (Colonial Office Civil Servants) still in a majority of one over all of the Unofficial members. For the first time, two Africans are to be appointed to the Executive Council — a form of Cabinet presided over by the Governor.

In both the Protectorates there are various alternatives. African parity in the two Legislative Councils with Europeans is now a demand of the past. The next and current demand is for African majorities in the Legislative Councils and parity in the Executive Councils. Provision for "escape clauses" from the Federation under certain circumstances, or with fixed dates, may be a bargaining point. Finally, a fixed timetable leading to a specific date of self-government might be proposed by the Africans at the 1960 discussions of the advisory Commission as well as to the Conference itself. Some of these current topics may well find acceptance at the Colonial Office and with the British Parliament. Whatever happens in 1960, the Colonial Office will not and cannot sell out to the settlers.

African Politics

African opinion concerning the future must be considered. The present stage of development of African politics and political organizations is characteristic of young political movements everywhere. Highly personalized leadership, often young, angry, and inexperienced is the first characteristic. Fixed policies and platforms have little place. Individual feuds and rapid rotation of leadership mark their course. In such a situation, the various Congresses are answers to the needs of Africans, despite their frequent splintering and the general organizational weaknesses. Branches of the Federation's three "regular" and two splinter Congresses operate in all three territories, with little if any coordination between each. In fact, competition and rivalry are more frequent than cooperation. Membership lists are either not kept, or are meaningless as measures of support. Given these facts, plus an environment of subordination and frustration, it is but normal that African political action should easily take the paths of aggressive violence. Still, in the African community as in all communities, there exists a section which would be moderate.

African leaders of moderate opinion may be members of a

Congress or not. Most of them are to be found in the various Legislative Councils, journalism, or the few professions open to them. School teachers represent the largest number. All walk a thin line between the controlling European community and the masses of illiterate Africans they represent and lead. They are always vulnerable to the charge of "stooge." Their answers – that "Partnership is not all talk" or "be patient" – can hardly be popular today. As a group they hold that, bad as things may be, they are getting better and that the 1960 conference can produce a definition of "Partnership" satisfactory for their people. In the meantime, they accept the repeated invitations of Sir Roy's U.F.P. and Moffat's C.A.P. and work in their branches. If they could increase the possible participation of their people, they could become even more influential than they are now. Under existing laws, in Southern Rhodesia, for instance, about 6,000 Africans could now vote, out of a total electorate of 80,000. The ability and experience of these moderates must be utilized. If they can win enough political fruits for their community fast enough, there is hope in Central Africa.

Southern Rhodesia Congress leadership is anti-Federation. It has been moderate in its demands, concentrating on protests against social discrimination. Prison sentences may well alter its erstwhile moderate leadership.

In Northern Rhodesia the banned Zambia Congress, led by the mission-educated Kenneth Kaunda, has taken the position that the Federation must be broken up. "One man, one vote" and "Immediate self-government" are its cries. Even before his imprisonment, Mr. Kaunda gave up working with Europeans, while hoping for a change of heart among them. He took his followers out of the Northern Rhodesia Congress of Mr. Nkumbula late in 1958 in order to press more aggressively for reforms.

In Nyasaland, Dr. Banda and his Congress are committed to getting the Protectorate out of the Federation soon: "Nyasaland must break away – the sooner the better for all races." Dr. Banda has also said: "In the Nyasaland of the future, black and white must work together and if the European does not like that, then he must go." Despite his imprisonment and the banning of his organization, Dr. Banda seems to be gaining in strength and support. His personal ambition to be the first black Prime Minister of Nyasaland may well encourage concessions from the 1960 conference. Consistency is not the mark of any politician.

Also in Nyasaland, the Congress Liberation Party stands

ready in the wings. It has not been banned. Its leaders include T.D.T. Banda (no relation) and Wellington Chirwa, former Member of the Federal Assembly. Their demand is for immediate self-government for the Protectorate within the Federation. They may well favor the idea of a customs union between the three territories as an alternative to federation. The last may not have been heard from the Congress Liberation Party.

Thus the major parties and groups approach 1960. That the 26-man Commission is only advisory needs frequent repetition. Faced with such contrary hopes and fears, its 26 members will be in deep and dangerous political waters. What impact its deliberations and suggestions will have on the 1960 Conference which will discuss the Federation's future cannot now be guessed. Certainly its impact upon British and African public opinion will be large. It is perhaps wise to keep in mind at this date that no advisory Commission and, indeed, no Central African summit conference can change the legacy of the past or prevent the inevitable pressures of the rising tides of nationalism. It can only be hoped that, within the variety of suggestions and choices available, some way may be found to satisfy the desires of most of both racial communities of the Federation.

The Long Haul

Amidst the welter of Emergencies, alleged massacre plots, and conferences, sight is apt to be lost of certain vital long-range problems. Regardless of the errors of the past or the outcome of 1960, certain issues will have to be met by both blacks and whites. All of the combined ability of both groups may not solve these problems. In each, the racial factor dominates or at least hampers. Each is typical of problems throughout Africa.

The fundamental problem of Central Africa from the long-range point of view is not racial, but that of land. In Southern Rhodesia the European controls about 50% of the total acreage and probably 75% of the total usable acreage. Much of what he holds is not being used. All European-owned land is a conspicuous target for nationalistic demands. The African population in the Colony is doubling every 21 years. Its diet is improving, its tastes expanding. Its normal agricultural practices result in low food production and exhaustion of not overly fertile Rhodesian soil. There is crying need for more fertilizers, more agricultural demonstrators (white and black), and fewer and better cattle on presently overgrazed land. The struggles for water and against the tsetse fly have not yet been fully won.

In the Colony, the answers to these issues have been sought since 1950 in the Land Husbandry Act and in similar laws in the other territories. The purpose of the Act is to stabilize an African farming population with sufficient land and skills to make itself into a class of secure and prosperous peasants. Its implementation has meant rapidly increasing values for Africans of their farm produce and rising cash incomes. It has also meant breaking with tribal traditions of land-holding in favor of individual land-holding. Improvements in marketing and transport facilities for Africans have also been made. African cooperatives and extension services have been established. Even with these successes, no one knows if the Act can solve the basic issues of food and population pressures on the land. Further, the limit of eight acres of soil (frequently sandvelt) per family and grazing for a limit of six cattle involve a good deal of hardship. There is simply not enough land, let alone good land, set aside for Africans and which could give them an adequate standard of living. Implementation of the Act was a prime stimulus of Congress activity and still is.

Urbanization

The success, to date, of the Land Husbandry Act has intensified another of the country's problems. It has meant increases in the numbers of rural Africans who drift to the cities. As the reserves became "fenced in" by the allocation of individual family plots, there is not enough space for all the rural population. Many are thereby forced from the reserves into the cities, where they create problems of housing, crime, and education. More important, they join the reservoir of unemployed Africans in the cities and thereby depress wage scales.

Another aspect of the population-land problem is that of migrant labor. Each year tens of thousands of Nyasalanders migrate into Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, drawn by the prospect of money wages and driven by the poverty of their own homeland. There, many villages will have more than 50% of their able-bodied men absent at any one time. What this means in terms of family life, let alone food production, can well be imagined. Each year some 50-60 thousand Portuguese East Africans come into Southern Rhodesia also in search of jobs – creating another force to depress wages. Currently, the Federal Government is stopping this influx in order to give preference to "federal" Africans, i.e., those from Nyasaland. The Protectorate is a poor country, heavily relying on

this export of her labor. Neither the continuation of the Federal subsidy to her, nor independence, can prevent Nyasaland from facing a difficult economic future.

The Federation as a whole is much too dependent upon the export of copper for its own economic good. About one-third of the federal tax revenue and over one-half its export income comes from this one metal. Needless to say, the Federation has no power to influence the foreign prices and markets upon which it so heavily leans. The American recession of 1957-1958 cut the country's income from £114 millions to £69 millions as the quantity of the metal increased. Russian dumping of copper has recently added to this vulnerability. Part of the answer to this problem is, of course, diversification of the economy. This is being done as rapidly as capital and development will allow. Still it will be a long time before the economy of Central Africa can be released from its dependence on copper.

Further issues in the realm of economics concern the pressing need to encourage the flow of foreign capital into the Federation. Also there are problems of ending the adverse balance of trade with the Union of South Africa. Each month the Federation pays out £1 million for fresh foodstuffs which could and should be produced at home. Each year millions more are lost as Federation tourists vacation at seaside resorts in South Africa.

The Role of the African

Whatever political solutions are made in the 1960 conference, they will be less important than the role the African will play in the future economy of the Federation. As a consumer, he already is a vital factor. As his wages go up steadily, under the impetus of minimum wage laws and the increasing needs for skilled workers, his wants increase. Led by the 18,000-member African Mineworkers Union, his bargaining power is on the upgrade. European immigration is slowing down. This cannot but force more cracks in the industrial color bar. African labor turn-over is still much too high: 100% annually in many industries. This will, however, come down as decent housing for families becomes available and "target workers" — those who take jobs only to earn money to buy, for example, a bicycle — disappear.

On the copperbelt the shape of economic things to come is already present. Under the leadership of the Rhodesian Selection Trust mines, the 35,000 mineworkers have been given new oppor-

tunities to qualify for increased jobs of skill and responsibility. They are allowed to bring their families with them, living in towns with schools, clubs, churches, and recreational facilities. Their union has the check-off and able African leadership. The net result has been an increase of copper production with fewer employees and a labor turn-over rate lower than that of the Europeans. More important, the journey of the African into the West's society is being made a cooperative venture.

The rapid growth of both European and African urban populations is a large issue all by itself. At the present, the latter is forced to live in overcrowded townships where dirt and lack of facilities are the obvious features. About 64,000 Africans live in Salisbury's Harari, an area of three square miles. Pressing needs of all kinds are recognized: streets must be paved, lighting installed, police protection increased, transportation made cheap and decent, slums torn down, recreational and social facilities multiplied, and existing home ownership schemes tripled. All this must be done, in spite of the fact that the three territories and the Federal Government have already invested millions in improving conditions over their pre-war levels. Africans do not now sit on municipal councils — a situation which demands remedy soon. They must be allowed to live in the present European areas, if they so wish. No matter what solutions come out of the 1960 meetings, these costly and time-consuming projects must be given high priority in the future.

Education

Any list of post-1960 issues must include education. Today education is totally segregated throughout the Federation, with one exception. The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury now has 174 students, of whom 29 are African. The African students live in the same dormitories in separate wings and eat in the same dining rooms with their European fellows. That the entire remainder of the school system is strictly segregated adds to that gap of contact and understanding which is the hallmark of race relations in the country. African and European teachers in the same subject at the same African school and with the same qualifications find a difference of up to £400 in their salaries. Even though 80% of all African children are in schools in Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, less than one percent complete secondary schooling. This problem of pupil losses is dangerous since, with a smattering of education, they easily become juvenile delinquents. The fact that 12% of

the Southern Rhodesian Government's budget goes into African schooling cannot hide the pressing needs for more and better teachers and schools. The needs of the European children are also pressing. Education for a multiracial democracy is difficult. The issues of 1960 are not all political. Each of the non-political problems, unless at least partially solved, could wreck the future for all of the races of Central Africa.

Conclusion

"Time is running out in Central Africa," rightly says Mr. Todd. Now is the real Emergency. The European has to make the most of the remaining very few months. His is the primary responsibility because he has a fleeting military advantage and carries the West's heritage of democracy and civilization. Priding himself on his realism, he must measure the historical and numerical forces against him with objectivity. He must note well his almost total dependence upon the African; the creation of an African middle class will not save him. He must see that white extremism at this time becomes in fact a force insuring revolution and violence. If he honestly prefers to go down fighting, let him note the odds against him. The United Kingdom cannot afford to withdraw from its former colonies and leave them anti-British or anti-white. This is not the century for a privileged minority to shoot Africans.

The European in the Federation is being asked to do something which no other dominant minority in history has ever done: peacefully to abdicate its power to a developing majority of another race and culture. His hope in the future lies in cooperation from the majority and the protection of minority rights. Already the way is being eased for him by the churches of the Federation, with one exception, as they slowly increase their practices of "Partnership." The tentative beginnings of voluntary overlap between the races in sports, social affairs, and clubs is all to this end. Men of influence and goodwill exist on both sides of the racial barriers. Still, no honest man can but admit that the position of the European is most difficult. Necessity is rarely pleasant. And it will be of no avail if the European becomes moderate just at the time when the African has become extremist.

Nor does the African have easy sledding in the future. His battles against corruption, lack of training, and inefficiency have just begun. Gaining the vote will not cure bilharzia. Tribal loyalties stand in the way of the growth of national loyalty. Personal ambitions have yet to be submitted to the restraints

of informed public opinion or loyal opposition. Toleration and protection of the opposition is a rare feature of African culture. It is true that "no nation was ever ready for self-government in the eyes of the controlling power." Also, "the right to be wrong" is a fundamental right for all peoples. Realism for the African will be needed so that he can see that he will still need the help of many of the nearly 287,000 Europeans he now struggles against. He should be careful not to throw away the sympathetic willingness to help him which exists among many of them. He should note, too, that the British Government will not leave 287,000 Englishmen helpless in Central Africa.

There is only one hope for the seven and one-half million people of Central Africa. Lord Home, British Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, stated this hope when he said, "Partnership there must be if there is not to be war." By whatever label, under whatever political system, true partnership is the answer.

Populations of the Federation (Estimated 1959)

	Europeans	Africans	Asians	Total	Ratio of Africans to Europeans
Southern Rhodesia	203,500	2,421,000	14,800	2,639,300	12:1
Northern Rhodesia	75,700	2,217,000	8,400	2,301,100	30:1
Nyasaland	8,100	2,692,000	10,400	2,701,500	336:1
Total	287,300	7,330,000	33,600	7,650,900	26:1

COMMENTARY

By **M. W. KANYAMA CHIUME**

"Partnership," "multiracialism," "safeguards for the Africans"— these are some of the words or phrases used to twist democracy in Central Africa. The list could be longer. Academic and usually unrealistic assessments of the situation — or propaganda by the protagonists of the imposed Central African Federation — assert that only on these solutions does the future of Central Africa lie. Television, radio, newspapers, and all other modern means of propaganda are directed toward this end.

The struggle of the people of Nyasaland is, however, not an isolated event; it is an integral part of the struggle of the African continent for freedom from domination, oppression, and humiliation. It is a struggle for the independence of the three million Africans of Nyasaland not only for independence, but also for human dignity and recognition as persons in their own country. It does not, therefore, admit of any compromise, for a compromise on a principle is the abandonment of the principle itself.

In this struggle, the Africans of Nyasaland — as part of the continent of Africa — are determined that their problems must, in the final analysis, be solved by the Africans themselves. Certainly they will need outside financial help and technical assistance. In this respect, they would look forward to United States aid. They are, however, adamant that this outside manpower and capital shall not be allowed to determine the form of government under which they shall live and die. To the Africans of Nyasaland, therefore, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are not empty words. They are positive manifestations of the rejection of the domination of man by fellow man. We Africans would work to see these documents translated into action in our country, in the whole African continent, and in the world.

Thus the position of non-Africans in Nyasaland is not a problem at all. In fact, to us the problem exists only in so far as those who believe in the superiority of the white man say it does. Non-Africans are welcome to stay in Nyasaland and other parts of Africa. They must, however, demand no more than the rights which every citizen expects from the state and they must be prepared to perform the duties which every citizen is expected

to perform in a state. As citizens, whites are welcome; as masters, their presence will be unwelcome. Africans from Cape to Cairo and from Senegal to Zanzibar are determined that they shall have no masters other than themselves. An independent Nyasaland with a democratic government is the goal of Africans – in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

African Support Undeserved

The Central African Federation is a political institution which does not deserve African support. The Federation is based on the assumption that the Europeans are superior to the Africans and that the Africans can enjoy equality with the Europeans perhaps in "one hundred or two hundred years time" (to quote Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister). Partnership, on which the Federation was established, was described by Lord Malvern, the first Federal Prime Minister, as a relationship between the "horse" (the African) and its "rider" (the European). To entrench themselves as a superior race, the Europeans have given themselves a constitution in which 47 members of Parliament out of 59 are Europeans – elected on a franchise which is loaded in favor of the Europeans. The remaining 12 members are Africans who are elected in such a way that only those acceptable to Europeans can win. On the territorial level, Nyasaland has 27 members in its Legislative Council. Of these, seven are supposed to represent three million Africans, while the remaining 20 members represent 7,500 Europeans in the country! Of the seven Africans, three are indirectly elected and four are nominated by the Governor.

"The Government's view," states the Devlin Commission report, "is that these nationalist aspirations are the thoughts of only a small minority of political Africans and that the great majority of the people are indifferent to the issue." The Commission continues, "We have not found this to be so. . . . The opposition to Federation . . . was deeply rooted and almost universally held. . . . Even amongst the chiefs, many of whom are loyal to the Government and dislike Congress methods, we have not heard of a single one who is in favor of Federation." Indeed, many Africans of Nyasaland have lived and worked in South Africa and the Rhodesias and they are determined that the political systems and human relationships in those countries shall not be allowed to extend to Nyasaland.

The Central African Federation is so resented in Nyasaland that the issue has produced "a deep and bitter division" separating the Government from the people. In 1953, when Federation was imposed, 11 Africans were shot dead (some of them with Bibles in their hands) when demonstrating against Federation. Also, 72 Africans were wounded, many chiefs deposed, Congressmen arrested, and emergency regulations promulgated which made it difficult for Congress to hold meetings.

The story about the events of 1959 is well known. A massacre plot was concocted by the Nyasaland Government, supported by the Federal Government, and backed by the British Government. It was alleged that Nyasaland Africans planned a massacre of Europeans, Asians, and so-called moderate Africans. Under this pretext — one which was later dismissed by the Devlin Commission — 51 Africans (including seven women — two pregnant and one with a baby) were shot dead and at least 79 wounded; 1,322 people (including Dr. Hastings K. Banda, President of the Nyasaland African Congress) were evicted from their homes in a most humiliating manner and detained. About 600 Africans are still in detention. Many African homes were burned and much property was destroyed. Nyasaland has indeed become, to quote the Devlin Commission report again, "a police state, where it is not safe for anyone to express approval of the Congress Party to which before 3rd March, 1959, the vast majority of politically minded Africans belonged, and where it is unwise to express any but restrained criticism of the government policy."

Secession the Only Answer

A scheme which has brought humiliation, oppression, and domination to the Africans of Nyasaland by the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia cannot be condoned and supported. Secession from the Federation is, therefore, the only answer. Only in independence outside the Federation can the Africans of Nyasaland regain their human dignity and enjoy human rights as human beings in their own country. Secession is not seen, however, as the end of our problems; no country in the world, including the United States, has solved all of its problems. We are convinced, however, that once given freedom, the energies now concentrated in our struggle against foreign domination shall be directed toward the development of the country. Nyasaland could not then be as poor as it is alleged to be.

Its untapped geological potential consists of 38 known economic minerals, including radioactive ores. Its agriculture has not been fully developed, and only about 10% of its fish wealth in Africa's third largest lake is being used. The Shire Valley hydro-electric scheme could change the future of an independent Nyasaland.

The people of America can help in ending oppression in Nyasaland and in Central Africa generally. They can demand with increased vigor the release of Dr. Banda and all those detained for political reasons. They can urge the end of Nyasaland as a police state and the granting to the people of Nyasaland and Central Africa the right to self-determination. Let the voice of America — at governmental and all other levels — be heard with Central Africa as it is heard in connection with Hungary and Tibet! Indeed, the American people must re-echo the great words of President Eisenhower that there can be no peace in the world if, in human relationships, there is one law for the weak and another for the strong or one code of behavior for the allies of America and another for the others. The U. S., which fought for the freedom of its own people, and which has investments in Central Africa, must not condone, and therefore should actively oppose, the emergence of another South Africa in the form of the imposed Central African Federation.

By GUY CLUTTON-BROCK

African life starts in the humble kraal, the little cluster of grass-thatched houses, the hand-hoed plot, and the cattle providing subsistence. Integrated in a wide family circle, the village, and the tribe, the African peasant farmer has behind him a history largely unwritten. Here and there light is now thrown on a past which was not without distinction. A well-balanced, highly organized social system integrated with religion is revealed as the foundation to an age-old security and social satisfactions which the modern Western world now battles to recapture. Africa has had, perhaps, fewer "savages" than the "civilized" world of to-day.

In Central Africa, awareness of the values inherent in the best of his traditions lies deep in every African though it is largely suppressed. It is strengthened perhaps by subconscious knowledge of the centuries of exploitation to which Africa has

been subject. It is tempered by the challenge of invasion from the Western world with which it is faced today.

The articulate expression of African political aspirations is found in the African National Congress movement, whose radical organizations are now banned by law in all three territories of the Federation. Failures in organization or disagreements between leaders provoke criticism but not disloyalty to the movement. Deep inside every African – whether he holds a lucrative position in the colonist world, a chieftainship whose prestige is fortified by government, or a laborer's status approaching serfdom on a company estate – there is a strong attraction to the movement which has arisen from the African people by their own effort and which answers to the deepest feelings of the African personality. Africanism is born of the African sense of community.

Pan-Africanism

The strength of Africanism is increased by the Pan-African movement which, in the last year, has received new life from Accra. The ideal is presented of a continental spirit such as Europe has never known but is now seeking in support of its economy and the prevention of war. The conception of Africa as a projection of Europe is rejected. The white man's communism is no more acceptable than his imperialism. Pan-Africanism seeks to liberate from racial discrimination all people of all races who have their homes in Africa. Through a policy of social reconstruction it also seeks to renew in modern terms the "full and rounded life" which African people have known before under simpler conditions. From the democratic forms of tribal life now largely destroyed may well arise a new democracy born neither from West nor East. Through regional associations, freely chosen, the dream of a commonwealth of African states may be fulfilled.

The impact of Europe upon Central Africa in the last three-quarters of a century has disintegrated African traditional life, but it has increased the solidarity of African people in pursuit of their aspirations. For reasons both economic and strategic – namely, to gain raw materials and markets and to build a bastion of British influence in Central Africa – the non-military invasion of Central Africa from Europe is now accelerated. In every district the policy of "indirect rule" has given place to more direct rule by paternal commissioner. In 1953, against the recommendations of authoritative commissions of the past and the manifest

will of the African people, paternalism and self-interest combined in the colonist and British governments to effect Central African Federation. The way was thus opened for the extension of the enclave of Europe in Central Africa beyond the boundaries of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia.

The immediate reason for African opposition to Federation is largely contained in the "native policy" of Southern Rhodesia. Although in Southern Rhodesia the wants of Africans have been increased and to some extent supplied, African advancement is restricted by *apartheid* legislation and social attitudes on the South African model. The root of disquiet lies in the apportionment of land on an unjust and racial basis which restricts African participation in the economic development to which African labor has so greatly contributed.

Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia fear the influence of this "native policy" and its extension to their Protectorates where African interests have been declared in the past to be "paramount." They see in the increasing political and economic power of the colonist-controlled Federal Government the extension of *apartheid* northward across the Zambezi and the creation of another South Africa with all its intractable internal problems and its menace to world peace.

The Tide of African Resentment

After 70 years of British rule and five by the Federal Government, the tide of African resentment and resistance to political and economic invasion from Europe is rapidly rising. It has not so far become either anti-colonist or anti-European as such. African people know full well the need for European aid in the development of Africa. They resent, however, domination by a colonizing oligarchy and the dwindling prospect of democracy which this implies. In Southern Rhodesia, grave social injustices caused the rise and spread of the Congress movement; in the Protectorates it was fear of the effects of Federation. Disturbances of a comparatively minor nature have occurred and the governments in the Federation have chosen not to alleviate their causes but to embark upon a policy of repression. Impressive is the patient pursuit of non-violent ways by the African population in face of continuing provocation. At the time of the disturbances in Nyasaland, 4,665 firearms were held under licence by Africans there; two of these firearms were discharged and the four shots fired injured no one.

Today in Central Africa deadlock prevails. African people

are subdued by displays of superior force and their leaders are imprisoned. The real causes of frustration remain unrelieved. Hasty measures by governments to remove "pinpricks" and announce new economic projects give little comfort. African people now aspire to fullness of life as Africans. The invitation to enroll in promoting the extension of Europe in Africa, even if graciously offered, can have no more than a transient attraction. The future of Europe in Africa lies in developing Africa *with* African people, in a partnership in which each individual man and woman counts, whatever his race or color.

Until this is understood by those in whose hands lie political and economic power and until Europe is prepared to join with the African people in the creation of a modern Africa rather than the extension of an ancient Europe, the hope of peaceful development and security for European interests is dim. Each territory in the Federation now seeks its political independence. When this is gained, then regional associations for mutual economic benefit may follow. The continuance of a Federation dominated by those whose roots are implanted in Europe, or in its tropical enclaves, can lead only to disintegration in a continent where integration is needed above all else. It is time that Europe in Africa awoke to the paradoxical truth that "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it."

***By* JOSHUA MQABUKO-NKOMO**

Central Africa, and indeed the whole of the African continent, is experiencing conflicts and changes which are bound to bring about tremendous impact in world affairs. While in the past, colonial powers ruled and directed millions of African people without their consent, but through acquiescence, this state of affairs can no longer continue.

The freedom and independence movement that has swept through Asia in the last two decades has passed through North and West Africa and is now finding an important expression in East, Central, and South Africa. As a wild fire, it has attained such proportions that it can neither be retarded nor stopped. No colonial force in these areas, including settler intrigues and conspiracies, can dare ignore this freedom movement or stand in its way. To do so would be to court disastrous consequences.

It behooves the people of Central Africa, and indeed of the entire African sub-continent, to readjust themselves by abandoning reactionary policies forthwith and by submitting to the genuine demand of our time. No longer to be tolerated is the bogie of government by the so-called civilized and responsible people; for example, there is the mad property and income qualifications for the right to franchise in Southern Rhodesia. Here government for over 36 years has remained in the hands of white minorities to the entire exclusion of the African majority. The tendency has been — as in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia — for the minorities with such privileges to entrench themselves both politically and economically to the disadvantage of the majorities. This to us is a grave danger, not only to the areas concerned, but to the peace and security of the entire world. It is on this score that we feel it our duty to draw the attention of the American people to the explosive situation now prevalent in our part of the world. This might be a fuse which, although apparently small, may destroy the entire human race.

Problems with a Purpose

There is talk of the self-created problems of the so-called multiracial communities and the so-called different levels of civilization. These to us are problems conveniently created by the immigrant races for the purpose of dominating and exploiting our people under the guise of the so-called Western civilization. They are aimed at destroying African culture and personality and making the African a social degenerate and downtrodden personality. We reject this state of affairs. We claim that we are a people with a past and a worthwhile culture. We defy any system aimed at making us second-class citizens in a land not of our choosing but of our origin. We demand that those people who have chosen to make their homes in our country accept us as people — people capable of deciding the form of government under which we want to live.

We deny that we have to be made Europeans first before we can take part in the government of our countries. We believe that our culture, together with the culture of immigrant races, will finally evolve into an inclusive African culture, just as history has produced an inclusive American culture.

As for the particular problems of Southern Rhodesia, this is a beautiful and rich country of some 153,000 square miles

with a population of about 2½ million Africans and currently about 178,000 Europeans. There is a Legislative Council of 30 members which for the last 36 years has remained white. The entire African population has no representation of any kind, both in the Central Government and in municipal councils. There is a common voters roll which has been manipulated in such a way that, ever since it was introduced, only 900 Africans, out of 2½ million, have been able to register as voters. Of the 170,000 Europeans, 70,000 are voters, and the rest are either new immigrants (of less than two years) or temporary visitors from neighboring territories or from abroad.

Perpetuating White Control

The policy of Southern Rhodesia is based on the British South Africa Company which ruled the country from 1893 in 1923. Its aim was to keep control of the country in the hands of the white minority for all times. To perpetuate this control, the country is divided into African and European areas. The Europeans, despite their small numbers and the fact that about 97% of them live in towns, have reserved for their exclusive use over 50% of the best and well-watered land. The Africans have been herded together in small reservations situated in the remotest areas of the country, far from roads and railways, mostly in areas with poor soil.

This has led to dire poverty and misery in the African areas. Thousands of Africans have been forced to seek employment in European-owned farms and mines, as well as in industrial urban areas. Unprotected by any labor legislation, the urban Africans have found themselves the most exploited workers in the country. They are discriminated against everywhere. While they have contributed to building the modern cities, they have been refused a share in any of the benefits accruing to the urban community.

To this day, the African in Southern Rhodesia owns nothing in the country of his birth. He may remain in the European areas (all towns are in European areas) only when he is gainfully employed by a European. He can return or remain in the so-called native area only when he has a "permit" allowing him to graze a stipulated number of cattle and cultivate a stipulated number of acres. (This is usually a maximum of 8 acres and 5 head of cattle per family). The Africans in Southern Rhodesia today are the only people whose power of

acquiring property is stipulated by law, but even this limited property can only be held at the pleasure of the Native Commissioner. The latter may withdraw this permit at any time without giving any reasons for doing so. No African has a right to own any immovable property (land) in Southern Rhodesia. It is in this perspective that the so-called Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has to be viewed.

Having managed to dispossess the Africans and relegate them to a position of inferiority, the settlers in Southern Rhodesia could not allow Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to develop into governments controlled by African majorities. They then solicited the British Government to enforce Federation against the expressed wishes of almost the entire African population in the three territories. The whole idea of the Central African Federation is based on thwarting African political development in the Northern territories, and creating a country dominated by whites in the manner of Southern Rhodesia.

The African Congresses in the three territories, realizing the aims of the settlers, are rallying the people against a repetition of South Africa *apartheid* in Central Africa. They believe that the future of Central Africa does not lie in feudal policies of subjecting 7½ million Africans to the domination of 300,000 white settlers. They believe, instead, in a policy of collective responsibility. There are almost eight million people of different colors and races in Central Africa. As a people together they must decide the future. Any attempt to impose the wishes of a select group — as is being done at the present time — can only bring disaster and instability, which will be detrimental to all.

By R. S. GARFIELD TODD

In 1953 the white electorate of Southern Rhodesia voted to join a Federation and the British Government decided that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should also take this step. The Constitution envisaged a growing harmony between all the peoples with standards of living rising steadily as complementary economic forces built up that strength which develops from a new unity of states. The Federation, as a united people, would then move steadily towards full nationhood within the Commonwealth.

Six years later, however, the situation is so bleak that there

are many observers who believe that the whole aim of establishing a multiracial state based on partnership between the peoples is impossible of achievement. If this view is correct, then the Federation will go through a very unhappy period. Policies of racial supremacy will be maintained, but blacks will surely, but not smoothly, take over the dominant position held for the past seventy years by whites. This would be a tragic end to the vision which good men saw when they looked to Federation to supply an answer to the problems of human relations in a multiracial society.

Developing a Mutual Respect

If people are to live at peace throughout the world, men of different races must learn to understand one another and develop a mutual respect. As communications improve, the natural barriers of land and water become less significant and the problems which today are so acute in multiracial communities, such as ours, must yet demand an answer from our multiracial world.

The significance of success or failure in Central Africa is therefore so vital that our 300,000 white people cannot petulantly demand that they be left to decide for themselves what shall happen to the country and its seven million African people. What is even more important, they cannot be left to decide what shall happen to the vision of a great people, united in the bonds of true nationhood, though racially diverse.

We whites who live in the Federation are learning that there are many influences which bear upon us. We grow increasingly aware of world opinion and we have to accept the fact that the people of Great Britain, through their Government, have clearly defined powers and responsibilities in relation to us. Perhaps even more significant is the fact that the African people themselves are no longer prepared to give governments a blind acquiescence. All of these factors have played their part in dividing the local white people into two camps: those who see salvation for the country in white supremacy and those of us who see our future as a non-racial state in which men are honored for their worth, not passed over because of their color.

If we are to find an answer which will be of use to the world, it cannot be along the lines of white nationalism nor can it be one of black nationalism. It is still possible to make Federation a success, for there are many Africans who are prepared

to cooperate to this end. There are many Europeans who will also give of their best, but time is limited and hope remains only so long as we have a measure of goodwill.

If cooperation within a federal state is to be achieved, we must first establish confidence between the races. This is not basically an economic problem, but one concerned with human respect and consideration. Parliaments cannot solve the whole problem, but they can eliminate the differential legislation which at present divides the Federation into "black" areas and "white" areas, which prohibits the free movement of people, and which has taken away fundamental human rights such as that of habeas corpus. Parliaments must also broaden the franchise to the extent that we will have government by consent of the people. Educational programs must be bold enough and sufficiently imaginative to raise the understanding of the people so that rapidly increasing numbers may take an intelligent part in the system of government and also contribute more effectively to the growth of the domestic output.

The Danger of Partial Democracies

We must recognize that partial democracies can be much more dangerous than dictatorships. Democracies can only be made safe by an extension of power through the vote as rapidly as that can be done and as rapidly as people can be prepared through education and experience to play their part in government.

The doors of opportunity must be opened wide to every citizen. The full development of the great natural resources of this area depends upon the maximum development of our resources of labor and management. Capital will be made available, I believe, if we can create conditions which give confidence for our future. Without capital, we could not exploit our great natural resources of power and minerals, our agricultural and industrial potential, quickly enough to meet the expanding needs of an emerging people.

Will the old behavior patterns give place to new? Will people who hold political power and who have enjoyed special privileges be prepared to surrender an immediate advantage in the hope of entering a new era of greater security and wider development? Will we, the white people, decide to hold on to what we have for fear that the new era will not be one either of greater security or of comparable economic advantage to our

racial group? Will we be so determined to save ourselves that we will make our own destruction inevitable? The emergencies have made more white people aware of the dangers ahead. If governments would show real leadership, much could be done. It must, however, be done enthusiastically and it must be done quickly.

At present governments appear to be retreating unwillingly into policies of multiracialism instead of advancing with faith. Unless our leaders have confidence in non-racial policies we will lose the day. Some may hold that that would simply be a loss for 300,000 whites, but I believe that the best interests of the country will be served if black and white can learn to work together. If we can build a united nation in Central Africa, the *apartheid* policies of the Union of South Africa will be undermined and new hope will be given to the world.

***By* SIR ROY WELENSKY**

The people of the United States greatly prize their American way of life and their democracy, and quite rightly. It is the achievement of centuries and it is one of the greatest influences for good in the world today. The United States is not a perfect democracy; for example, it is not yet fully generous towards the Negro peoples in some of the communities of the United States and it is not completely tolerant of all political creeds, since it maintains that in modern times such full tolerance would be dangerous. Nevertheless, the U. S. is well on the way towards being as democratic a way of life as can be achieved in a very imperfect world. Certainly the American and the British democracies serve as examples and as inspiration to young and growing countries such as my own. Whereas the older countries were able to evolve their present social and political systems largely by process of trial and error, eliminating unsatisfactory elements as they went on, we are being pressed to apply to a newly awakened continent preconceived ideas and pre-cut patterns. These have proved themselves well in the old countries, but are not necessarily suited to Africa. All too often in recent years the emergent peoples of the continent have been offered gifts of democracy and "freedom" without the precaution being taken of ensuring that they are able to make that use of them expected by the donors.

In the Federation we make no pretence at being a democracy now, although we have already managed to entrench many of the essentials of a democratic state. We are, however, moving steadily towards democracy and that is more than can be said of most countries of the world, let alone of the younger countries of Africa. Again, we do not believe that all the old institutions which grow so well on the soil of Great Britain or of the United States can necessarily be expected to flourish when transplanted to the different ground of Africa. They may have to be adapted, or new institutions evolved. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the adaptation or the new institution will be any the less just or offer less opportunity to the people of this country than the old institution does to theirs.

Differences in Past Colonial Histories

It is in this regard in particular that we in Central Africa resent the erroneous belief — held by many abroad — that wherever relatively small white communities live amongst much larger black communities, there is necessarily exploitation of the black by the white and resistance by the white to what is called black emancipation. This belief arises from ignorance of the facts. Moreover, too little regard is paid to differences in the past colonial histories of such metropolitan countries as France, Belgium, and Great Britain. Each has evolved widely differing societies and widely differing methods of statecraft in their colonies or former colonies. Any assumption of a homogeneous community of young countries covering the greater part of Africa and ready to receive some uniform formula of self-government is consequently wrong and is again based on ignorance of the facts. This is, however, an assumption which is unfortunately reflected in the actions of many who seek to influence the course of events on this continent.

It is also assumed by many Americans that there can be no good in colonialism in any form. This is perhaps an American inheritance. When the American War of Independence was fought, the concept of colonial rule from London was at stake. The American colonists of the time had felt their oats and were confident that they could handle their own affairs. By virtue of the force of their arms, they proved their case. From that day the thought seems to have remained in the minds of many American people not only that all colonialism is wrong, but that the problems of colonialism are uniform and can be treated and solved along more or less uniform lines. This is not so and

there are very significant differences between the circumstances of the present and the past.

When the American colonies broke away from Great Britain, the levels of life and wealth, the stages reached in industrialization, and the ability of the people to govern themselves in the American colonies and in Great Britain were much the same. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of Great Britain today and of the African continent will know that levels of life and standards of living, standards of social and civic conduct, and standards of skill differ vastly between Africa and Britain and between the vast majority of the black inhabitants of Africa compared with the white.

So far as the Federation is concerned, one must remember that the white man first came here only some 70 years ago, when he encountered a society ruled as it was in Southern Rhodesia by Lobengula, the king of the Matabele. This was primitive tribal Africa. Were the subjects of Lobengula to disagree with him, even over a trivial matter, they would be battered to death with clubs or more kindly speared by tribal guardsmen. Bulawayo, Lobengula's capital, was a vast collection of mud and reed huts. That was only 70 years ago.

A Remarkable Achievement

Today the Federation looks not unlike parts of the Middle West of the United States, but the advance of civilization has been far more rapid than anything the history of the States has had to offer. It has been a remarkable achievement, embodying a great effort to ensure the progress of that section of the population, by far the most numerous, which even now has been in touch with civilization for only 70 years, and to bring about in a few decades what has taken the older white civilizations centuries to achieve. This process is still going on. In 70 years we have not managed to achieve the virtually homogeneous society which the colonists of North America had when they made their bid for independence from Great Britain. It is of considerable practical significance that when the American colonies broke with Britain, no group in their community had to be singled out for particular attention and there was no commitment upon any American or any Briton to pay particular attention to any section of the American society. Here in our part of Africa, we recognize the vast difference there is in the progress along the road of civilization of the African when compared with the white man in Africa, or for that matter in

America or Great Britain. We therefore acknowledge an obligation, which at the present time falls very largely on the comparatively few white men in this country, to see that African advancement in all spheres of life – social, economic as well as political – is as rapid as it is possible to achieve with the limited resources at our command. And we believe that no gift of self-government or independence, no gift of the trappings of democracy, will substantially benefit the African unless it is accompanied by the attainment of skill and the ability to achieve a good living.

However, seven decades of hard work are beginning to bear fruit and more and more African people are reaching the stage where they can claim and get admission to the full life offered by this country. Our aims (as expressed for example in a franchise which is qualitative and perhaps exacting in its requirements – but which makes no distinction as to race) are to achieve a society which will disregard the color of a man's skin and recognize only his ability, his standards of life, and his behavior as a citizen. We have come to realize that to achieve this goal, many years of laborious effort lie ahead and much patience must be exercised by both white and black.

Separating Truth From Prejudice

We are convinced, too, that what is urgently needed in Africa is fresh thinking, coupled with the ability to separate the truth from prejudice and propaganda. I urge everyone who has the real interests of the people of Africa at heart to recognize above all that there cannot be stability or substantial political progress towards democracy as the West knows it unless it is accompanied by a far greater measure of social and economic progress than scarce skill and scarce resources have allowed Africa yet to achieve.

The people of the United States must wake up to this fact. There is a growing awareness that Africa could be the last bastion between the Western world and the East; but it is a vast, underdeveloped continent, most of whose people are still extremely backward and immensely poor by Western standards. Yet now they are almost all aware of the force of African nationalism; they have seen self-government and political emancipation set up as objects to be attained at any price; they have been told that all else will follow the attainment of the political kingdom far more often than they have been told that the job of learning and of the acquisition of skill, ability, and earning

power will still have to be undertaken and will still require many, many years of effort. So their expectations have been raised high, and they believe that Utopia can be theirs at the stroke of a pen. If this goes on, their disillusionment is going to be very great indeed. The people of America as well as the people of Great Britain must know this, and must recognize what we have long recognized in the Federation: stability in Africa will never be achieved by way of political handouts alone.

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- *To support policies which will further the developments of responsible self-government in those parts of Africa where it does not exist;*
- *To raise special funds in the United States to support projects in Africa, the purpose of which is to establish interracial cooperation, and to oppose racial discrimination;*
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